

Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to aduertise. As for some other matters, I leaue them to the consideration and iudgement of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

Letters taken at sea by Captaine George Popham. 1594.

Alonso his letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother being commander of S Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

THere haue bene certaine letters receiued here of late, of a land newly discovered called Nueuo Dorado, from the sonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the discovery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the course to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windward of Margarita.

Alonsos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant Lucar concerning El Dorado.

Sirs, we haue no newes worth the writing, sauing of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards in a new land called Nueuo Dorado, which is two dayes sayling to the windward of Margarita. there is golde in such abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, vnto their parents here in this citie I purpose (God willing) to bestow tenne or twelue dayes in search of the said Dorado, as I passe in my voyage towards Carthagen, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I haue sent you therewith part of the information of the said discovery, that was sent to his Maiestie.

Part of the Copie that was sent to his Maiestie, of the discovery of Nueuo Dorado.

IN the riuer of Pato otherwise called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Warismero, the 23 of April 1593 Domingo de Vera master of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Gouvernour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the riuers of Pato and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marrannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodrigo de Caranca Register for the sea, commanded all the souldiers to be drawn together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and souldiers, and Master of the campe standing in the midst of them, said vnto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our General Antonio de Berreo, with the trauell of eleuen yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thousand pezos of golde, discovered the royall Prouinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessarie munition, he issued out at the Iland Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they haue sent me to learne out and discover the wayes most easily to enter, and to people the said Prouinces, and where the campees and armies may best enter the same. By reason wherof I intend so to doe in the name of his Maiestie, and the saide gouvernour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towards the East, and the said Master of the campe, the captaines and souldiers kneeled downe, and did due reuerence vnto the saide crosse, and thereupon the master of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sworde and cut the grasse off the ground, and the boughes off the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip our master, and of his Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answered, that in these our actions was present the Cassique or principall Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and souldiers said,

that

that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the campe hauing his sword drawn in his hand saide vnto me: Register, that art here present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I haue taken of this land, for the Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are present to witnesse the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoeuer I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de Vera, and vnderneath, Before me Rodrigo de Carança, Register of the armie.

And in prosecution of the said possession, and the discouerie of the way and Prouinces, the 27 of April of the said yeere, the master of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of Antonio Bisante the Interpreter, that his Maiestie and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said frier Francis Carillo by the Interpreter, deliuered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the campe took a great crosse, and set it on end towarde the East, and requested the whole campe to witnesse it, and Domingo de Vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmly done. And vnderneath. Before me Rodrigo Carança, Register of the armie.

The first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discouerie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the said Master of the campe passed to the towne of Toroco whose principall is called Topiawary being fve leagues farther within the land then the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpreter they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiestie and the said Corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that lande, and that they should yeelde their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the master of the campe in his name, and that in token therof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the said Cassique answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Prouince aboue fve leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met vs in peaceable maner: and he is called Reuato, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs much Golde, and the interpreter asking him from whence that golde was, he answered, From a Prouince not passing a dayes iourney off, where there are so many Indians as would shadowe the sunne, and so much Golde as all yonder plaine will not containe it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feasts) they take of the said Golde in dust and anoynt themselves all ouer therewith to make the brauer shew; and to the end the Golde may couer them, they anoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewy substance: & they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them, they would ayde vs; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill vs. And being asked how they gat f same Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to wash at the riuer, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracheras or drunken feasts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about fve leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thousand Indians, men and women  
all

all in peace and with much victuall, as Hennes and Venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his house, and to rest that night in his Towne, being of fise hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence hee had those Hennes: he sayde they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had so many Hennes as was wonderfull; and if wee would haue any, wee should send them Iewes harpes, for they would giue for euery one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gaue him fise hundred Harpes; the Hennes were so many that hee brought vs, as were not to be numbred. Wee sayde wee would goe thither; they tolde vs they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feasts, and would kill vs. Wee asked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true; hee sayde it was most true. Wee asked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feasts; hee sayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breasts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all couered with Golde. The Indian sayde vnto vs, if wee would see them, wee should giue him some Hatchets, and he would bring vs of those Eagles. The Master of the Campe gaue him one Hatchet (hee would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke golde) he brought vs an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Master of the Campe tooke it, and shewed it to the souldiers, and then threw it from him, making shewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and sayd vnto him, Giue mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Master of the Campe, Indians with high shoulders. who commanded one to be giuen him: hee then tolde vs, those Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to bee set in order, and beganne to march. The eleuenth day of May wee went about seuen leagues from thence to a Prouince, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled: they tolde vs that if wee came to fight, they would fill vp those Plaines with Indians to fight with vs; but if wee came in peace, wee should enter and bee well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians: and there they tolde vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goeth to his Maiestie: for if it should heere bee set downe, foure leaues of paper would not containe it.

The Letter of George Burien Britton from the sayde Canaries vnto his cousin a Frenchman dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

Sir, and my very good cousin, there came of late certaine Letters from a new discovered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance: the newes seemeth to bee very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Citie. Part of the information of the Discouery that went to his Maiestie, goeth inclosed in Alonsos letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martinez of Iamaica concerning El Dorado.

HE sayth that in 1593. being at Carthagen, there was a generall report of a late discovery called Nueuo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, they sent their sayd Idol vnto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the said Frigat, reported Golde to be there in most abundance, Diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

The report of a French man called Bountillier of Sherbrouke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

HE saith that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quar-



Paracoa.

a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the sayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that riuer which commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad: and that within the Riuer of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought prisoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Discouery, with two millions of Golde; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nuevo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spaine in the Barke, and hauing a cabben neere a gentleman, one of the Discouerers that came from that place in the sayde Barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the sayd Dorado, being as they sayd within the riuer of Orenoque.

Reportes of certaine Marchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.

THEy sayd (aduancing the kings great treasure in the Indies) that Nuevo Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was discovered a certaine Province so rich in Golde, as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nuevo Dorado. Antonio de Berreo made the said discouerie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with Berreo in the discouerie of El Nuevo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the King was in euery poynt truely sayde, that the riuer Orenoque hath seuen mouths, or outlets into the sea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the sayd riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquere and people the sayd Dorado

A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.

To the approved, Right Valorous, and worthy Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

Perides.

I Haue here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discouerie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, single speech best bescemeth a simple truth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your selfe, vnto your selfe, that small libertie which I haue therein vsed, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be giuen to the cause in hand: which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth; the iudgement bee theirs, that vprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their euill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoueries, doe so much as in the lieth, wound, deface, & tread vnder foot the thing it selfe. But this is no nouelty, nor proper only to these our dayes. For long since it hath bin said, *Laudes eo vsque sunt tolerabiles, donec ca dicuntur, quæ auditores se quoque facere posse existimant: simiiora proferantur, inuidet, non credunt.* The seruient zeale & loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of so honorable expectation, as it hath deserued a recompence farre different, so needeth it not my poore suffrage to endear the toyle, care and danger that you haue willingly vndergone for the good and aduancement of our weale publique. The praise-worthinesse thereof doeth approue it selfe, and is better read in your liuing doings, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wish, is that my life were a sufficient pledge, to iustifie, how much more easie, and more materiall, the course for Guiana would bee then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not so large benefit, and are subiect to more doubtfull euent. If vnto their wisdomes who sit in place and authority, it shall appeare otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is lesse difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence vnto the enemy: the cost and trauaile which you haue bestowed, shall not, I hope, be altogether



altogether lost, if vnto your Honour I can proue how, and where the amends is to be had, maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordships to be commanded in all seruice,

LAVRENCE KEYMIS.

To the Fauourers of the Voyage for Guiana

IN things earnestly desired, though neuer so likely, we are still suspicious: thinking it more credite to our common wisdom, to discredite most noble and profitable indeuours with distrust, then touch to our valours and safeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoeuer an action well and iudicially attempted, bee esteemed halfe performed; yet is this my ielous conceite concerning Guiana, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue presumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cause, and in stead of opening it throughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine owne vnsatisfied affection: hoping that because I doe name Guiana vnto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe hoc nomine, to vaile and couer all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this Treatise, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remoue all fig-leaues from our vnbeliefe, that either it may haue cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perswaded; that our selfe-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing, to serue the Spaniard his turne so wel as our owne; in so much as it may seeme to instruct, warne, and arme him: for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly aduertised by some corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and discourse of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps proue, & be hereafter taken for worse thē paricide) would be of better purpose, then to hoodwinke our selues, as who would say, No man shall see vs. Besides, if the action were wholly to bee effected at her Maiesties charge; then might it at her Highnesse pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and neuer be discovered, vntill it were acted. But since it craueth the approbation and purses of many Aduenturers, who cannot be so prodigall both of their possessions and liues, as voluntarily to run themselves out of breath, in pursuing they know not what: great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yeelded to perswade & induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, vnsettled, & vncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the trauailes, reports, & substantial proofes of his own men, that haue aboue 60. yeres beaten round about this bush. And to say a trueth, the expedition that he hath vsed in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, & disappoint vs; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remisnesse & long deliberations, that in 12. moneths space haue done, or sought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame & reputation of our English nation, interested in so weighty businesse. \* His late prouision of a new supply of whole families to the number of 600. In Iune 1596. † persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable seruice most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should haue bin conueyed, were conuerted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth evidently proue, that El Dorado hath vndoubted credit & account in their iudgements: so pointeth it at vs, whilst we only to entertain idle time, sit listening for Guiana newes, & instantly forget it, as if it were nought els, but a pleasing dreame of a goldē fancy. If we with our selues shall expostulate, how this commeth to passe, that the aduantage wholly resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last yere beaten out, the countrey throughly discovered, & the Inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Maiesties happy gouernment; they notwithstanding by entring before vs, haue now gotten ‡ start of vs: what may we thinke?

Shal wee iudge that their native countrey is lesse deare, or more wearisome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their Peruleri, who going bare & empty out of Spaine, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres retorne from Peru, rich and in good estate, doe apparently disproue all such conceits of them. Shall wee say that they haue more spare men to be employed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subiect to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentiful. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaues to follow their husbandry, & themselues disdainng base idleness & beggery, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability, in those that are willing, lacke of encouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that doe voluntarily offer themselues, their substance, & best indeuour to further this cause; that maketh vs to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question. The later needeth no answer. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to loose opportunitie by delay, or to seeme feareful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doeth no way preiudice our aduised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of Negros to worke in the mynes, their horses, cattell, and other necessities may (by the fauour of God) at our first comming, both store vs w<sup>th</sup> quantities of gold oare, and ease vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we should suppose our selues now to liue in the dayes of King Henry the seuenth of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice vs to beleue it: perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the grauity of wise men, lightly to bee carried with the perswasion and hope of a new found Vtopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many wayes subiect to suspition. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth euen now heauy on our shoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we haue the personal triall of so honourable and sufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman. let it be farre from vs to condemne our selues in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors; and to let our idle knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth consist in action: we truly say, that *Otium is animæ viue sepultura*: we beleue, that perfect wisdom in this mobility of all humane affaires, refuseth not with any price to purchase safetie: and we iustly do acknowledge that the Castilians from bare legged mountainers haue attained to their greatnesse by labour & industrie. To sleepe then, because it costeth nothing; to imbrace the present time, because it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment; and to kisse security, saying, What cuill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderstanding heart, in time to see, and to seeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace.

*De Guiana carmen Epicum.*

What worke of honour and eternall name,  
For all the world t'enuie and vs t'atchieue,  
Filles me with furie, and giues armed hands  
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne  
My limmes and euery sense into my thoughts  
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?  
O Clio, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,  
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit  
Of his Eliza-consecrated sword,  
That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,  
Opens most tenderly her aged throte,  
Offering to powre fresh youth through all her vaines,  
That flesh of brasse and ribs of steele retaines.

Riches,

Riches, and Conquest, and Renowme I sing,  
 Riches with honour, Conquest, without blood,  
 Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,  
 Like to Ioues Eagle on Elizas hand.  
 Guiana, whose rich feete are mines of golde,  
 Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,  
 Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,  
 Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,  
 And euery signe of all submission making,  
 To be her sister, and the daughter both  
 Of our most sacred Maide : whose barrennesse  
 Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,  
 Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,  
 What heretofore sauage corruption held  
 In barbarous Chaos ; and in this affaire  
 Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soueraigne, let your breath  
 Goe forth vpon the waters, and create  
 A golden world in this our yron age,  
 And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleete,  
 That seconding your last, may goe before it  
 In all successe of profite and renowme :  
 Doubt not but your election was diuine,  
 (Aswell by Fate as your high iudgement ordred)  
 To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde  
 Height to his height ; and like a liberall vine,  
 Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,  
 Free from the Presse of squint-eyd Enuies feete,  
 But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,  
 And chroude it with broad leaues of Rule oregrowne  
 From all blacke tempests of inuasion.

Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke  
 The solid world, and made it fall before them,  
 Built all their braue attempts on weaker grounds,  
 And lesse perswasive likelihoods then this ;  
 Nor was there euer princely Fount so long  
 Powr'd forth a sea of Rule with so free course,  
 And such ascending Maiestie as you :  
 Then be not like a rough and violent wind,  
 That in the morning rends the Forrests downe,  
 Shoues vp the seas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,  
 And toombes his wastfull brauery in the Euen :  
 But as a riuer from a mountaine running,  
 The further he extends, the greater growes,  
 And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,  
 Euen to ioyne battell with th'imperious sea  
 Disdayning his repulse, and in despight  
 Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,  
 Taking on him his titles and commandes :  
 So let thy soueraigne Empire be encreast,



And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,  
Whose Trident he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,  
Directing with discredite of direction,  
And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.  
With whom before you will inherite gold,  
You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules;  
You that chuse nought for right, but certaintie,  
And feare that valour will get onely blowes,  
Placing your faith in Incredulitie.  
Sit till you see a wonder, Vertue rich:  
Till Honour hauing golde, rob golde of honour,  
Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,  
They loath all getting that deserues not ought;  
And vse you gold-made men as dregges of men;  
And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking  
In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide  
Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride.

O Incredulitie, the wit of Fooles,  
That sloucely will spit on all things faire,  
The Cowards castle, and the Sluggards cradle  
How easie t'is to be an Infidel?

But you Patrician Spirites that refine  
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame  
On braue indeuours, knowing that in them  
The tract of heauen in morne-like glory opens,  
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,  
(Claiming the rights of your creation)  
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you;  
That are so farre from doubting likely drifts,  
That in things hardest y'are most confident:  
You that know death liues, where power liues vnusde,  
Ioying to shine in waues that burie you,  
And so make way for life euen through your graues;  
That will not be content like horse to hold  
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires:  
But where the sea in enuie of your reigne,  
Closeth her wombe, as fast as t'is disclosde,  
That she like Auarice might swallow all,  
And let none find right passage through her rage:  
There your wise soules as swift as Eurys lead  
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,  
And skorne to let your bodies choke your soules,  
In the rude breath and prisoned life of beastes:  
You that herein renounce the course of earth,  
And lift your eyes for guidance to the starres,  
That liue not for yourselues, but to possesse  
Your honour'd countrey of a generall store;  
In pitie of the spoyle rude selfe-loue makes,

Of them whose liues and yours one ayre doth feede,  
 One soile doeth nourish, and one strength combine ;  
 You that are blest with sence of all things noble,  
 In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is Nature at her heart corrupted,  
 (I meane euen in her most ennobled birth)  
 How in excesse of Sence is Sence bereft her !  
 That her most lightening-like effects of lust  
 Wound through her flesh, her soule, her flesh vnwounded ;  
 And she must neede incitements to her good,  
 Euen from that part she hurtes ! O how most like  
 Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)  
 To this wrong'd soule of Nature, that sustainst  
 Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,  
 And she much like a bodie numb'd with surfeits,  
 Feeles not thy gentle applications  
 For the health, vse, and honour of her powers !  
 Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lockt eares  
 Trumpet the Noblesse of thy high intent ;  
 And if it cannot into act proceed,  
 The fault and bitter penance of the fault  
 Make red some others eyes with penitence,  
 For thine are cleare ; and what more nimble spirits,  
 Apt to byte at such vnhooked baytes,  
 Gaine by our losse ; that must we needs confesse  
 Thy princely valure would haue purchast vs.  
 Which shall be fame eternall to thy name,  
 Though thy contentment in thy graue desires,  
 Of our aduancement, faile deseru'd effect.  
 O how I feare thy glory which I loue,  
 Least it should dearely grow by our decrease.  
 Natures that sticke in golden-graueld springs,  
 In mucke-pits cannot scape their swallowings.

But we shall forth I know ; Golde is our Fate,  
 Which all our actes doth fashion and create.

