XXV.—*A Narrative of the principal Naval Expeditions of English Fleets, beginning with that against the Spanish Armada in 1588, down to 1603. In a Letter from Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary, to JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Resident Secretary.*

Read May 22, 1851.—March 4, 1852.

British Museum, May 22, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Cottonian MS. Titus B. viii. contains, among numerous other articles, a Narrative of the principal naval Expeditions of English Fleets, beginning with that against the Spanish Armada in 1588, down to 1603. The beginning of this curious Memoir is wanting, and the writer is unknown; but the facts through its several divisions are detailed with so much spirit, and the statements of the expeditions are so strongly mixed with contemporary feeling and contemporary anecdote, that I submit a transcript of them to our Society's notice. They contain many particulars of striking interest, which I have not found elsewhere. It is evident from several passages that the writer was in the armament with the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral at the attack on Cadiz in 1596; with the Earl of Essex in his voyage to the Islands in the following year; and with Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson in 1602. Whoever he was, he was closely connected with Sir William Monson, if he was not Sir William himself.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Most truly yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq.

THE first Action undertaken by the Spaniards was in 1588. The Duke of Modena^a Generall. They were encountered by our fleete, the Lord Admirall beinge at sea himselfe in person.

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Arke Royall	The Lord Admirall
The Revenge	Sir Francis Drake, Vice-Admirall
The Lyon	The Lord Howard
The Beare	The Lord Sheiffeild
The Elizabeth Jonas	Sir Robert Southwell

^a Medina Sidonia.

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Tryumph	Sir Martyn Frobusher
The Victory	Sir John Hawkins
The Hope	Captain Crosse
The Bonaventer	Captain Reymon
The Dreadnought	Captain George Beeston
The Nonparill	Captaine Thomas Fenner
The Ranyebowe	The Lord Henry Seymor
The Vantgarde	Sir William Winter
The Mary-Rose	Captaine Fenton
The Antilopp	Sir Henry Palmer
The Foresight	Captaine Barker
The Aide	Captaine Fenner
The Swallowe	Captaine Hawkins
The Tiger	Captaine Bostocke
The Scout	Captain Aishley
The Swiftsuer	
The Bull	
The Tremontary	
The Acatice	
Pynnaces, Galleys, Hoyes, 10	

Notwithstandinge the great spoyle and hurt Sir Francis Drake did the yeare past in Cadiz Roode, by interceptinge some part of the provisions for this great navie, the kinge strived by all indeavors to revenge himselfe this yeare, least that in takeinge longer tyme his designes might be prevented as before, and arrested all shippes, men, and necessaries wantinge for his fleete, and compelled them perforce to serve in this action.

He appointed for Generall the Duke of Medena Sidonia, a man imployed rather for his birth then experience; for soe manie dukes, marquesses, and earles voluntarily goeing, would have repined to have bene commaunded by a man of lesse estate then himself. They departed from Lishbone the 19th daie of May, 1588, with the greateste pride and glory, and least doubt of victorie, that ever any nation did. But, as it appeared, God beinge angrie with their insolencie, disposed of them contrary to their appointment.

The directions from the Kinge to the Generall were to repaire, as winde and weather would give leave, to the Roade of Callis in Piccardie, there to