Then in the Thespiads bright Propheticke Fount,  
 Me thinkes I see our Liege rise from her throne,  
 Her eares and thoughts in steepe amaze erected,  
 At the most rare endeuour of her power.  
 And now she blesseth with her woonted Graces  
 Th'industrious Knight, the soule of this exploit,  
 Dismissing him to conuoy of his starres.  
 And now for loue and honour of his woorth,  
 Our wise-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,  
 That is espoused for vertue to his loue  
 With feasts and musicke, rauishing the aire,  
 To his Argolian Fleet, where round about  
 His bating Colours English valure swarmes  
 In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque  
 With his Fell waters fell vpon our shore.

And

And now a wind as forward as their spirits,  
 Sets their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast.  
 Where (as if each man were an Orpheus)  
 A world of Sauages fall tame before them,  
 Storing their theft-free treasures with golde,  
 And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,  
 There Learning eates no more his thriftlesse bookes,  
 Nor Valure Estridge-like his yron armes.  
 There Beautie is no strumpet for her wants,  
 Nor Gallique humours putrifie her blood:  
 But all our Youth take Hymens lights in hand,  
 And fill eche roose with honor'd progenie.  
 There makes Societie Adamantine chaines,  
 And ioyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disioin'd.  
 There healthfull Recreations strow their meades,  
 And make their mansions daunce with neighbourhood,  
 That here were drown'd in churlish Auarice.  
 And there do Pallaces and temples rise  
 Out of the earth, and kisse th'enamored skies,  
 Where new Britannia humblie kneeles to heauen,  
 The world to her, and, both at her blest feet,  
 In whom the circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, & vniuersæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de  
 Guiana Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

MOntibus est Regio, quasi muris, obsita, multis:  
 Circumsepit aquis quos Raleana suis.  
 Intus habet largos Guaiana recessus:  
 Hostili gestans libera colla iugo.  
 Hispanus cliuis illis sudauit, & alsit  
 Septem annos, nouies: nec tamen inualuit.  
 Numen, & omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi:  
 Et nobis virtus sit recidius, precor.  
 Gualtero patefacta via est duce & auspice Raleigh  
 Mense vno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?  
 Nocte diéq; datis velis, remisque laborans,  
 Exegit summæ dexteritatis opus.  
 Scilicet expensis magnis non ille pepercit,  
 Communi natus consuluisse bono.  
 Prouidus excubuit simili discrimine Ioseph:  
 Sic fratres, fratrem deseruere suum:  
 Fama coloratam designet sibona, vestem:  
 Vestis Scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.  
 Mira leges. Auresque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus  
 Hæc aurum, & gemmas graminis instar, habet.  
 Ver ibi perpetuum est: ibi prodiga terra quotannis  
 Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.  
 Anglia nostra licet diues sit, & vndique fœlix  
 Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.  
 Expertes capitum, volucres piscesque ferâq;  
 Prætereo: haud prosunt, quæ nouitate, placent



Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quaerimus. Ergo petamus :  
 Det Deus, hanc Canaan possideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiss. L. K.

### The second voyage to Guiana.

MVnday the 26. of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1596 we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, hauing in company the Discouerer, a small pinnesse, whom we lost at sea, in foule weather, the Thursday next following. Friday the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Islands, where we expected our pinnesse, according to our appointment, seuen or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a passenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our shippe sterne, steering Southsouthwest for the Islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set saile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Westsouthwest course. In this passage wee found very smooth seas, faire weather, and steddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the East and Northeast poynts. Neere 30. leagues from these Islands, wee came into a growne sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise & hurtling together, as if it might be two strong currents encountring ech other. The 12 of March wee sounded, and had sandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelue fathom wee came to an anker, the ground sandie oaze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about some sixe leagues from the shore, wee descried a low land in the bottome of a bay. From the 9. of March vntill this time, we kept for the most part a Southsouthwest course. The water in this place is smooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Westernmost of the Cape Verde Islands vnto this Bay I doe estimate the distance to be neere 550 leagues. It seemed to most of our sea-men, to be the very banke of a shoald vpon a lee-shore: the rather because without it, in the cleane greene sea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by prooffe finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest neere the land, we alwayes at night sought to anker in three or foure fathome. And doubtlesse as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: so herein his mercifull prouidence is most admirable, that vpon a lee-shore subiect vnto a perpetuall Easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them: nor is there any ieopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbayed: for the most forcible windes make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinarie course of ebbe, doe grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this case, as also in the riuers, the vse of a droue sayle seemeth a good and readie helpe. The first place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire and great riuier. It standeth in one degrec and fourtie minutes: for we fell so farre to the Southwardes by your lordships direction. The barre without hath at the least three fathome, at the shoaldest place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the sea coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreyes doe yeelde, as also the soundings, tydes, and how the coast lyeth &c. thinking it fittest to reduce these disioyned and scattering remembrances to one place. As wee passed we alwayes kept the shore within viewe and stopped the floods, still ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we sawe two high mountaines like two islands, but they ioyned with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthwest neere 60. leagues, there fall into the sea these euerrall great riuers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from these hilles, and filled all our caske with fresh water by the shippe side, for in the sea thirtie miles from the mouth of any riuier it is fresh and good. This second Bay extendeth it selfe about thirtie leagues to the Westward, and containeth within it these riuers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caiso, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here leauing the ship at anker, I tooke into

They fall with  
the Canary Isles.

Cape Verde.

A notable obser-  
uation.

They anker in  
the mouth of  
Arrowari situate  
in one deg. 40.  
minutes.

A sea of fresh  
water.

into the boate Iohn Prouost, my Indian Interpreter, Iohn Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these riuers, and to seeke speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eastermost mountaine, where the riuers falleth into the sea, wee found twentie or thirtie houses, but not inhabited. Wee stayed there but one night. Wanari we overpassed, because the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we sailed some fourtie miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their portes vnder the side of a hill, wee tooke in so much Brasill wood as our boate could carrie. Amongst other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I do verily beleeeue to be the same sort of sinamon, which is found in the streights of Magellan. From Caperwacka wee passed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted least wee were Spanish. When my interpreter had perswaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther speech or delay, brought vs to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained vs most friendly, and then at large declared vnto vs, that hee was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour riuers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that hauing burnt his owne houses, and destroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee possessed by the Arwaccas, who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serue and follow the Spanyards. Hee shewed me that he was of the nation of the laos, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a generall consent, when the Spanyards first began to borrow some of their wiues, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now liue vnited for the most part towards the riuers of Amazonas. But the especiall cause of his present remooue was, because two or three yeeres past, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and sought to take his best wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of them: the rest fledde, most of them sore hurt. Now in this case hee thought it best to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Dessekebe, is one of this mans subjects: By whom (as it may seeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princesse and countrey. For hee descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with vs, assuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, haue earnestly expected our returne from England these foure or fve moneths. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alieue to annoy them; that we now came only to discover, and trade with them; and that if her Maiestie should haue sent a power of men, where no enemy was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to inuade, then to defend them: He replied, that this course very wel sorted with the report which they had heard of our Princesse iustice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in beeing able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodnesse in vndertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes possible to assist vs in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceiued, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receiue vs, without molestation or intrusion vpon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling places, if they forsooke one to liue in another: but stode in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or liuing. He then farther desired, that he with his people might haue our fauour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houses, had taken from them many of their wiues and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they liued, to liue in perpetuall slauerie vnder the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deserue some part of this friendship, commended vnto vs an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing vs to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Vrapo, which is the wood, that is usually carried from these parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there sold to the French for trade: he offered, if we would bring our ship neere his port, to put in her lading thereof.

The laos a  
mightie nation.

Ferdinando the  
Indian pilote  
of sir Walter  
Raleigh.

Brasill-wood.

But

But because most of our caske was not yron-bound, and in making stowage-way to remooue it, would haue bene the losse of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie: thinking it sufficient at this time, to haue only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboard our ship, wee were inforced in a darke night to heaue all ouerboord: thinking our selues happy, to haue recouered thither at seuen dayes ende, with safetie of life onely. All which time wee could no where set foote on shore, but rested day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our couertlesse boate, which was sometimes ready to sinke vnder vs. For wee had in this place without comparison more raine, wind, and gustes, then else where at any time. To bee briefe, my men became weake and sicke, and if wee had stayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of vs had euer come aboard againe. I afterwards vnderstood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the yeere vsuall, neere the Island Oncairie, which lyeth North from the riuer Capurwacka some sixe leagues into the sea: and that they hold opinion how this Iland is kept by some euil spirit: for they verily beleue, that to sleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is present death. The only season wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their speech, they diuiding al times by their Moones) at our Winter Solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the Northward of the East, except when the Sunne is on this side of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but most in the night. This our guid is of the laos, who doe al marke themselves, thereby to bee knowne from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a small beast like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can neuer bee done away againe during life. When he had sometime conuersed with our Indians, that went from England with vs, hee became willing to see our country. His sufficiencie, trustinesse, and knowledge is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to steed your Lordship in your designes and purposes. For besides his precise knowledge of all the coast, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworne brother to Putima, who slewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manoa, can direct vs to many golde mines, and in nothing will vndertake more, then hee assuredly will performe.

Unseasonable weather about the Iale of Oncairie.

How the nation of the laos marke themselves, to be knowne from other people.

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads vnder small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaio: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane falles into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and fife fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road vnder Triangle Islands, which are the Westernmost from the rest and stand in fife degrees, which haue also store of fish, foule, deere and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hills and high lands are limits to this bay on ech side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to bee sought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, silke, and Balsamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapassa are here most plentifull: I finde them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinal against the fixe and headach. These riuers, as also others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire ouer rocks, as the riuer Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in most places within the vtmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like Arromaiaries countrey.

Port Howard otherwise called Gowateri.

Next adioyning vnto these, are the riuers Cunanamma, Vracco, Mawara, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oucowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwara, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Desuckaba, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coast trendeth two hundred leagues next hand Westnorthwest. leagues.

From Cape Cecyl to Raleana 200. leagues.



Westnorthwest. In this varietie of goodly riuers, Amonna among the rest powreth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe chanell: his swiftnesse suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe neuer passe lower then Berbice to trade. Aboue Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eastward then Dessekebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I haue seene at any time, doth in any sort neere a trueth, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due vnto them that haue beene, and I hope will still continue fauourers of this enterprize. The Indians to shew the worthinesse of Dessekebe (for it is very large and full of Islands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the the head, they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouision they carrie it on their shoulders one dayes iourney: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such bignes, that they know no difference betweene it & the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth: In this riuier, which we now call Deuoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere since. Arromaiarie, who wan so great credit by ouerthrowing the Tiuitinas of Amana, and making free the passage of that riuier (but now againe liueth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa haue killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes) was present with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas, with whom \* Santiago forsaking his gouernour Berreo, ioyned himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, euery day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hercof grew as followeth.

When Berreo, hauing lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compasse his intended conquest of Guiana: the gouernours of the Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speede into Spaine, to aduertise their king, that Berreo was vtterly vnable to folow this enterprise, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now sojorne in his old dayes at Fasshardo his house, minding nothing else but his solace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an English gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your lordship to be, hauing bene in Guiana, and vnderstanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adioyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had giuen you his onely sonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who aduentured so farre, and in such sort as you did, onely to see, and knowe a certainty, would leaue nothing vnattempted to possesse so rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne presently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his decease, this enterprise by patent did belong, and to bee a weake aduersarie against your selfe, whom at all times you knew easily how to distresse: and that therefore it might be behouefull for his maiestie to reuoke Berreo his grant, and to vse their seruice, who were readie and willing without any delay to vndertake the charge. These newes being at large amplified and deliuered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Camp-master, who was sent into Spaine, fve moneths before your arrivall at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to leuie and furnish 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practise, so solicited this cause in Berreo his behalfe, that present order was giuen for the victualling and manning of tenne ships to be sent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore such

Dessekebe called  
The brother of  
Orenoque.

The great lake  
whereon Manoa  
or El Dorado  
standeth.

In September.

This Spaniard  
vnderstandeth  
the Guianian  
language, and is  
reputed a very  
sufficient man.

waight,

waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

Berreio supposing that these *gouvernours* in sending with such speede into Spaine, meant him no good; to approoue his care and constancie, and that he neuer would yeelde vnder the burthen of his aduerse fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduersaries nor himselfe; returned forthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fiftene men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These *gouvernours* followed him, and assuring themselves of present imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murther Berreio, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreio fledde towards Caroli, where hee stayed hoping for succour from his sonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the riuier from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices busied themselves, some in searching the countrey, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eastward, of which number these were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago passed vp into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe sir George Gifford his man prisoner, who with plentie of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when unhappily to their small comfort the eight and twentie sayles arriued, and tooke Santiago prisoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vanished, and in Canoas recouered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the said ships leauing all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their others directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

Francis Sparrowe  
taken prisoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, seruant to Berreio, that could speake Spanish, whom I tooke in the riuier. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred vp with Berreio. I gaue him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and so left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chased from their dwellings, doe seeke by all meanes possible to accord all the nations in one, so to inuade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in shewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perswaded, that by druing these Arwaccas, who serue the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to seeke habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the riuier Raleana, hauing spent twentie and three dayes in discoverie vpon this coast. The chanell of this riuier hath sixe or seuen fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not aboue fife foote, except at a spring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the first night: the next morning twelue Canoas came vnto vs, furnished and prouided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. These Cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland amongst the Iwarawakeri their neighbours, by which occasion hauing lost some of their wiues (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keepe ten or twelue women, thinking themselves wel and surely blessed, howsoever they liue, if their towne and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recouer this losse vpon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, & required to be ioyned in league of frindship with vs against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing vntil this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that vpon our returne our whole fleet will hasten to set forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would now visite

They anker  
within Raleana,  
or Orenoque.

Spanish Paganisme.

our friends, and helpe them so farre as wee could in any thing that wee should finde needefull presently to bee done. After long discourse (for their chiefe man stayed with mee all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they use in confirming friendship, hee went to the shoare, and one of his Canoas hee sent to bring forwardes the other twentie: one other hee caused to goe vp the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made small fyres, and sitting in their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one sorted himselfe with his companion, recounting amongst themselves the worthiest deedes, and deaths of their Ancestours, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friends with all titles of prayes and honour, that may bee deuised. Thus they sitte talking, and taking Tabacco some two houres, and vntill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patronesse and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanied vs, and in their way shewed vs, where the shoaldes of the riuer doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguarai the first towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is seated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northwesterly from it, that it is but three dayes iourney distant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but sixe dayes farther. That they themselves doe passe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the Riuer Amacur, which though it bee not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in some places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the Riuer doeth first take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border vpon a Sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great Riuer, called Macurwini, passeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manoa standeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth Wiapoco: sixteene dayes from Barima, thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the best way vnto it, is not by Macureguarai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high vp in Orenoque, knowe most the inlande, and of those nations, and they speake no other language, then such as Iohn your Interpreter doeth well vnderstand. Hee certified mee of the headlesse men, and that their mouthes in their breastes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I haue heard of a sorte of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appeare fabulous. Lastly hee tolde mee of an inland Riuer, named Cawrooma, adioyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos haue images of gold of incredible bignesse, and great store of vmanned horses of the Caracas breed: and they dwell fife dayes iourney vp the Riuer about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed vs that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy Cassau bread: and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the Riuer Amana, to Carapana his Port.

Vpon this occasion they tooke counsell, and in the ende desired to returne to their houses, least the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselves, shoulde take away their wiues and spoyle their dwellings. They farther resolued if it were possible to cut them off: which afterwarde they did perfourme. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassau, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent vs this newes, as wee returned downe the Riuer. The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithstanding that wee kept a league before the shippe with our boates, sawe the shippe before wee had sight of them, and presently with all speede went to Berreo to aduertize

Her Mainie.

Machikori the name of the Province where Macureguarai the first towne of Guiana is situate.

Parime an Inland sea of salt water.

They haue eminent heads like dogs, and sing all the daye thre in the sea, they speake the Charibes language.

A sudden assault of the Spaniards by the Indians.



tize him of our comming. Hee forthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoes mette with our spie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals, gaue him kniues, and dismissed him.

In eight dayes sayling still before a winde, wee arriued at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came abourd vs. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordshippes departure from thence being expired; they in dispaire seuered themselves amongst the other nations. Here the Spaniardes haue seated their Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Island, that lyeth in the midst of the Riuer, against the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they misdoubt safetie in their towne, or hauing notice of any practise against them. but now leauing both towne and Island, they ioyned themselves altogether, and returning to the mouth of Riuer Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those ~~mines~~, from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeere: Wee all not without grieffe to see ourselues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witnesses of this their remooue. As we rood at an ancor within musket shot of their Towne, an Indian came vnto vs with lean cheekes, thinne haire, and a squint eye, to informe vs that they were very strong, that Berreo his sonne was with him, that they had but two small Pinnisses at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come vp the Riuer, and lastly to viewe our shippe well, and our prouision, but especially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his sonne were with vs.

A Rancheria or village planted by the Spaniardes at a Port of Topiawary.

This informers very countenance gaue him to bee suspected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promise of rewarde wee wonne him to confesse the trueth. Which hee did, assuring vs that Berreo had not full fiftie fiew men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Trinidad, twentie from Nueuo Reyno, and the rest hee brought with him about sixe moneths since, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driuen with his small companie to keepe the aforesaide Island neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increased yet dareth hee not aduenture at any time to leaue the fast woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That some fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his sonne from Nueuo Reyno, for his Campe-master from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead: the Indians of that coast all fledde, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towards Guanipa, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinsman, hath helde the Countrey to his vse, by his fathers appointment, euer since your being in the Riuer. That there are tenne ships, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, least you with your company were all slaine, and your shippes sunke at Cumanà (for so the Spaniardes noysed it amongst them,) that some of Gualtero his friendes with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for sixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might best command the Riuer.

Topiawarie his sonne.

The common lyes of the Spaniardes.

When wee had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootlesse: I resolved to seeke Putijma in the mountaines: and turning downe the Riuer with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres: the next morning with ten shot I went ashoare, intending if the Indians should thinke themselves too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniardes: to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and kniues to returne vs golde graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed vnto. When wee came to the place of their usuall abode; wee sawe that they lately had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is easie of beliefe) perswaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring vs either to the myne of white stones neere Winicaporá, or else to a gold myne, which Putijma had shewed him, being but one dayes iourney ouerland, from the place where we now stayed at an ancor. I sawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this gold myne, and hauing measured their pathes neere the same place this last

yeere,

yeere, could not iudge it to bee fifteene miles from vs. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this same mountaine, making signes to haue me goe with him thither. I vnderstood his signes and marked the place, but mistooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue shewed mee the ouerfall of the Riuer Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian shewed me in what sort without digging they gather the gold in the sand of a small riuer, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rockes where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniardes, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in consultation, to shewe this myne vnto them if so they might redeeme their Captaines life, but vpon better aduise, supposing them in this case to bee implacable, and that this might prooue a meanes to loose not onely their king, but their Countrey also: they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest and most plentifull. The aged sort to keepe this from common knowledge, haue deuised a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and deuoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring store of strong wine (which they loue beyond measure) with it will vndertake so to charme this Dragon, that he shall doe vs no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to lesse purpose, would very gladly from this mountaine haue taken so good a prooffe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall considering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came vnto vs: that Don Iuan the cousin of Gualtero, who liueth here a reuolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in these partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his sake, whose inheritance hee sought to vsurpe, bee a fast friend vnto vs: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of Berreo his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes but our selues, to make knowne our discoverie, if wee returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spyals, as the Spaniardes kept to obserue our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemy should by our lingring, stop our passage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would bee a question howe with our shippe to get out of the Riuer, except first wee could remooue them: I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforesaid euill passages.

Whilest wee were searching at the shoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a seruant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Cassau. They had a letter sent from the Gouverneur to bee conueied to Trinidad, which I receiued. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this Indian seruant should buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her vp the Riuer towards Nuevo Reyno. This Canoa forsooth with foure other were to bee sent to bring downe Berreo his sonne with all his forces, which nowe haue bene, I thinke, full three yeeres in preparing. If fise such boates bee sufficient to conuoy him, his men and all their prouision: it may seeme, hee cometh with no great strength.

The small forces  
of Ximenes.

This transplan-  
ting of Indians is  
worthy of con-  
sideration.

This seruant as hee was a man of especiall trust, and neere Berreo: so appeared hee to haue some insight in his proceedings. He shewed mee that the Indians, who with these kniues should be hired, were to passe vp so high, as where some of the Cassanari doe dwell in small villages. That Berreo his purpose was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them officers ouer the other Indians: and in their places some of the Cassanari should returne, who likewise should be made Iustices and Constables ouer them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remoue most of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpose them amongst the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possesse Trinidad, and the riuer side of Raleana. That they already were prouided of threescore Negros, to worke the mynes in these places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe these seuerall nations in mutual enmitie each against other, all to serue his turne. and neuer to become strong, or likely to ioyne themselves against

against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawary, soone after our departure from the riuer, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leauing a Substitute in his Countrey, as aforesaide: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the English boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleue neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of Iune, when the Riuer shall bee impassable, the tenne shippes shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo euer since his comming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is such scarcitie, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses, haue not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are inforced to seeke their bread farre off, and content themselues to liue with little.

In sayling vp the Riuer, wee passed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very shoalde, the chanell lying close aboard the shore. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine riuer on the South side: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee sent foue or six seuerall Canoas, promising this day and the next, that hee would come and speake with vs. Thus wee lingred sixe or seuen dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee sent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that hee was sicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not easie: and that therefore he desired vs to holde him excused for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath euer since your Lordshippes being in that Countrey, kept the mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people many of their wiues, because they refused to furnish them weekly with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Iuan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subiects, excepting onely a choise garde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue sought by the Spaniardes meanes, to haue enlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongst them, vntill hee had entered into friendship with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subiectes, that they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and kniues, which are iewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe sawe no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine vs their friendes, or else giue place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe known and discovered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes preuayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, vsing them as their slaues, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their liues, to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherside they could hope for, nor desire no better state and vsage, then her Maiesties gracious gouernment, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure vnto them. For sayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse haue persecuted vs to the vttermost, as the onely maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach vs, take our Townes, and make vs ransome our wiues and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well gouerned companie durst offer any of vs wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when vnknowne they might haue done it. We then beleeuing it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princesse, tooke this for a good prooffe of her royall commandement and wisdom, that had framed her subiectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that inioyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly craue of her Maiestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towards them, hee also may inioy her fauourable protection: that hee doeth

The Port of  
Toparimacko.

The porte of  
Carapana.

Carapana a  
great Lord bar-  
dering vpon  
Guiana cratieth  
her Maiesties  
protection.



doeth this, not as a man left vnto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniards, but as one that knoweth their iniustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, vtterly to disclaime their friendshippe. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to vs seemeth a matter but of small and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred vp in them true loue and admiration thereof. For as gouernement is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, *Omnes hoc iure molesti, quo fortes*: To men, I say, that liue in dayly tumultes, feares, doubtles, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, neuer sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practising one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, iustice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable course of liuing, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetnesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is auayleable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their seruice, and promise to prouide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliuer them from oppression and tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and kniues bee the onely things of request and vsefull vnto them) they haue agreed hy no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Farther this old man shewed mee, whence most of their golde commeth, which is formed in so many fashions: whence their Spleenc-stones, & others of al sorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the sandes of their riuers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, & otherwise, haue returned much gold. This he vttered with Carapana his consent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce vs to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of secrecie, which in this case they doe all generally obserue, sharply punishing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their native Countrey: I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberall of speech in all things.

And because we might knowe, that wee should not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps wee should finde cause to passe vp to the head of this Riuer: hee declared that the Spaniards haue no Indians to trust vnto but some of the Arwaccas, which since they were not many, could bee but of small force; That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongst the Tiuitiuas, the Shebaïos, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Purpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguiams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what side soeuer the Spaniards shall stirre, to fight against them: that the Pariagotos, through whose countrey they must first passe, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and inuulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white stones are found of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that these Pariagotos become inuulnerable, by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may prooue good Diamonds.

Then he shewed howe the Iwarewakeri haue nourished grasse in all places, where passage is, these three yeeres, and that it is at this present so high, as some of the trees; which they meane to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall bee within danger thereof. Lastly, hee shewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together many thousandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South side of the mountaines, some one dayes iourney or little more from the Spaniard. To be short, hee certified mee, that they all were resolved not to seeke vpon them (for indeede they feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our coming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them straggling or decided from their strength, by litle and litle to lessen their number.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes iourney from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to stay with two or three of his company aboard the shippe, and to cause his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee answered

Wariarimagoto  
one of the Em-  
perours of Guiana  
his chiefe Cap-  
taines vp in  
armes against  
the Spaniards.

answered mee that it were not good so to doe, least perhaps some Spie might informe the Spaniards therof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they haue many times vsed many meanes to reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither professing himselfe their enemie, nor in ought shewing them any friendshippe. Nowe (sayde hee) if the Spaniards shall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the least feare not, as being an harmelesse old man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could haue bene content to spend one seuenights more to speake with him) would bee purposelesse. Wherefore hauing assured so many of the Indians as at any time came vnto vs, of our speedie returne, promising them plentie of kniues, beades, and hatchets, if they would reserue their Cassau, and prouide store of their pieces of golde for vs: I desired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might vnderstand of our being in the Riuer and that wee meant to relieue them so soone, as conueniently might bee. Hee promised in Carapana his behalfe, that this should not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the Riuer Arawawo, neere Trinidad, vndertooke also without fayle to ascertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, because so many ships being heere, I doubted least they would take order that no Indian should speake with vs. For so indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewise to ioine with vs, and had prouided fiteene Canoas for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniards one night stealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of Yron to Carapana, and then set sayle.

In turning downe the riuer wee spent eight dayes. In many places where the chanell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is sholdest, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthinesse of this Riuer, because I cannot say ynough, I will speake nothing. Wee haue presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because your selfe was the first of our nation that euer entred the same, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to Amazonas, which is best known by the name of Orellana, the first discoverer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to passe so long away in so short a time, against the winde, may sufficiently prooue, that the chanell is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that wee can desire. Without the mouth of this Riuer, our Pinnesse, the Discoverer, whome wee lost neere the coast of England, came vnto vs. Shee fell with this land somewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had spent three weekes and odde daves in ranging alongst the coast, when shee mette with vs. William Downe the Master informed mee that they entred, and searched these foure riuers. In Wiapoco they sayled so farre, vntill the rockes stopped their passage. In Caiane they went vp one dayes iourney. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the last Riuer they had beene in. Whence, hauing no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his will: whom afterwarde I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not

The chanel of Raleana, or Orellana, is very large & good. They meete with their Pinnesse.

Our English that to steale the first blessing of an vtraded place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. They may bee assured, that this people, as they no way sought our harme, but vsed our men with all kindnesse: so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to haue any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtlesse seeke reuenge. The example of the like practise vpon the coast of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wats his shippe hardly escaped being taken, may serue for our warning in like case to looke for no good, before they bee satisfied for this iniury.

A good cauat.

When wee had taken aboarde vs such victuals as were in the Pinnesse: wee set fire in her,

The Isle of  
Tabago.

her, (for her Rudder could serue her to no longer vse) and stopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the shoare, vntill wee were sixteene leagues to the Eastwarde of the Riuers mouth, and then standing off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres sayling with Punta de Galera the Northeasternmost part of Trinidad. But hauing Tabaco-island in sight, wee first went thither. This Island is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle. It is not nowe inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are euill neighbours vnto it. They of Trinidad haue a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also. The Gouvernour of Margarita went lately in a Pinnesse to viewe this Island. Gilbert my Pilot who sometime liued there, noteth it for the best and fruitfulest ground that hee knoweth.

Most dangerous  
Canibals.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and anchored in tenn fathome vnder the North side of the Island some fiue or sixe miles from the sayde point. The flood-tyde striketh alongst the coast to the Eastward very strongly. Wee discharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the shoore in our boat: but no Indian came vnto vs. I would haue sent Iohn of Trinidad to procure some of them to speake with vs: but he was altogether vnwill- ing, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that hee knewe no part of that side of the Island. From this place we set sayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recouered, by turning vnder the lee of the island. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promising vs store, and delaying vs from day to day, sought onely oportunitie to betray, take, and eate vs, as lately they had deuoured the whole companie of a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaues reuealed, from thenceforth they did all forbear to come vnto vs. To sit downe on their lowe stooles, when they by offering such ease, will seeme to shewe curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But hauing intelligence of a Spanish shippe, that was taking in of fresh water, at the Northwest side of the Island, wee wayed ancor to seeke him. Hee discrying vs, stole away by night. The Indians of this place haue determined to remooue, and ioine with them of Guanipa, against the Spaniardes, who lately dispeopled one of their Islands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified vs, that the tenn Spanish shippes at Trinidad doe ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small llands neere the disemboging place. Herehence we steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Thus haue I emptied your purse, spending my time and trauell in following your lordships directions for the full discoverie of this coast, and the riuers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remediesse. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publique good that may ensue, had not ouerpoysed all other hopes and desires: I would rather haue aduentured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with safetie. Nowe although in a cause not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet because the weightinesse thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claime something to bee sayde by mee, whome your especiall trust and fauour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my speach, which is altogether vnsauorie, season it selfe with some of the leauen of your owne discourse touching this discoverie. The particular relation of some certaine things I haue reserued, as properly belonging to your selfe, who onely, as knowing most, can make best vse thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may serue to refresh the memorie of this worthie enterprise in those whome it may concerne, and testifie your care and expence in following the same: that in a second age, when in time trueth shall haue credite, and men wondering at the riches, and strength of this place (which nature it selfe hath maruelously fortified, as her chiefe treasure-



treasure-house) shall mourne and sigh to holde idle cicles, whilst others reape and gather in this haruest; it bee not sayde, that Sir Walter Raleigh was of all men liuing in his dayes, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulnesse of an inestimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuie and priuate respectes, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others; If (I say) seeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his Princesse, and countrey seruice; and had but perfected his first discoverie by sending a shippe or two for that purpose: for then surely all lets and doubts being remooued, and so large a kingdome, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to bee, being offered: no deuises and vaine surmises could haue taken place, no illusions could haue preuailed: it had bene blindnesse and deafenesse in those, that being neere her Maiestie doe spend their dayes in seruing the common weale, not to see, and knowe in so weightie a matter: it had bene malicious obstinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treason to the common wealth, the matter standing onely vpon acceptance, to seeke either to foreslowe so fit an occasion, or forsake so generall a blessing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good.

This your seconde discoverie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreouer yeeldeth choyse of fourtie seuerall great riuers (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels nauigable for our marchants & others, that do now finde little profit in setting forth for reprisall, to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to aduenture in search of them, I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certaine assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our beleefe seemeth to bee mated in these greater matters, and a certaintie of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going so farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promise in the aforesayd riuers Brasil-wood, honey, cotton, Balsamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, because without a beginning there can bee no continuance of these benefites vnto our countrey to any that shall be the first vnder-takers hereof, I am gladly content to giue such light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I haue attained vnto.

My selfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I haue bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts liue onely in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in it selfe iust, profitable, and necessarie. Iust, because it is intended for the defence of harmlesse people, who fearing thralldome and oppression, desire to protect themselves and their countrey vnder her Maiesties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discoverie, and since that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations: and lastly, by the prouision that the Spaniards doe make to acquite vs thereof. Necessary it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the vnbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treasure of Nueuo Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians, with our assistance to seeke reuenge for the extreme murthers and cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the Inland; whose foundations haue bene layd in the blood of their parents and ancestors.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the passage of this riuier, are an euident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequelle of this discoverie. For can it bee a small matter? Or hath hee so waste employment for his men and shipping, that vpon no ground, hee would send eight and twentie shippes, to keepe vs onely from Tabacco: For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde vs: No doubtlesse, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-master with tenne of these shippes bee compared with precedent aduertisements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue already

gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot bee thought that either it was senselesse madnesse in the gouernours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their states and liues in question, by seeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearle in Margarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana onely was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it selfe to redeeme their trespassse and offence, howe great soeuer it should bee.

The sundry attempts and ouerthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three yeeres and vpwordes, to enlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainly shewe, that they long time sought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the losse of their liues witnesseth their desires, and the worthinesse of the thing, where to vs the easinesse of obtaining discrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the last they doe preuaile, they must holde by tyrannie that which they get by the sword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those obiections, which haue beene made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they haue supposed, are best answered by the vnreprooued witnesse of those mens actions. Some haue termed these discoueries fables, and fantasies, as if there had beene no such land or territoric: others allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdome or countrey is discouered, make conclusion, that if it had beene so rich as wee haue supposed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time haue possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and prouinces: wee may very well answere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath beene by all those seuerall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whose names is by it selfe hereunto annexed) at sundry times vndertaken, and neuer perfourmed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancie, and their great labours, and wee may well blush at our owne idle, despairfull, and loytering dispositions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and sterued nation, to possesse so much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments against our selues, as vnfit and powerlesse to possesse one prouince already discouered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the peoples loue, and that all the Chieftaines and principals haue vowed their obedience to her Maiestie; the nauigation being withall so short, dangerlesse, and free from infectious sicknesse. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once moued with steadfast hope, that golde shall bee the reward of their trauels: it may easily bee perceiued, that all those lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wrested so much, as but to touch vs, doe deeply and neerely concerne the Spanish king, and in a maner violently withhold him from that, which hee notwithstanding carrieth with successe, whilest wee out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie seare peece of leather, & then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shewe vnto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings residence, be alwayes full of stirs, tumults and insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keepe it selfe from dissolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue so faithfull and incorrupt counsellors, as bee the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke that the Gouernours of the Spanish affaires should minde it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish ouer all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then hee can make, are settled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselves, and hat

hate to heare the voyce of a stranger. It is not vnlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatall destinies of many worthies, that haue beene constrained for wante of sufficient numbers of their naturall subiects, after many yeeres spent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and haue beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, resigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduenture, and much effusion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but discern, that his spacious empires and kingdomes being so many, and so farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous bodie, tyed together with cables onely. For take away the traffique of vnnecessarie commodities transported out of Spaine: those huge countreys of the Indies hauing no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themselues able to maintaine themselues without forreine commerce, are not so simple, as not to knowe their owne strength, and to finde, that they doe rather possesse Spaniardes, then that they are possessed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it selfe is on all sides enuironed with many puissant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reason, proud and aduenturous without meanes sufficient: may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder, and disturber of all quietnesse; and going no further then Spaine it selfe, may euen there shake the foundation of his long contriued deuises, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aspiring humor, and breake the bandes in sunder that import seruitude, and subuersion to all the dominions of Christendome. Againe, his counsell may well informe him, that to dispeople and disable himselfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey strong of it selfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered vnto the English: his contempt towardes vs would seeme so intollerable and despihtfull, as might bee sufficient to prouoke vs, though otherwise wee had no such inclination; if hee vnprouided of able helpes to effect it, should rest himselfe on a carelesse presumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not stirre in a matter that promiseth vs so great benefite, and may so highly offend him. Hee may bee perswaded, that to leaue no other succour or safetie to his nakednesse, but the olde stale practise of spreading rumours, and giuing out false intelligences of preparations to inuade England, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and suborning some Machauellian vnder hande by secret conueyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wilde outlaw to disquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine stay to vpholde his estate by. And yet setting such like driftes aside: what can bee imagined likely to hinder vs from preuailing in Guiana, rather then him, whose disadvantage is to bee encombred with the selfe same, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee supposed, with good cause to impeach, or diuorce vs frō so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king not being able to dissemble his desire, or beare the losse of this one kingdome; putting himselfe out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, bee resolved, whatsoeuer shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other assurance, but a peremptorie disdain of preuention: If hee appaare so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongst themselves, *Vnus & modis* to thrust for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleue any thing, that may dissuade or deterre from the conquest thereof: it then appertaineth vnto vs, not to inforce those obiections against our selues, which hee with lesse reason reiecteth as friuolous; since by howe much the more earnest hee is in following this purpose, by so much the lesse cause haue wee to bee diuerted from it. To such as shall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for breuities sake, I doe propose onely this bare assertion: that England and Guiana conioyned, are stronger, and more easily defended, then if England alone should repose her selfe on her owne force, and powerfullnesse. The reasons that might bee inferred to prove this neede no rationall discourse: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it selfe; which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterprise hath bene produced for a discouragement: it were a dull conceite of strange

weakenes



weakenes in our selues, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie, aboue vs; as to bee able to seate himselfe amongst the many mightie princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subiection The Philippinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the nauigation being so tedious and full of perill: to suffer our selues to bee put backe for worthlesse cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being now also by the late conquest of Portugall, entituled to the Spanish king: to whom the Colonies of those parts doe yet generally refuse to sweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in gouerning them in the East, so farre off; but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, & ill guarded empires and prouinces in the West: It might very well bee alleaged to the sayde Spanish king, that it were more wisdomes for him to assure and fortifie some part of those already gotten, then to begin the conquest of Guiana, so farre separate from the rest of his Indies: in which hee hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the naturall people are so impetuously bent, and opposed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold, and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not meere wretchednesse in vs, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriuing a cauilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselves vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres:

If wee doe but consider, howe unhappily Berreo his affaires, with his assistants haue of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge succeeded: who can say, if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in stead of Papistrie, to make the sincere light of his Gospell to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall bee a royall crowne of euerlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianitie in those partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked, & sheeplike creatures of God; erecting statues and trophees of victorie vnto themselves, in the slaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore succourlesse ascend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workmanship of his owne hands? Or shall not his iudgements in a day of visitation by the ministerie of his chosen servant, come on these bloodthirstie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifesta; aliquando occulta; semper iusta sunt Dei iudicia.

Her Maestie.

To leaue this digression, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth soueraigne power, authoritie, and commaundement. The riuer of Raleana giueth open and free passage, any prouision that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithstanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horse, munition, and victuall for any power of men that shall be sent thither.

I doe speake it on my soules health, as the best testimonie, that I can in any cause yeelde to auerre a trueth, that hauing nowe the second time beene in this country, and with the helpe of time and leisure well aduised my selfe vpon all circumstances to bee thought on; I can discerne no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Maestie may to her and her successours enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer, (by the fauour of God) holde and keepe it, Contra Iudeos & Gentes. Subjects, I doubt not, may through her Maesties gracious sufferance, ioyning their strength together, inuade, spoyle, and ouerrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuities can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other course then such, as tendeth to a priuate and present benefite; considering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruities, howe, and wheresoeuer the charge shall growe, to bee annexed vnto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any priuate

private estate: no question, they will rather prooue sufficient to crosse and counteruaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Christendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessitie of following this enterprise doth nothing vrge vs, because in some case better a mischiefe, then an inconuenience: let the conueniencie thereof somewhat moue vs, in respect both of so many Gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke easefulnesse; are enforced for maintenance sake, sometimes to take shamefull and vnlawfull courses: and in respect of so many handycraftsmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleannesse of teeth and pouertie, To sacrifice the children of Belial vnto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, because the lawe of God doeth not prohibite it, and the execution of iustice requireth it to bee so. but yet if the waterboughes, that sucke and feede on the iuice, and nourishment that the fruitfull branches should liue by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and prosperous bee that right hande, that shall plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase, and growe to good: thrise honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discouerie and search, both in your owne person, and since by mee. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maiestie, to set on her seale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuise frustrate the rest, the good which shall growe to our enemies, and the losse which will come to her Maiestie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres shewe it selfe. Wee haue more people, more shippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweete a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that hee is lorde of so many empires and kingdomes already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that hee attended this yeere a home inuasion. yet hee sent twentie eight saile to Trinidad, whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had some other shippes ready at Cadiz, if the same had not bene by my Lordes her Maiesties Generals and your lordship set on fire.

In one worde; The time serueth, the like occasion seldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated considerations doe all ioyntly together importune vs, nowe, or neuer to make our selues rich, our posteritie happie, our Prince euery way stronger then our enemies, and to establish our Countrey in a state flourishing and peaceable. O let not then such an indignitie rest on vs, as to depraue so notable an enterprise with false rumors, and vaine suppositions, to sleepe in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and soueraigntie of so famous a conquest, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

A Table of the names of the Riuers, Nations, Townes, and Casiques or Captaines  
that in this second voyage were discovered.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
1	Arowari great.	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.		
2	Iwaripoco very great.	Mapurwa- nas, Iaos.		
3	Maipari great.	Arricari.		
4	Caipurogh great.	Arricurri.		

1 These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speake the Triutiuas language: so likewise doe the nation of the Arricari, who haue greater store of those monyes then any others.

2 Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his Emeralds. In one of these two riuers certain Frenchme

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
5	Arcooa great.	Marowanas, Charibes.		
6	Wiapoco great.	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco.		
7	Wanari.	Charibes.		
8	Capurwacka great.	Charibes.		
9	Cawo great.	Iaos.	Icomana.	Wareo.
10	Wia great.	Maworia, Charib.	Parammona, great.	Mashwipo.
11	Caiane g. Gowateri a great iland.	Wiaco. Ch. Shebaios.	Canawi. g. Orinikero.	Parawatteo.
12	Macuria.	Piraos. Ch.		
13	Cawroora.	Arawaccos Charib.		
14	Manmanuri.	Ipaios. Ch.		
15	Cureey.	Shebaios.		
16	Curassiwin.	Shebaios.	Musswara. great.	Ocapanio.
17	Cunanama.	Iaos Arwaccas.	Waritappi. great.	Carinamari. Curipotoore.
18	Vracco. Moruga.	Arwaccas. Arwaccas.		Marwabo. Eramacoa. Aranacoa.
19	Mawari.	Winicinas. Arwaccas.	Iwanama.	
20	Mawarpari.	Arwaccas.	Awaricana	Mahaho- nero.
21	Amonna very great. Capellepo. g.	Charibes.	Iaremappo. very great.	
22	Marawini. g.	Paracuttos.		
23	Owcowi.			
24	Wiawiami.			
25	Aramatappo.			
26	Wiapo.			

Frenchmē that suffred shipwrack some 2. or 3. yeres since, doe lue.

3. 4. 5. These with the other two seeme to bee branches of the great riuier of Amazones. When wee first fell with land, wee were, by 5 Indians report, but 1. dayes iourney from the greatest riuier, that is on that coast.

6 The first mountaines y appeare within lande, doe lie on the East side of this riuier. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe passe with their canoas in 20. dayes to the salte lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many Cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one frō another. where it falles into the sea, hills do inclose it on both sides.

10 The freshet shoots out into the sea, with great force. the sea doth here sometimes campe high, and breake, as if it were full of rocks: but in prooffe it is nothing els but the pride & force of the tydes. In this bay, & round about, so far as the mountaines do extend there is great store of Brasill wood, some of it bearing farre darker colour then other some. Here are also many sortes of other good woods.

14 These speake the language of the Indiās of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue peecemeale. This torment is not cōparable to the



Riuers.	Nations	Townes.	Captains.
27 Macuruma.			
28 Carapi.			
29 Vraca.			
30 Chaimawimini great.	Carepini.		Caponaiarie.
31 Ecrowto.	Charib.		
32 Pawro.	Vpotommas.	Maripomma.	
	Arwaccas.		
33 Shurinama.	Carepini.		
g.	Chari.		
34 Shurama g.	Carepini.	Cupari.	
35 Northubria or Cupanama very g.	Char.		
	Arwaccas.		
36 Wioma.			
37 Cushwini.	Neekeari.	Tawrooromene.	Neperwari.
38 Inana. g.		Owaripoore.	
	Carepini.		
39 Curitini. g.	Arwaccas.	Mawronama.	
	Parawianni.		
40 Winitwari g.		Maiapoore.	
		Cariwacka.	
41 Berbice. g.	Arwaccas.	Aneta.	Warawaroco.
		Manacobeece.	
		Eppera.	
		Parawian-nos.	
		Lupulee.	
42 Wapari.	Shebaios.	Madewini.	Benmurwagh.
	Arwaccas.		
43 Maicawini.	Panapi.		
	Arwaccas.	Itewee.	Caporaco. great Cap.
44 Mahawaica.	Arwaccas.	Maburesa. g.	
45 Lemerare. g.	Wacawaios.	Maburesa. g.	
46 *Deuoritia or Dessekebe very g.	Arwaccas.		
	Iaos.		
	Shebaios.		
	Arwaccas.		
Matorooni.	Charibes.		
Coowini.	Maripai.		
Chipanama.	Wecowaic.		
Arawanna.	Parawianni.		
Iiorebece.	Iwarewakeri		
47 Pawrooma.		Caiaremappo.	
g.	Iaos.	Waroopana.	Macapowa.
Aspacaro.		Maripa.	
		Chipariparo.	
		B b	

the deadly paine that cometh of hurts, or woundes, made by those arrowes that are inuenomed w<sup>th</sup> the iuice of y<sup>e</sup> herbe Wapototo. These Indias because they eate them whome they kill, vse no poyson. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they haue much wasted themselues, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts so farre as Orenoque, they liue in league and peace.

21. Neere the head of this riuer, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, and runneth into the Sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians liue in this riuer.

39. This riuer, as also most of the rest, is not nauigable aboue sixe dayes iourney by reason of rockes. It is tenne dayes iourney to the head, where the Guianians do dwel: hony, yarne or cotton, silke, Balsamum, and Brasil-beds are here to bee had in plentie, and so all the coast alongat Eastward. Some images of golde, spleenestones, and others may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinarily esteeme of them, because euery where they are current money.

They get their Moones, & other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heades, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas

\* So called after the name of the eight honourable the Earle of Essex.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.	
	Ecawini. Manurawini.	Panipi.	Towtwi. Sarinbugh. Wariwagh.	Shuracoima.	Canoas, they receiue pieces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers sorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.
48	Moruga. g. Piara. Chaimera- goro.	Iaos. Arwaccas.	Cooparoore. g. Awiapari. Topoo.	Manare- cowa. Iarwarema.	
49	Waini. g.	Charibes.	Tocoopoima. g.	Parana.	
50	Barima. g. Caitooma. Arooca.	Charibes. Arwaccas.	Pekwa. g. Arwakima.	Anawra. Aparwa. Arracurri.	Names of poysoned hearbes.
51	Amacur. g.				Ourari. } {Apareepo.
52	Aratoori. g. Cawrooma. g. Raleana, or Orenoque. Maipar Ita caponea Owarecapa- ter. Waruca- nasso.				Carassi. } {Parapara.
		{Halls in the mouth of Rale- ana.			Hearbes good against poyson.
					Turara. } {Wapo. Cutarapama. } {Macatto.

The 29. day of Iune  
we arriued in Portland  
roade, hauing spent five  
moneths in going, stay-  
ing, and returning.

Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that haue sought to discover and conquer Guiana: Extracted out of the writings of Iuan de Castellanos clerigo, who compiled the booke intituled, *Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias*.

The enterprise of Guiana was vndertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the riuer of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the riuer of Orenoque, which we past in fiftene. Hee named the riuer by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad some five leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterwards at sea in returning for Spaine.

2 Iuan Corteso arriued at the riuer of Amazonas or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched vp into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did re-  
turne againe.

3 Gaspar de Sylua, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the riuer of Amazonas: but staying there a short time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Iuan Gonsales set saile from Trinidad to discover Guiana. He reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, so farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Vpon such proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his report, many others aduentured to follow his steps.

5. 6 Philip de Vren, & after him Pedro de Limpas, who both successiueely commanded the Almains, were leaders in this action. Limpas was slaine by an Indian Casique name<sup>d</sup> Porima.

7 Ieronimo

The riuer of  
Amana by  
which Sir Wal-  
ter Raleigh first  
entred, called by  
Diego de Ordas  
Viapari: and by  
Barth. de Casas  
Iuis Pari.

7 Ieronimo de Ortal vndertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great trauell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9 Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the prouinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other iewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee assayed the second time to passe in like maner, but was slaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa also vndertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Iuan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres vndertooke this discouery from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders vpon the sayd kingdome of Granada. Hee rested there and peopled that place.

14 It was also attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two seuerall times. Hee endured great miserie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. Hee sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was also vndertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado ioyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to discouer El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this iourney hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom hee manacled in yrons; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleshed on those dead carkeisses, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselves from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the riuer Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16 Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horsemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaines, serued well for his purpose. By which occasion he found meanes to passe so farre, vntill he came to an Indian Casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gaue him for a present some rich iewels of golde, sixe seemely pages, tenne young slaues, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three prouinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These prouinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and haue an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curtesies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay holde on: they conueyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for slaues. Delgado afterwards was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Losada succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende wasted themselves in mutinies: those that liued returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoso vndertooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his minde, he gaue it ouer, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19 Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560. sought it with 400. Spaniards by the riuer of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Motijones. As they passed downe the riuer, they found Synanom trees. His men murdered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Frier Francis Montesino was in the prouince of Maracapana with 100 souldiers bound for Guiana, whē Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended iourney is not expressed.

In this discouerie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who discouered the riuer of Amazonas An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that haue trode this maze, and lost themselves in seeking to finde this countrey.



## An advertisement to the Reader.

IN this Breuiarie, the names onely are comprised of such, as being led with the generall fame of Guiana, haue indeuoured to discouer and possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or englished at large, as we in these Elegies finde them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so many caualleros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time haue performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdomes; I haue therefore thought it good here to alleage those reasons, which by circumstance may bee gathered to haue bene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may bee the remotenesse or distance of their places of Rendeuous, from El Dorado: which appeare to be soure, Nueuo reyno, the mouth of Amazonas or Orellana, Cubagua or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

1 From Moioyamba, where Orellana hath his head-spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. Raleana riseth neere the said mountaines in Moioyamba, & tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other: Guiana is enuironed with these 2 freshwater-seas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is besides guarded with impassable mountaines which inclose and defend it on all parts, excepting Topiawaries countrey. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heart, & life of those Spaniards, who sought it frō Nueuo Reyno, were allayed & spent, before they came neere to it, in those long, desolate & vncomfortable wayes.

2 From Cubagua to seeke it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to saile directly from Spaine. And to passe ouer land is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coast of The Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, haue now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards traouelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, ouerlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit; yet hath it otherwise done them much harme, in hardening and driuing those nations to desperate resolutions.

3 From the mouth of Orellana to seeke entrance with any number of men, & to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any seeking it that way, haue at any time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable iourneys.

4 From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doeth it promise best likelyhood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the river of Raleana.

The second, The Spaniards haue bene so farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the Guiana-cause, that amongst so many attempts, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to preuaile, free from discords, mutinies, and cruell murders amongst themselues.

Thirdly. The Spaniardes in this place haue mist that aduantage, which elsewhere hath steeded themselues in all their conquestes: namely, the dissensions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one prouince conteining in circuit not about 20. leagues, haue maintained warres about these 30. yecres against all the Spaniards, and in despight of them haue kept their owne countrey, oftentimes discouraging their enemies in many set battels, burning and destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason whereof I take to bee, because no Indian nation was enemy vnto them. And howsoeuer the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exployts in the Indies: yet doe their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the ayde of the Indians diuided among themselues, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had neuer bene Spanish.

Lastly. I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediately to the diuine providence: for by  
him

him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to bee warned by miracle from heauen) wee neede no further assurances, then wee already haue to perswade our selues, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserue this empire for vs.

The third voyage set forth by sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, with a pinnesse called The Watte, in the yeere 1596. Written by M. Thomas Masham a gentleman of the companie.

Vpon Thursday the 14. of October 1596. we set saile from Limehouse vpon the riuer of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Ianuarie in the morning we came to the North side of the Island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to haue gotten a boate to serue vs vpon the coast of Guiana, but the winde was so great, that we could not lanch our shalope: so we past along by the roade and the towne, and at length saw a boate lying on shoare, which being too bigge for vs, wee ripped vp, and wooded our selues with her. That day wee descryed a saile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Island of Mayo for salte. Wee fell in consort with her, and that night stode for the Southermost part of the Island there to water, where wee stayed all the next day, and watered at the Southsouthwest part thereof. That night wee weyed and stode away together Southsoutheast, and South and by East, purposing by their perswasion to goe for the riuer Doro. The 28. of Ianuarie wee made the furthestmost part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with M. Benjamin Wood with his fleete of 3 sailes bound for the straights of Magellan & China, to wit, The Beare, The Whelpe, and The Benjamin: who told vs that there was no good to be done in the riuer Doro. Whereupon we stood along with them for Cape Blanco, vnto which we came vpon Sunday night next following. And vpon Munday morning the first of Februarie, we saw two ships in a sandie bay: so wee stirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indies, and put all into the bay, where wee refreshed our selues with fish, in which there was infinite store, and stayed there vntill Thursday the 5. at which time wee stood vp with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his pinnesse, who put forth right afore vs, and another Frenchman and his carauel well manned: So all we 5. English came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many shots out of euery ship both English and French, all our capitaines were inuited to a feast aboard the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Isle of Fogo, if God would giue vs leaue.

The same day we all weyed and stode along for the Isle of Sal, vnto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the West part thereof: in which Island wee had good store of goates and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling vpon the Island that we could see. Wee could finde no fresh water vpon it, but one standing puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines vpon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being ouercome with drinke, hauing bene aboard our Generall at a feast) being on shoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was slaine, and their chiefe captaine sorely wounded: by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnesse which they were about, the French admiral and the carauel stayed behind. So wee in the Watte, and the other 6. ships weyed the 10. of Februarie, and stood away for the isle of Maio. This night the other two French shippes that came from Sal with vs (as it seemeth of purpose, because their consorts were not with them) lost vs. The next morning wee sawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compassed the Northermost part of the Island, and master Benjamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southermost, and came all to an anker together at the Southwest part thereof: where rode sixe sayles of Flemmings lading salte; who had brought their horses and cartes, and wheele-barrowes, and planks for their barrowes to runne vpon. Here is abundance of salte in this Island made by Gods hande without mans labour. These tolde vs that there were thirtie sayles more, which sell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it vp with much adoe, & came thither also for salte. This trade may bee very beneficiall

M. Benjamin Wood bound for The South sea.

Cape Blanco.

The Island of Sal.

36 sailes of Flemmings at Maio for salt.

beneficial to England, considering the dearness of salte. Of goates on this Island there is such store, as is incredible, but to those that haue seene them: and it is a wonder howe they live one by the other, the ground being stonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twentie Mountainiers, which got one of the Flemmings men stragling, and God knoweth what they did with him: for they sawe him no more. This Island is somewhat lowe and round, hauing no great mountaines vpon it.

Here ended our determination concerning the inuading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboat of Dartmouth lading salte, and the China-fleete to refresh themselues with goates, who as I haue heard since had at the village (from whence the Mountainiers were fledde into the furthest partes of the Island and rocks) great store of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee set saile and stood for the coast of Wiana, which wee were bound for.

Vpon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that setteth from the Cape of Buena Esperança along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away Northwest.

The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was Westsouthwest, wee stode away West and by South: by reason whereof, and of the current that set vs to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then wee lay away Southwest, because wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place intended: which if wee should bee put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recouer it.

By Thursday wee were within one degree  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee halled away West and by South, and West among. This night wee sounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, so wee made another sound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but saw no lande, and in the afternoone wee halled away Westnorthwest, Northwest, and Northnorthwest. In the night wee sounded diuers times, and had twelue, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday wee had a thick red water, and had seuen and eight fathoms both day and night, and vpon Sunday morning by day being the seuen and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended neerest as wee fell with it, South and by East, North and by West about two degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$  toward the North. Right on head of vs was a Cape or head land, so that had wee bene shot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee should hardly haue doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boords, and stopping euery tyde, it was the Tuesday following before wee cleared our selues of the bay, and recouered the Cape. Nowe the land trended Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. And still wee were faine to anker euery tyde sometimes in foure fathoms, and sometimes in three, as farre as wee could see land. So about night wee sawe Cape Cecill: and after some two houres came to an anker. Betweene these two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and euen.

Cape Cecil is  
3 degrees and a  
half.

Vpon Wednesday morning, hauing the winde large at Eastnortheast, wee layd it away vpon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the riuers mouth in two fathoms: ouer the barre there is litle water, as 6 and 7 foote, and lesse in many places. And this riuer of Wiapoucou standeth almost in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line.

The riuer of  
Wiapoucou  
almost in 4 de-  
grees North

The next morning wee weyed, and standing in with our pinnesse by night, wee got some eight leagues vp the riuer. This day sometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being soft oaze we went cleere: and a litle before wee came to anker, wee were on ground vpon a rocks, but with some trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Vpon Friday the 4 of March towards night wee came to the falles. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Master, my selfe and some 5 more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee passed by many, yet were there more still one above the other. So that finding no In-  
dians



dians in this riuer to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice vs to come to so short allowance, as wee must haue done, if wee had spent any long time here, finding it ouer hard to passe the falles, wee fell downe the riuer againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleered our selues of the riuer and bay. This riuer from the mouth to the falles is some 16 leagues, in many places a mile ouer, but for the most part halfe a mile. There are many Islands in it: as are also in most of the riuers vpon the coast. This night wee ankered against Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to haue put with our pinnesse: Cawo. but found the water so shoald, and the sea so growen, that neither with our shippe nor shalope wee durst goe in.

On Saturday by noone wee came to anker vnder one of the 7 Islands: vpon which going <sup>The 7 Islands.</sup> on shoare wee found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plumbes which are good to eate.

Vpon Sunday after dinner our Master William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some Tabacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboard all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded <sup>Aramatto a great towne.</sup> with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to vs, and wee went on shoare to them: and from thence our Captaine sent a canoa with seuen men, which had euery one of them a knife to goe backe to the riuer of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that because wee coule not come to him, wee would stay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to vs. So vpon Thursday the 17 wee stode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 8 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to vs with their canoas, which brought vs great store of victuals and some Tabacco, shewing themselves very kinde and louing, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on shoare by vs vntill Ritimo came: at whose comming they returned all vp to their townes againe, which was vpon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tabacco. <sup>The Caribes of Wias tractable people.</sup>

After that they had made known their mindes of the desire that they had to haue the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, hauing by their meanes from the shoare watered, because the riuers morth was salte, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, & passing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoalds, rockes, and great windes, beeing a lee shoare; and for want of a good shalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in fise fathoms neere The Triangle Islands called The Careres. And vpon Saturday standing to the Westward, wee <sup>The Careres.</sup> stopped against the towne of Maware, which is a little to the Westward of the towne Coma- <sup>Maware.</sup> namo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are some 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to vs as before with such things as they had themselves in vse, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and flaxe. From whence wee departed vpon Munday following the 28 of March 1597.

And passing by the riuers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a small riuer, and is shoald off, wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and fise fathoms, wee stood into the riuer: and the same day came to an anker some 2 leagues <sup>Marawinne a riuer.</sup> in against the mouth of Cooshepwinne, which riuer goeth into Amana. Into which, (vnderstanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we sent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in: And finding the people something pleasant, hauing drunke <sup>Marrac, towne.</sup> much that day, being as it seemed a festiuall day with them, yet were they very searefull and ready to run away at the first sight of vs, hauing seldome scene any Christian before. But assoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to vs and used vs kindly, and brought vs victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with diners canoas, & traded with vs, and wee went in againe to them on shore, who made very much of vs, and carried

vs

Quiparia a  
towne of the  
Caribes.

to from house to house, and made vs eate and drinke in euery house which wee came in. And the next day following being the last of March, hauing the captaine of Marrack with vs, wee weyed and stode into the riuer, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker some eight leagues within the riuer, a little short of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they sawe vs come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, vntill the captaine of Marrack which was with vs in the boate, leaped ouerboord and swamme on shoare vnto them, and told them that wee were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

Macirria a  
towne.

Vpon whose report they came before night sixe or seuen canoas aboard vs, yet very fearefull, because there was neuer either shippe or Christian seene in that riuer before. The first of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and stood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amano to vs, with great store of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and because wee mette with some sholds, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinnesse: so there wee mored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleuen of vs (Master Monax hauing the gouernment of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went into the riuer farther to search it so farre as wee could, and that night gatte some fiue leagues from our shippe. And betweene two villages, Awodwaier and Ma-peributto, we tooke vp our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our course still vnto the riuer, and in the afternoone came to one house where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelue leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beastes.

A rich countrey.

On Munday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this riuer about two in the afternoone: and hauing shotte vp some of the rockes, wee went on shore vpon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the last house, whether the falles were passable or not: their first answer was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to loose so much labour, and the sight of that vpper rich countrey, which wee desired, told them that they should haue victuals of vs (though God knoweth wee had none for our selues) who seeing vs so importunate, sayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canoas: which they sayde because indeed they had no victuals: which by some was taken for sufficient to proceede no farther, and so wee left off, and onely stayed some two houres vpon the island, and with the swiftnesse of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that small canoa that I was in, being so leake, that my selfe did nothing but laue out the water, to lead them the way, and if they sawe any danger to mee, they might chuse whether they would come into it or not themselves.

Bowes handled  
with golde.

For seeing the countrey aboue was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie stature for talnes) wee should haue taken the more paines, and haue fared the harder, vntill wee had gotten vp in the countrey which wee sawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any sort to cary vs vp, yet the woods doe yeld fruites and the palmito trees afforde meate, whereby wee might haue made shift to liue, vntill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreshed with victuals, and also haue reaped that, which might haue done vs good as long as wee had liued.

Pitch to trim  
shippes.

But to retorne to the rest of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our shippe, which was the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wednesday wee fell with our Pinnesse to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the towne, and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and vntill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on shore, which was vpon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindly vsed of them, and had victuals, and euery thing we needed of them.

And so taking our leaue on Tuesday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of

of Cusse-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the riuer had prouided and brought <sup>The riuer of Cusse-winne.</sup> to vs such infinite store of potatoes, and Guiney-wheate, that the stewarde sayd wee had no stowage for them; and so they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to shorter allowance home ward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to haue done.

On Fryday the fifteeneth of Aprill, wee put foorth of Marawinne, which is some foure <sup>Marawinne.</sup> leagues ouer, and within one league and an halfe for the most part broad; full of islands, and diuers small riuers running into it: and it is betweene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the most part South Southwest vp, altering some 3 poynts, being almost streight. And standing along to the Westward, this night we tryed with our mayne coarse and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to haue gone into Cuppa- <sup>Sewramo.</sup> namo: but sending off our boat & finding vncertaine sounding, sometime 3 fathomes and presently 9 fote, we stood along to Coritine and came into it vpon the Munday being <sup>Coritine riuer.</sup> the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker against Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the towne hauing hunted a Doe, shee tooke soyle & came neer our ship, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like vnto our deere in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh and great bodied. In this riuer we met a Barke called the Iohn of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being both fallen downe within some fiue leagues of the mouth of the riuer, vpon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with vs) gaue vs, namely that the riuer Desekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were some three hundred Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead) doeth lead so farre into the countrey, that it commeth within a dayes journey of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this <sup>The great lake Perima.</sup> riuer of Coritine doeth meete with Desekebe vp in the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe vp into the countrey, and to haue discovered a passage vnto that rich citie. So hauing concluded both shippes, we stood vp into the riuer againe, and comming to Warrawalle the 24 of Aprill there our shippes roade vntill we went vp to Mawranamo to speake with Marracon, to know the trueth of these things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had spoken: Master Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought vp with Antonie Berreo could speak some Spanish and Marracons language also. And besides wee our selues by signes, and drawing the two riuers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceiue as much. Now comming downe <sup>They bring their shippes vp to the Mawranamo.</sup> with our boates the sixe and twentieth of Aprill we went vp with our ships to Mawranamo, where wee morred them, and taking some twentie out of both, vpon Thursday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two shallops and two Canoas, in one of which Henry the Indian was and some twentie Indians more, wee went vp the riuer; and by night getting some three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canoas went into a small riuer called Tapuere, to a towne called Macharibi, thinking to haue had Casau and other victuals, which they were altogether vnprouided of, by reason that they make no more ready then serueth themselves from hand to mouth, liuing in this towne for the most part by fish. By meanes of going into this riuer, though wee rowed very hard it was noone before wee ouertooke the bigger shallop wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee stayed all Saturday and the night following, for Casau: whereof they baked good store for vs being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawaes that dwell about the falles came downe to the towne, and slewe some tenne of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that wee found most of the houses emptie. Vpon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte some twelue leagues beyond and being past all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the riuer; vp some of which falles we shotte with our boates, and going vpon a rocke there came some nine canoas vp the riuer to vs, and would haue gone vp with vs to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the



Captaines and Master Monax tooke aduise: and because nowe they had learned, as they sayde, that fve dayes journey farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this meanes they should make the Wacchawayans their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Raleigh should come thither, hauing occasion to vse this riuer, where wee were informed was good store of golde, they resolved to returne, though I yeelded diuers reasons to the contrary. So vpon Tuseday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And vpon Wednesday the fourth of May, wee came to our shippes: where it was reported that the Spaniards were gonne out of Desekebe, which was not so: but as it seemed in policie by them giuen out to make our men that wee left in our shippes more carelesse, that they might the easier haue surprised them in our absence. The next night wee had newes brought vs to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canoas of Spaniards in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to vs in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muskets, and kept good watch to preuent them of their purpose; who, as it was afterwarde tolde vs, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo, and Desekebe. Vpon Fryday the sixth of May we weighed and made downe the riuer, and vpon Sunday the eighth we gat cleare of it.

This riuer is much like vnto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the first falles, full of Islandes as the other: in which three riuers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuellibi: with sixe Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohoron, and Vaperon. And so clerking our selues of this coast, wee tooke our course to the Islands of the West Indies.

Now I thinke it not amisse to speak something of this country. And first touching the climate; though it stand within the Tropick, and something neere to the Equinoctial, so that the Sunne is twice a yeere ouer their heads & neuer far from them, yet is it temperate yhough in those partes. For besides that wee lost not a man vpon the coast, one that was sicke before hee came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came home safe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was neuer better in body in all my life, and in like sort fared it with the rest of the company: for indeed it is not so extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the country goe naked, both men and women, being of seuerall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very louing and kinde to Englishmen generally; as by experience we found, and vpon our owne knowledge doe report. In the vpper countreys they goe apparelled, being, as it seemeth, of a more ciuill disposition, hauing great store of golde, as we are certainly informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some golde, which they brought and bought in the high country of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now wee haue left among them. They keepe no order of marriage: but haue as many wiues as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their warres. For bread there is infinite store of casau, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can cary any thither. We spent not a bit of our owne all the while we were vpon the coast. It is made of a root so called; which they take and scrape, and crush all the iuyce out, being poison; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which dry as it is, without any moisture, they strew vpon a round stone, hauing a still fire vnder it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Besides there is great store of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make passing good drinke) which after it is once sowed, if you cut off the eare, on the same stalke groweth another.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at least needed not to haue spent any of our owne: for there is great store of as good fish in the riuers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowle, of diuers sorts. Tortoise-flesh plentifull, and Tortoises egges innumerable. Deere, swine, conies, hares, cockes and hennes, with potatoes more then wee could spend. Besides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantan, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their handes, without planting or dressing. For commodities, though wee had but small time to search, because

wee

Great store of  
golde in Wiana.

Passing good  
drinke made  
of maiz.

The commodi-  
ties of Wiana.

wee spent so much time in searching the riuers: yet wee haue brought examples of some, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like vnto steele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great store of; and wherewith the women make a fine threed, which will make excellent good fustians or stockings. Great store of pitch, diuers sorts of sweet gummes, & West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots and monkies. Besides diuers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our countrey, and profit of the aduenturers, who as yet hauing ventured much, haue gained little.

Now leauing the riuer of Coritine, passing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica vpon the Friday following, being the thirteenth of May, hauing lost the barke that came out with vs the Wednesday before. Vpon Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the Souther part of the Island, and hauing done by night, we set saile, and stood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and vntill tenne of the clocke on Munday night: at which time hauing a faire gale at East, and after at Southeast, wee passed along in the sight of Monserate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Vpon the ninth of Iune, being Thursday, we made the Islands of Flores and Coruo: and the eight and twentieth of Iune we made the Lisart, and that night came all safe to Plymmouth, blessed be God.

They lost cap-  
taine Leigh in y<sup>e</sup>  
Iohn of London.

Betweene the Isle of Barbuda in the West Indies and England we had three mighty stormes, many calmes, and some contrary windes. And vpon the foureteenth of Iune 1597, there being diuers whales playing about our pinnesse, one of them crossed our stemme, and going vnder, rubbed her backe against our keele: but by none of all these we susteined any losse. Thanks be to him that gouerneth all things.

Written by Master  
Thomas Masham.

## CERTAINE BRIEFE TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING THE MIGHTIE RIVER OF AMAZONES OR ORELLANA, AND OF THE MOST WONDERFULL DOWNEFALL OR CATARACT OF WATERS AT THE HEAD THEREOF, NAMED BY THE SPANIARDS EL PONGO: TOGETHER WITH SOME MENTION OF THE RICH AND STATELY EMPIRE OF DORADO, CALLED BY SIR WALTER RALEGH AND THE NATURAL INHABITANTS GUIANA, AND OF THE GOLDEN COUNTRY OF PAYTITI NEERE ADIOYNING, WITH OTHER MEMORABLE MATTERS: TAKEN OUT OF IOSEPHUS DE ACOSTA HIS NATURALL AND MORALL HISTORIE OF THE WEST INDIES.

The first Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 2. cap. 6.

BVt when we intreat of Riuers, that which some men call the riuer of Amazones, others Marannon, others the riuer of Orellana, doeth iustly put to silence all the rest, whereunto our Spaniards haue gone and sayled. And I stand in doubt, whether I may cal it a riuer or a sea. This riuer runneth from the mountaines of Piru, from which it gathereth infinite store of waters, of raine, and riuers, which runneth along, gathering it selfe together, and passing through the great fieldes and plaines of Paytiti, of Dorado, and of the Amazones, and falleth at length into the Ocean sea, and entreth into it almost ouer against the Isles of Margarita and Trinidad. But it groweth so broad, especially towards the mouth, that it

maketh in the midst many and great isles : and that which seemeth incredible, sayling in the middle chanel of the riuer, men can see nothing but the skie and the riuer, although men say that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatnesse of the Riuer. Wee vnderstood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largenesse of this Riuer, which iustly may bee called the Emperour of Riuers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, & sayled it wholly through, being personally present in all the successes of that strange enterance, which Pedro de Orsua made, and in the mutinies and perilous conspiracies of that wicked Diego de Aguirre, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord deliuered him, to make him one of our societie.

The second Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 20.

AMONG all the riuers not onely of the West Indies but also of the whole world, the chief is the Riuer of Marannon or of the Amazonas, whereof I haue spoken in the second booke. The Spaniards haue diuers times sayled along this riuer, with determination to discouer countries, which, according to report, are of great riches, especially that which they call Dorado, and Paytiti. The Adelantado or admirall Iuan de Salinas made a very notable entrance, although to small profite. It hath a salt or fall of water which they call El Pongo, which is one of the most dangerous places in the world : for being restrained betweene two exceeding high deuided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth, where the water with the great descent maketh such whirlpooles that it seemeth impossible but that it should sink it self there into the ground. For all this the boldnes of men hath attempted to passe the said El Pongo for the greedines to come to that famous renowned Dorado. They suffered themselves to bee caryed from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the riuer, and sitting fast in their Canoas or boats in which they sayled, although they were ouerturned in the fall, and they and their Canoas suncke downe to the bottome, yet they rose vp againe aboue the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlpooles. The whole army in a maner escaped, sauing a very fewe which were drowned : and which I most maruel at, they handled the matter so well, that they lost not their victuals and powder which they caryed with them. In their returne (for after great trauels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed vp ouer one of those aforesaide exceeding high mountaines, creeping vp vpon their hands and feete.

Captaine Pedro de Orsua made another enterance by the selfe same riuer, and after hee was slaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the discouerie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a secular man was in al that expedition) that they entred vp the Riuer almost an hundred leagues with the tydes, and that when the fresh water & the salt meeteth, which is either almost vnder or very neere the Equinoctial line, the riuer is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the bredth of the Mediterran sea. Howbeit other in their descriptions make it not past 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

The third Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 25.

IN that part of America, whereof the coasts be thoroughly known, the greater part of the Inland is not knowen, which is that which falleth betweene Piru and Brasil, and there are diuers opinions of some, which say, that it is all sunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and flourishing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytity, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and say, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my selfe, a man of credite, that hee had seene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betweene Salamanca and Validolid : and this was when the great entrance or discouerie was made by the great riuer of the Amazonas or Marannon by Pedro de Orsua, and afterwarde by others that succeeded him : and they supposing that Dorado which they sought, was farther vp in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterward returned without discouering Dorado (which they neuer found) and without that great prouince which they left.

A short



A short description of the riuer of Marannon or Amazonas, and the Countries thereabout, as also of the sea of Fresh-water, taken out of an ancient discourse of all the Portes, Creekes, and Hauens of the West Indies, Written by Martin Fernandez de Enciça, and dedicated to Charles the Emperour, Anno 1518.

MARANNON lyeth in seuen degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great riuer, and hath more then fiftene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many islands, and in this riuer within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the sayde riuer a mountaine, whereupon growe trees of Incense, the trees be of a good height, & the boughs thereof be like to Plumtrees, and the Incense doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a house in the winter season when it doeth freeze. In this riuer were taken foure Indians in a smal boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the riuer, and there were taken from them two stones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They sayd that so many dayes iourney going vpward by the riuer, they found a rocke of that stone. Likewise there were taken from them two loaves made of floure, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it seemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balsamum. All this coast from the Cape of S. Austine vnto Marannon is a cleare coast & deep, but neer to the riuer are certaine sholds towards the East part. And by the West part the riuer is deepe, and it hath a good entrie. From this riuer Marannon, vnto the riuer which is called The sea of fresh water, are 25 leagues: this riuer hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carieth such abundance of water that it entreth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and mingleth not it selfe with the salt water: this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is deuided into partes, the one going towards the Southeast, and the other towards the Southwest. That which goeth towards the Southeast is very deepe and of much water, and hath a chanel half a league of bredth, that a Carack may goe vp through it: & the tydes be so swift, that the ships haue need of good cables. The riuer of this port is very good, and there haue bene some that haue entred 50 leagues within it, & haue seene no mountaines. The Indians of this countrey haue their lips made full of small holes in 4 parts, & through those holes be put small rings, and likewise at their eares: & if any man aske of the where they had their gold, they answere, that going vp by the riuer so many dayes iourney, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from those mountaines they brought it when they would haue it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor sell, and amongst them is nothing but change. In this countrey they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Ates and Batatas, but the Batatas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they haue a smell of Chestnuts: they are to be eaten rosted. These Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doues egge, and being in season is good to be eaten, and of it proceedeth good wine, and is preserued for a long time. These kinde of people do make their houses with vpper roomes, and they sleepe in them, as also al their habitation is in the vpper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leaue open: and also they vse certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and these they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of the rope they make fast to one part of the house, and the other ende to the other part of the house: and in these they lye, which bee their beddes, and these kinde of beds bee vsed in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do vse to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India: & in al other places they make their houses without any loftes or chambers, and they couer their houses with the leaues of date-trees, and of grasse. And from this fresh water sea vnto Paria, the coast lyeth West Northwest, and is so ful of sholds that the ships cannot come neer to the land. There are frō this riuer to Paria 250 leagues. In this fresh water sea, the tydes do ebbe & flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it standeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria standeth on the other side of the Equinoctial toward the North, in seuen degrees: In Paria the sea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the West, the sea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulle of Paria vnto the Cape that lyeth towards the  
West,

West, are 35 leagues, and frō thence the coast turneth towardes the Northeast other 35 leagues, & from thence the coast turneth toward the West. Before this gulfe standeth the Island of Trinidad, and towards the West doeth appeare the gulfe of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the fashion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entery in of Paria, & at this entery there is betweene the land and the Island 8 leagues, and on the other side there is but litle space betweene the Iland and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry: this Iland of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and standeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not vnder subiection. Here the Indians do vse to shoote with bowes, and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the ende of them is artificially ioyned a piece of wood very strong, vnto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fish, in place of an arrow head: these kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and euey one of them be three or foure fingers long, & they are taken out of a fish that hath three of these bones, one vpon the backe, another vnder euey wing: but that which groweth vpon the backe is the strongest and the greatest. In this Island the people saith that there groweth golde: and in this Island and in Paria growe reedes so great, that they make stauces of them and cary of them into Spaine. Likewise there bee Popiniayes very great and gentle, and some of them haue their foreheads yellow, and this sort do quickly learne to speak, and speak much. There be likewise in the gulfe of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.

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### CERTAIN E VOYAGES

NAVIGATIONS AND TRAFFIQUES BOTH ANCIENT AND OF LATE, TO DIUERS PLACES VPON THE COAST OF BRASIL: TOGETHER WITH A RUTTIER FOR ALL THAT COAST, AND TWO INTERCEPTED LETTERS WHICH REUEALE MANY SECRETS OF THE STATE OF THAT COUNTRY: THE REST OF OUR VOYAGES TO BRASIL WHICH HAUE BENE EITHER INTENDED OR PERFORMED TO THE RIVER OF PLATE, THE STREIGHT OF MAGELLAN, THE SOUTH SEA, OR FARTHER THAT WAY, BEING RESERUED FOR THE GENERALL HEADES NEXT INSUING.

A briefe relatiō of two sundry voyages made by the worshipful M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to Sir Iohn Haukins knight, late Treasurer of her Maesties Nauie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532.

OLde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisdom, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloued of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coasts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the Paule of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages vnto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the riuer of Sestos vpon the coast of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the Negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriuing on the coast of Brasil, he vsed there such discretion, and behaued himself so wisely with those sauage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. In-  
somuch that in his second voyage, one of the sauage kings of the countrey of Brasil, was contented to take ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countrey as a pledge for his safetie and returne  
again,

The second voyage of M. William Haukins to Brasil.  
A king of Brasil brought into England.

again, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Brasilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London and presented to K. Henry the 8. lying as then at White-hall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle maruaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their sauage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behauiour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.

Hauiug remained here the space almost of a whole yeere, and the king with his sight fully satisfied, M. Hawkins according to his promise and appointment, purposed to conuey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the said Sauage king died at sea, which was feared would turn to the losse of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuerthelesse, the Sauages being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored againe the said pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ship freighted, and furnished with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witnesse of Sir Iohn Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was liuing within these fewe yeeres.

An ancient voyage of M. Robert Reniger and M. Thomas Borey to Brasil in the yeere of our Lord 1540.

I Haue bene certainly informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient and worshipfull marchant of the citie of London, that this commodious and gainefull voyage to Brasil was ordinarily and vsually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Borey, and diuers other substantial and wealthie marchants of Southampton, about 60. yeeres past, that is to say in the yeere 1540.

A voyage of one Pudsey to Baya in Brasil anno 1542.

Also the worshipfull M. Edward Cotton of Southampton Esquire gaue mee more particularly to vnderstand, how that one Pudsey of Southampton, a man of good skill and resolution in marine causes, made a voyage in like maner 62. yeeres agoe to Baya de todos los Santos the principall towne of all Brasil, and the seate of the Portugal vice-roy and of the bishop, and that he built a fort not farre distant from that place, in the foresaid yeere 1542.

A fort built in Brasil by the English.

A letter written to M. Richard Staper by Iohn Whithal from Santos in Brasil, the 26. of Iune 1578.

WORshipfull sir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me most heartily commended vnto you, wishing your health euen as mine owne.

These few words may bee to let you vnderstand, that whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes past by the way of Lisbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very shortly, it is in this countrey offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: so that I am about three dayes agoe consorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within these foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signor Ioffo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy: his kindred is well known amongst the Italians in London: also hee hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which hee hath thought better bestowed vpon mee then on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make euery yeere a thousand rouses of sugar. This my mariage will be worth to me two thousand duckets, little more or lesse. Also Signor Ioffo Dore my father in law doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with sixtie or seuentie slaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my liuing Lord thanks for placing me in such honour and plentifulnesse of all things.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the Prouedor and the Captaine, and they haue certified me, that they haue discovered certaine Mines of siluer and gold, and looke euery day

Mines of gold and siluer newly discovered at S. for Vincent.



for Masters to come to open the said Mines: which when they be opened will enrich this countrey very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is distant from you two thousand leagues, and in 24. degrees of latitude on the South side of the Equinoctial line, & almost vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without sicknesse.

Moreover, I haue talked with the Captaine and Prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a ship with goods to come from London hither, which haue promised mee to giue mee licence, saying that nowe I am free denizen of this countrey. To cause a ship to come hither with such commodities as would serue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God sending in safety the profite and gaines. In such wares and commodities as you may ship hither from London is for euery one commoditie deliuered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be employed in white sugar at foure hundred reis the roue.

The voyage to S. Vincent worth three for one outward only.

I meane also to haue a friend in London to sende mee a ship of 60. or 70. tunnes, little more or lesse, with such commodities as I shall giue aduise for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Master Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, because of our old friendly friendship in time past. If you haue any stomacke thereto, in the Name of God do you espie out a fine barke of seuentie or eightie tunnes, and send her hither with a Portugall Pilot to this port of S. Vincent in Brasil, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Also I herewith write vnto you in what forme and maner you shall furnish this voyage both in commodities and otherwise.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ship of 70. or 80. tunnes is to be made.

First you must lade in the said ship certaine Hampshire and Deuonshire karsies: for the which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the saide kar-ies, and with the proceed thereof to lade filteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of Cordouan skinnies of these colours, to wit, orange, tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine black. I thinke you shall not finde such colours there. Therefore you must cause them that shall go vpon this voyage, to take saffron with them, to cause the same skinnies to bee put into the saide colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogsheds of sweete oyle for this voyage are very necessary, or a hundred & fiftie iarres of oyle. Also in London you may lade in the said ship these parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

- In primis, Foure peeces of hollands of middle sort.
- Item, One peece of fine holland.
- Foure hundred elles of osenbriges very fine.
- Foure dozen of sizzors of all sorts.
- Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.
- Twentie dozen of great kniues which be made in fardles, of a low price.
- Foure dozen of a small sort.
- Sixe peeces of bayes of the lowest sort.
- One very fine peece of bayes.
- Foure hundred elles of Manchester-cottons, most blacke, greene, some yellow.
- Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypresse.
- Sixe dozen of course shirts.
- Three dozen of doublets of canuas.
- Three dozen of doublets of stitched canuas.
- One peece of fine Millan-sustian barred.
- Sixe dozen of locks for doores and chests.
- Sixe thousand of all maner of fish hooks.
- Foure dozen reames of paper.
- Two dozen of glasses of diuers sorts.
- Two dozen of Venice glasses, the one halfe great, the other middle sort.
- Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the lowest price that can be.

Three dozen of frize gownes.  
 Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vse of Portugall, most smal dishes and trenchers.  
 Foure pound of silke of all colours.  
 Twentie pound of spices, cloues, cinamom, pepper, and saffron.  
 Two kintals of white sope.  
 Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.  
 Three pound of fine white threed.  
 Item, halfe a dozen of Northerne karsies of diuers colours.  
 Foure sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green.  
 Sixe Northerne dozens of diuers colours.  
 One fine blew cloth of eight pound.  
 One fine stamell of tenne or twelue pound.  
 One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.  
 One fine blacke karsie. One fine stamell karsie.  
 Sixe yards of blacke veluet.  
 Three barrels of nailes for chests.  
 Two barrels of nailes for ships and barks.  
 Sixe kintals of Occom.  
 Two dozen of veluet girdles without hangers.  
 Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with some greene.  
 Two dozen of leather girdles.  
 Sixe dozen of axes, hatchets, and small billes to cut wood.  
 Foure mases of gitterne strings.  
 Foure hundred or fiue hundred elles of some linnen cloth that is of a low price to make shirts and sheets.  
 Foure tunne of yron.

These be such sort of wares as I would you should send. If you meane to deale, or send any ship hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I shall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Captaine and Prouedor doe rule this countrey.

My father in law & I shal (God willing) make a good quantitie of sugar euery yeere, which sugar we intend to ship for London from henceforth, if we can get such a trustie & good friend as you to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you presently after the receit of this my letter to write mee answere thereof, & send your letter to M. Holder to Lisbone, & he wil conuey it to me out of hand.

Besides the premisses send sixe yards of skarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.  
 Sixe yards of crimosin veluet.  
 Sixe yards of crimosin satten.  
 Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this countrey in stead of Iohn Whithall they haue called me Iohn Leitoan: so that Iohn Leitoan they haue vsed this name so long time, that at this present there is no remedie but it must remaine so. When you write vnto me, let the superscription be vnto Iohn Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the holy Ghost for euer.

If you send this ship, I would haue you giue order that she touch in no part of the coast of Guinie nor any other coast, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be dispatched in my name, to wit, Iohn Leitoan.

Also a dozen of shirts for my wearing let be sent, if you send the ship.  
 Item, sixe or eight pieces of sayes for mantles for women, which is the most necessary thing that can be sent.

By your assured friend Iohn Whithall.

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for Brasill sent to Iohn Whithall dwelling in Santos, by the Minion of London. Anno 1580. the 24. of October in London.

MAster Whithall, as vnacquainted wee commend vs vnto you, &c. vnderstanding by your friends, M. Iohn Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, and your brother Iames Whithall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours frō Santos, which wee haue seene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and desire them to send a good ship to Santos, with such wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promise that they should haue good intertainment, but also should sell the saide commodities to make three of one outward at the least in euery thing, and that for to relade their ship backe, they should haue of the best, finest, & whitest drie sugars 32. pound of our weight for a duckett at the most. The premises considered, with the great credit that they and we doe giue to your writing & promise, haue caused vs, whose names be hereunder written, to ioyne our selues in company together, & to be at great charges purposely to send this good ship the Minion of London, not onely with such marchandizes as you wrote for, but also with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleasure you, or profit the country. And we craue of you, that we and our factors may haue so much credite of you, as we haue in you and of your letters, which is to beleuee vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other minde or purpose, then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by sea and land, so as you shall not onely haue cause to reioyce, and deserue thanks for our comming, but also you will procure the magistrates there to be bound, as they vse in Galicia, that we may be preserued and defended from all reprisals and imbargments of princes or subiects for any causes or matters whatsoever, whereby wee may bee encouraged by them, giuing vs this securitie of good intertainment, to continue the trade yeerely henceforth: and for our parts we promise vpon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the sea nor land, nor suffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other such peaceable marchants as we are, with their ships and goods.

And to the ende that you and others shall know that wee meane as we say, we haue giuen order to our factours to giue you good hostages for your assurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue sent a testimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the seales of this honourable Citie of London, which we wil not discredite by our behauiours for all the treasure that you haue: and so we haue written to your magistrates of your port, and others in Spanish, the copy whereof we send you herewith enclosed in English. And if the time should fal out so contrary to our expectations, that there should not be fine white sugar sufficient to lade our said ship in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may goe with the shippe in safetie to supply their want, and helpe them to a good sure Pilot for that purpose, and write your letters to your friends where the best sugar is made in their fauours, and helpe our factours to haue a testimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and so departed in good and perfect amitie, and shew them that the iust cause of our comming is to trade as marchants peaceably, and not as Pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Also we pray you, if there be any store of waxe, or salt-peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white sugars at a duckett the roue, or any other commodity of like profite, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of lawe, be it oare of golde or siluer or whatsoever else.

Wee haue sent you copper cauldrons for your Ingenios, with iron and all other necessities for your purpose, and artificers to set the same: and as wee haue at your request bene at great charges in sending these men, so we pray you let vs haue lawful fauour in like courtesie to further all our causes. And if any of our Mariners or passengers in any respect of displeasure against their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwise would procure to tary and dwell there, and leaue his charge and office, that then you will bee a meane to he Iustice that such fugitiues should bee sent aboard the ship as prisoners: for as you know, without our men wee cannot bring home our ship.

Wee



Wee haue giuen order to our factours to vse your counsell and helpe in their affaires, and to gratifie you for the same as to your courtesie and faithfull friendship shall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue sent you a fieldbed of walnut tree, with the canopy, valens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commoditie else that may pleasure you or your friends, wee haue giuen order that they shall haue the refusing of it before any other, giuing for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promising to performe all the foresaide things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preserue you with all his blessings.

Your louing friends { Christopher Hodadon.  
Anthonie Garrard.  
Thomas Bramlic.  
John Bird. William Elkin.

Certaine notes of the voyage to Brasill with the Minion of London aforesaid, in the yere 1580. written by Thomas Grigs Purser of the said ship.

M. Stephen Hare was Captaine in this voyage.

The thirde day of Nouember in the yeeere abouesaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened vntil the 22. of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & vse wee obserued the setting of the Sunne, which was West southwest, we then being vnder the line Equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the winde for the most part Southeast and East southeast. The same day we also obserued the rising of the moone, being one day after the full, which rose at East northeast.

The first land that wee fell with vpon the coast of Brasill was the yland of S. Sebastian, where we arriued the 14. day of Ianuary in the yeeere 1581. The yle of S. Sebastian.

The 16. day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinnesse, went a shoare to Guaybea, where they met with Iohn Whithall his father and mother in lawe, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came aboard, and then we weyed and set saile, and the 28. day wee arriued at the yland of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos. The yle of S. Catelina.

Our course from S. Sebastian was Southwest and by West, and betwixt the Southwest and by West, and West southwest.

This yland of Santa Catelina seemeth at the first to be a part of the yland of Girybia. Wee ankered at nine fathome blacke osie ground.

Vpon the yland there grow many Palmito trees, but no fresh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well receiued and intertained of the Captaine, the kings officers, and all the people. They arriue at Santos.

The fourth day we tooke into our ship a beefe aliue, which serued for the victualling of the ship, and the refreshing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shrouetide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. Iohn Whithall a bedstead with the appurtenances, which were sent to him from our marchants of London.

The 18. day the captaine of Santos came aboard our ship, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French ships of warre, that had bene at the riuer of Ienero, which there tooke three Canoas, but were driuen from thence by their castles & forts, and were looked for here at Santos. Whereupon the Captaine requested vs to lend them some armour and artillery, and we lent them twentie caliuers, and two barrells of powder.

The 19. day our skiffe which we had sent to Alcatrazas, and had bene away sixe dayes, came againe, and brought good store of great and good fish, and tolde vs that there was good store of fish to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito-tree. The yle of Alcatrazas or Pelicans.

The 20. day at night Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our shippes side, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our ship rode at anker.

The 22. day two of the Canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Ienero, returned

to Santos, and reported that the foure French ships were past to the southwards, as they thought, for the Straights of Magellan, and so into the South sea.

The 23. day the aforesaide Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerbord two dayes before, was found againe, and taken vp three miles from our ship, and our company went to his buriall in the Church at Santos.

This day the Captaine and Iustices of Santos wished vs to tary in their road till the last of April, for they had sent a barke of Santos to Baya at the kings charges, to know whether we should haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernambuck a shippe from Portugall, which brought newes that the Islands, Indies, and Portugall it selfe was molested and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portugales had both English and Frenchmen to Lisbonne to defend them against Spaine.

The 25. day wee sent two of our men, namely Thomas Michael and Simon Thorne to Baya in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The two and twentic day of Aprill our Master and Thomas Babington hauing some talke and conference with the Padres of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the Riuer of Ienero) tolde them, that they were sorry for our banishment from the Church, and that the Ministrador had written from Rio de Ienero, that forasmuch as these twentie yeres or more the English nation had denied the Church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Ministrador commanded that none of vs should come to their Church: the Padres willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promised to stand our friends in their word and writing, both to the Ministrador and to the bishop at Baya, and further requested all our English company to haue no ill opinion of them.

Their lading of  
sugars.

The 28. of April we laded sugars into our ship.

The 21. of May we tooke in fresh victuals from Santos.

The 10. day of Iune wee gratified one Iosto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with some of our English victuals, and intertained him in good sort in our ship, and this day wee were promised to haue a Pilot at Santos to cary vs to Baya.

Leakes in the  
Minion made by  
wormes.

The 11. day we went to fish, to make prouision for our ship and men, and from that time till the eighteenth day wee fet water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our ship of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while wee ridde at the yland of S. Sebastian, and in the meane time we departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Master sent his skiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet with the Pilot, which wee had tarried for three dayes: and as the skiffe was going, William Euet being by the Riuer side, called to our pinnesse, and sent a letter to our Master, which Thomas Babington had written, wherein were no newes, but that the Ministrador was arriued at Santos from the Riuer of Ienero, and would speake with our Master, but he willed that whatsoever Thomas Babington did write, no credit should be giuen to it. And further he wished vs presently to depart for Sant Sebastian, and there to dispatch our businesse, and then to sende backe for Babington and himselfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come aboard.

\* Whose name  
was Stephen  
Hare.

Their departure  
from Santos.

As we rid two leagues a sea-bord the barre of Santos, wee broke a cable in the open sea, which happened the 15. day of this moneth.

We arriued at S. Sebastian the 15. day, and there shifted our balast, and had in stones, and halled our ship a ground to stop our leakes, & caried our caske a shoare to be hooped for water, which indeed might better haue bene done in Santos, before the Ministrador came thither: yet we finished all things pertaining to our ship, by the 22. of this moneth, at S. Sebastian.

The first day of Iuly Thomas Babington came aboard with William Euet, in our pinnesse, and the rest of our men that went for them: but there was no Pilot brought according to promise to cary vs to Baya.

The things that we obserued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were these.

All

All such wares and marchandizes as owe no custome in Brasill, their vse is, to set a price vpon the same, how they shalbe sold: which is done by the magistrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all such marchandizes as do owe custome there, the marchants are to sell them according as they may, to the greatest profit and aduantage that they can.

Concerning the prouince of Peru, wee learned that one part of it by land & water is but twelue dayes iourney from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or five dayes iourney by water to the maine riuer of Plate. Some part of Peru but 12 dayes iourney from Santos

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they doe trade and trafique by land into Peru by waggons, and horses or mules.

The saide riuer of Plate is so full of sands and dangers, and the fresh so fierce sometimes, that no shipping dares to deale with it, small barks to their knowledge may go vp it, and not els.

The Portugales here cannot bee suffered to vse their Mines of treasure in these parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king and the Vice-roy, who is as their king in place of authoritie. The Portugales forbidden to vse their mines.

About twentie leagues from Santos there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendship with the Portugales, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell towards the borders of Peru, which is distant from Santos about 400. or 500. leagues. Those Sauages of Peru haue store of gold and siluer, but they knowe not the vse of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they sell them to the Portugales for kniues, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will sell one for a pennie-knife to a Portugal, and after two yeeres they are worth twentie or thirtie duckets to the Portugal.

This people haue also continuall warres with the Spaniards: and this was tolde vs by one of those Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portugales these seuen yeeres, with his master called Sennor Manoel Veloso. And this fellowe would willingly haue come with vs for England.

There are certaine rockes that lie off betweene the yle of Alcatrazas and S. Sebastian, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in faire weather shewe like the sailes of ships. The yle of Alcatrazas or Pelicanos, dangerous for rocks.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina also five leagues to the East and by south into the sea off the yland,

At our comming vp to Santos we found foure fadom and a halfe water in the shallowest place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Catelina, litle more or lesse, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fadome and a halfe, about a mile or lesse, then you shall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fadome water.

A letter of Francis Suares to his brother Diego Suares dwelling in Lisbon, written from the riuer of Ienero in Brasill in Iune 1596. concerning the exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and Peru, by the way of the riuer of Plate, with small barks of 30. and 40. tunnes.

Sir, we set saile from Lisbon the fourth of April 1596. and arriued here in this riuer of Ienero the twentie seuenth of Iune next ensuing. And the same day the Visitadores did visit our ship with great ioy, thinking that those commodities which wee brought with vs, had bene for the marchants of this countrey: but it prooued to the contrary.

The pilot brought with him in the sayd shippe two pipes of wine which were taken from him, and solde by the Iustice for foure and twenty reals euery gallon. But I solde mine for two and thirtie and sixe and thirtie reals the gallon. If I had brought any great store of wine, I should haue made a great gaine of it: for I should haue gotten eight reals for one. Wine solde at an excessive rate

The next day in the morning wee went all on shore, and gaue God thanks for our prosperous voyage, and good successe which he had sent vs. And because the gouernour of this country



countrey was gone from this Towne to another house of his, three leagues vp into the riuer beyond the place where we rode at anker, I desired the captaine of our shippe after dinner, that we might take the shippe boat, and goe to the place where the gouernour did lie. And so going vp the riuer, we met with a canoa which was comming downe the riuer, and going aboard our shippe; which canoa was laden with fresh victuals, and in the same was one Portugall, which met vs, and tolde vs that the gouernour of that captaine shippe had sent vs a present, which we receiued very thankfully, and sent it aboard. And we went vp the riuer, to the place where the gouernour did dwell; and comming to the place where we landed, hard by the riuer-side, the gouernour came thither and receiued vs very courteously. So we remained at his house two dayes, talking of many matters of Portugall: then we departed from him, and came downe the riuer.

Three dayes after, I hired a ware-house by my selfe, and landed my commodities. And now I am selling them as fast as I can; and sell them very well, and to great profit: for I haue solde all our hats. I would I had brought forty or fifty dozen, by reason of the great utterance of them vp into Peru, and into the new kingdome of Granada, by the way of the riuer of Plate. For here is passage euery three or foure moneths with barks of thirty and forty tunnes a piece, which are laden with sugars, rice, taffataes, hats, and other kindes of commodities of this countrey, which are caried vp the sayd riuer of Plate in the sayd barks, and thence are conueyed vp into Peru. And these barks are but tenne or twelue dayes going vp the sayd riuer to Peru. And within foure and fife moneths after, the sayd barks come downe this riuer againe laden with reals of plate, and bring downe from those places no other commodities but treasure. It is a woonderfull thing to beholde the great gaine and profit which is gotten in this riuer and in this countrey. I am ashamed to write it, fearing that I shall not be beleueed. For the imployment of one hundred ducats in Spaine, being brought hither, will yeeld twelue hundred and fiteene hundred ducats profit. This trade hath beene vsed but within this yeere. For wee can goe vp to the mines of Potosi, which are the best and the richest mines in all Peru. If the merchants of Spaine and Portugall did know this trade, they would not send nor venture so much merchandise to Cartagena as they doe. For vp this riuer is a great deale the neerer way, and the easier to go to Peru. For the Peruleros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come downe to this harbour and riuer of Ienero, and bring with them fiteene thousand and twentie thousand ducats in reals of plate and gold, and imploy it heere in this riuer in commodities: and when heere are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then these merchants of Peru are constrained to go to Baia and Fernambuc, and there to imploy their money. I would I had brought good store of silks, and not these kinde of commodities which I did bring. For heere is more profit to be had a great deale then in the voyage of Angola. For heere with fife hundred ducats in fife moneths space a man may get sixe thousand ducats. And this is no fable, but most true, and a great deale more then I can expresse. For a rapier which doeth cost in Spaine foure and twenty and sixe and twenty reals, is solde heere for forty and fifty ducats: a bridle for a horse is solde for fiteene ducats: a Locke of a doore and the key is solde for ten ducats: a pound of beniamin is solde for fiteene ducats: a yard of veluet is solde for twenty and fife and twenty ducats: taffataes are solde for sixe and seuen ducats the vare: an ownce of muske is solde for forty ducats: and all kinde of commodities after this rate. So one thousand ducats of Spanish commodities will gaine tenne thousand ducats. Thus I hope in God to make more profit and gaine this voyage, then in two voyages to Angola: for I haue solde most of my hats for two duckets and a halfe and for three ducats. The rest I will cary to Angola, to helpe to sell the rest of my commodities, which I cannot sell in this riuer. And I haue solde an hundred cubits of broad cloth for fife hundred and fife hundred and fifty and sixe hundred reys the cubit. If I would haue solde all my cloth for ready money tolde downe for foure hundred and fifty and fife hundred reys, the merchants would haue bought it all of me: but I would sell no more, because I meant to exchange it in Angola for Negros. Howbeit with ready money in hand in Angola a man shall buy better Negros, and better cheape. The captaine of our ship solde all his cloth for ready money

A rich trade from the riuer of Ienero by the riuer of Plate into Peru, &c.

The shortnesse of the returne of the voyage to Peru.

This rich trade was begunne in the yeere 1595.

The voyage of Angola in Africa.

Gaine of ten thousand ducats for the laying out of one thousand.

A trade of buying Negros in Angola.

money for foure hundred & fifty reys the cubit, and thought that he had made a good market : but he hath deceiued himselfe. I solde six broad clothes for fūe hundred and fifty reys the cubit : and I was offered thirty thousand reys for a cloth. Vineger is solde for two and thirty, and sixe and thirty, and forty reals a iarre, by reason there is great store of linmons and oranges in the countrey : but in Angola it is more woorth. Oliues are solde for halfe a reall a piece : wherefore I hope to sell the hogshhead for twenty thousand reys. In taffataes, and veluets there will be gotten two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one hundred. If I had brought great store, I could haue solde it all at this rate. I haue already gotten good store of reals of plate : for it is tolde mee that money is a good commodity in Angola. But I must imploy some in meale, which is in the grinding. All the rest of my money I will send you by billes of exchange, and some part I will imploy in sugars : for I haue sent order to Baia for that purpose. For from this place there is no shipping that doth go that way. So these letters I do send by the way of Fernambuc, and haue directed them to my cousin : for I do determine to settle my selfe here in this countrey. There is come downe from Peru, by this riuer of Plate, a merchant called Alonso Ramires, and he hath brought downe with him ten or twelue thousand ducats in reals of plate, and is come downe to this place to build him a ship to returne into Spaine ; and there is come in his company a bishop. And thus Iesus Christ send you long health.

Your louing brother Francis Suares.

The well gouerned and prosperous voyage of M. Iames Lancaster, begun with three ships and a galley-frigat from London in October 1594, and intended for Fernambuck, the port-towne of Olinda in Brasil. In which voyage (besides the taking of nine and twenty ships and frigats) he surprized the sayd port-towne, being strongly fortified and manned ; and held possession thereof thirty dayes together (notwithstanding many bolde assaults of the enemy both by land and water) and also prouidently defeated their dangerous and almost ineuitable fire-works. Heere he found the cargazon or freight of a rich East Indian carack ; which together with great abundance of sugars, Brasil-wood, and cotton he brought from thence ; lading therewith fifteene sailes of tall ships and barks.

IN September 1594 the worshipfull M. Iohn Wats, alderman, M. Paul Banning, alderman, & others of worship in the city of London, victualled three good ships ; to wit, The Consent, of the burthen of 240 tunnes or thereabout, The Salomon, of 170 tunnes, and The Virgin, of 60 tunnes : and appointed for commanders in this voyage, M. Iames Lancaster of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet, M. Edmund Barker of London, viceadmirall, and M. Iohn Audely of Poplar neere London, rereadmirall, hauing in their sayd ships to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furnished with all needfull prouision, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coast, vntill we came into the West countrey, where we met with such gusts and stormes, that the Salomon spending her mast at the Range of Dartmouth, put into harbour : but by the earnest care and industry of the generall and others hauing charge, she was shortly againe prouided. Which done, hauing a pleasant gale for our purpose, we put soorth from Dartmouth the last of Nouember following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coast, we lost the Salomon and the Virgin, by a storme of contrary winde that fell vpon vs : yet being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our course to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our consorts ; which greatly grieved vs.

Thence we went, bearing for the isle of Tenerif, where in the morning early we had sight of a saile, which being becalmed vnder the shore, was towing with their boat a head, hauing one other at her sterne. For this saile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if need should require. The Spaniards seeing our boat come, entred theirs, and leauing the ship, sought to saue themselves by flight : but our men pursued them so fast, that they boarded them,

A shippe with  
80 tunnes of  
wine taken.

Another prise  
with 40 tunne of  
wine taken.

them, and brought them with their shippe to our Generall. This ship was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-wine, which came not vnto vs before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had sight of one other; to whome in like maner wee sent our boat: but their gunner made a shot at her, and strooke off a propper yoong mans arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards hauing their free passage, and an acquittance for the deliuey of their wines, were all set on shore vpon Tenerif, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the West Indies.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the Virgin our rereadmirall, whose men tolde vs for very trueth, that the Salomon was returned for England: inforced so to doe, by spending her mast the second time. Which when our men vnderstood, they were all in a maze, not knowing what to doe, and saying among themselves that their force was but small when all our strength were together, and now we had lost the one halfe of our strength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore some of them came to the captain, asking him what he would now do, seeing the Salomon was lost, the one halfe of our strength, giuing him counsell to beare vp for the West Indies, and proue there to make his voyage, because his first plat for want of strength was cleane ouerthrowen. The capitaine hearing this new nouelty, as not vnacquainted with the variable pretenses of mariners, made them this answer: Sirs, I made knowne to you all at my coming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go for Fernambuck, and although at the present we want one of our ships, yet (God willing) I meane to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the islands of Cape Verde: for I am assured that M. Barker the capitaine is so resolute to performe this voyage, that his mast being repaired, he will not faile to meet vs, & it were no wisdome for vs to diuert our course, till we haue sought him at those places where our appointed meeting is: for the diuerting of courses is the ouerthrow of most of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other course then I haue determined, (by Gods helpe) I will not be drawn vnto. With these reasons and many others shewed, they rested all satisfied: and at our coming to Cape Blank (God be praised) we met with the Salomon with no small ioy to vs all; and there she had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 saile of ships and carauels, fisher-men, and had taken out of them such necessaries as she had need of. Of these ships our capitaine tooke foure along with him, with another that he had taken himselfe, meaning to imploy them as occasion should serue. At this place he vnderstood of one of the pilots of those ships, that one of the caracks that came out of the East Indies, was cast away in the rode of Fernambuc, and that all her goods were layd vpon the Arraçife which is the lower towne. Of these newes we were all glad, and reioyced much; for our hopes were very good, seeing such a booty before vs.

Foure & twety  
sailes of ships  
& of caruells  
taken by the  
Salomon.

Maio.

A gally-frigate  
caried out of  
England in  
pieces.

The gally-frigate  
set vp.

Of this good company and happy successe we were all ioyful, and had great hope of the blessing of God in performance of our intended voyage, and so after some parle & making frolike for ioy of our meeting one with the other (praising God for all) we plied for Maio: where coming to anker, our generall & the rest of the captaines went ashore to view the place where we might in best safety set our gally-frigate together; which frame wee brought from England of purpose to land men in the country of Brasil. Here we discharged our great prize of wine, and set her on fire: but before our coming thither, you shall vnderstand we had sight of foure sailes, which was capitaine Venner in his ship the Peregrine, and a proper Biskaine which he tooke at Cape Blank, the Welcome of Plymmouth & her pinnesse: all which stood with vs. But they seeing our flags, not expecting such good fellows as we, did beare from vs all they might; which our people tooke very vkindly, that being all friends, they would neither enquire, nor tell vs any newes of our friends, but without making any shew of kindnes would so depart. As before I haue said, the choice being made for the place to build the gally-frigate, ashore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, still cheered vnto it by the generals good gifts bestowed among them, and kind vsage of the rest of the commanders, not without great care of the capitaine for the safety of them all, by keeping good



good watch : yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the countrey, straying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, & very kindly vsed, and brought againe vnto vs : for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus busily imployed about the foresayd galley, we descried at sea foure sailes, which we had good hope would haue prooued Indies men, or some to haue brought vs what wee looked for : but they proued capitaine Venner with his fleet, as aforesayd, who, seeing vs at anker, ankered also ; where spending some time, and being acquainted with our generals determination for landing, consorted with vs, & their bils, according to the maner of the sea, were made and signed on either part, we to haue three parts, & he the fourth, of all that should be taken, wherby our strength was increased, to all our comforts. Three weeks or thereabouts we stayd in this place before the gally was finished ; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, hauing foureteene banks on a side, a mast and saile, the commandement of her was committed vnto M Wats, an honest skilfull mariner.

From thence we put againe to sea, and went for the ile Braua, where we watered : which done, we made no long stay after, but bent our course as directly as we could for the place, making our first fall with the land to the Southward of Cape S. Augustine ; from whence we plied still to our desired port of Fernambuck, and did so much, that about midnight we came before the harbour ; where some plied vp and downe, holding that the best policy, to forbear the entring till day might giue them light, the harborow being hard, and therefore the more perillous. Our ships being in safety well arriued, God was praised : and the generall in his boat went from ship to ship, willing them to make ready such men as they could spare, with muskets, pikes, billes, bowes, arrowes, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himselfe, with 80 men from his owne ship, imbarcked himselfe in the gally, which caried in her prow a good sacar, and two murdering pieces.

Our admiral spent all the night in giuing directions to euery ship to haue their men ready shipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, & to leaue his ships without, till he had gotten the fort and the towne : for he would not aduenture the ships in, till the harborow was gotten. Also he prouided fiue ships, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conueniently saile them, and no more, giuing them charge to enter the harborow with his boats : for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ships, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in ; and therefore he gaue order to the men of these fiue small ships, which were not aboue 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any resistance, to run aboard of them, & to set their owne ships on fire, and scape in their boats, which they had for the same purpose, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen aboue halfe a mile downe to the Northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconuenience vnto vs : so that before wee could get vp againe, the ebbe was come vpon vs, and thereby we were forced to houer before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the sight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ships rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-coluering shot off : in the which time passed many shot betweene the fort and the ships, and especially betweene the admirals ship and them : but no great harme was done on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready houer in the gally & the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, seeing our resolution, layd out haulsers, and wound themselues out of the way of vs. Our admiral was very ioyfull, & gaue great encouragement to all his men : for, to passe these three great Hollanders, he held it the greatest danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the gouerner of the towne sent a Portugall aboard the admirals ship, to know what he would haue, and wherefore he came. He returned him this answere : That he wanted the caracks goods, and for them he came, and them he would haue, and that he should shortly see. In this processe of time, the townes-men and inhabitants which saw so much shipping, & perceiued vs to be enemies, gathered themselues together, three or foure ensignes of men, esteemed to the number of some sixe hundred at the least. These came to the fort or plat-

Cape S. August-  
tine.  
Fernambuck  
The 29 of  
March.

forme lying ouer against the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing: but before our admirall set forward with his boats, he gaue expresse order to all that had charge of gouerning the boats or galley, to run them with such violence against the shore, that they should be all cast away without recouery, and not one man to stay in them, whereby our men might haue no maner of retreat to trust vnto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall set forward, and entered the harborow with the small galley, and all the rest of the boats following him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, nothing impeached him: but now the fort began to play with their ordinance vpon the galley and the boats; and one of their shot tooke away a great piece of our ensigne out of the galley. But our saile being set, it was no time for vs to make any stay, but with all the force we could we ranne the galley vpon the shore right vnder the fort, within a coits cast of it, with such violence, that we brake her backe; and she suncke presently: for there where we landed, went a breach of the sea, which presently cast her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arriual, those in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being seuen pieces of brasse, to discharge them vpon vs at our landing; which indeed they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the rest following him, off came these pieces of ordinance: but almighty God be praised, they in the fort, with feare to see vs land in their faces, had piked their ordinance so steepe downewards with their mouthes, that they shot all their shot in the sand, although, as I sayd before, it was not about a coits cast at the most betwene the place wee landed and the face of the fort: so that they only shot off one of our mens armes, without doing any more hurt; which was to vs a great blessing of God: for if those ordinances had bene well leuelled, a great number of vs had lost our liues at that instant. Our admirall seeing this, cried out, encouraging his men, Vpon them, vpon them; all (by Gods helpe) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Those foure ensignes of men that were set to defend our landing, seeing this resolution, began to go backe, and retire into certeine bushes that were by the same fort; and being followed, fledde thorowe a certeine oaze which was drie, being then but the beginning of the tide: and so abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to vs. This day of our arriual was their Good-friday, when by custome they vsually whippe themselves: but God sent vs now for a generall scourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well spared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waned to the ships, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all speed, himsele taking order in leauing certeine men in keeping the sayd fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne, from whence hee suspected the greatest danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne, which was about some foureteene score from the fort: in which towne lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approching to the towne, he entered the same, the people inbarking themselves in carauels & boats, with all the expedition they could. The base towne, of about an hundred houses, being thus taken, we found in it great store of merchandizes of all sorts: as Brasil-wood, sugars, Calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloues, mase, nutmegs, with diuers other good things, to the great comfort of vs all. The admirall went vp and downe the towne, and placed at the South end of the same capitaine Venner and his company, himsele and his company in the midat of the towne, and capitaine Barker and capitaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giuing great charge, that no man vpon paine of great punishment and losse of his shares, should breake vp or enter into any ware-house, without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as euer any was kept, where so great spoile and booty was found: for it was not knowen in all the time of our being there, that any disorder was committed, or any lodge or ware-house broken open, or any spoile was made, or pillaging of any thing; which is a note much to be obserued in such an action: for common mariners and souldiers are much giuen to pillaging and spoiling, making greater account of the same then of their shares.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very sure watch this first night, and the morning being come, our admirall and capitaine Venner, with the rest of the capitaines, went about the

The fort of  
Pernambuck  
taken.

the towne, and gaue order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: so that within two dayes it was surrounded with posts & planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at least nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found prouision in the towne, sufficient store for it. Now it is to be vnderstood, that this towne is enuironed on the one part by the sea, and on the backside by a riuer that runneth behinde it; so that to come to it by land, you must enter it by a small narrow passage not aboue forty paces ouer at an high water. At this passage we built a fort, and planted in it fise pieces of ordinance, which we tooke out of the first fort we wan at our comming into the harborow. Now we hauing the towne in possession, our admirall sent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had bene brought vp in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and sober and discreet of his owne cariage. At his first comming aboard of them, they seemed to stand vpon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and strong ships: but he vsed himselfe so, that they at the last willed him to come into the greatest of their ships, which was aboue 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they should be there as sure from any shew of violence or iniury offered them, as if they were in their owne houses, and if they should thinke so good, his admirall would freight thē for England, if they would be content with freight reasonable, and as they should agree, and it should be at their owne choise whether to go or not, he would not force them, vnlesse it were to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were somewhat stubburne at the first, as that nation is in these causes, yet being satisfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, & after conference had with the admirall, they were so satisfied, that they went thorow with a freight: and then we ioyned with them, & they with vs, and they serued vs as truely & as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by sea and all other seruices. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe vpon vs with a very great cry and noise; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall supposing some such assault, had prouided all our muskets with haile-shot, which did so gaule both the Indians and the Portugals, that they made them presently retreat. And this is to be noted, that there was both the horse and his rider slaine both with one of these shot. Our men followed them some fise or sixe score, but no further. We lost in this conflict but onely one man, but had diuers hurt. What was lost of their part, we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure dayes after our comming in appeared before the harborow 3 ships & 2 pinnesses, the pinnesses being somewhat nere, discried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pinnesse, declaring all the rest to be French bottoms; which our admirall willed should come in: and so they did. These were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchase. The capitaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongst whom was one capitaine Iohn Noyer of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the island of Mona in the West Indies, where his ship was cast away, comming out of the East Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and performed it, & was not vngratefull for his former benefite shewed vnto him. This capitaine desired of our admirall to bestow vpon him his ships lading of Fernambuc-wood, which he granted him, and also his pinnesse, and more, gaue him a carauel of about 50 tuns, & bid him lade her with wood also; which with other benefites he gratefully receiued. To the other two capitaines he granted their ladings of wood, the one capitaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captain of Diepe confessed that he met Abraham Cocke certein moneths before, & being distressed for want of water, gaue him some, & went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and so departed frō him, saying that his men were very weake. The comming in of these ships did much strengthen vs; for our admirall appointed both these French and the Flemings to keepe watch vpon the riuer by night with their boats, euery boat hauing in her 12 men at the least, and the boats well prouided. This was for feare of fired ships or barks to come downe, which our admirall had great care vnto, and caused our ships to ride by cables and haulscrs, at all aduantages to shun them, if by that meanes they should attempt to put vs out of the harborow; giuing commandement to vs that watched in the towne, that what fires soeuer we

Abraham Cocke  
going for the  
riuer of Plate,  
met withall.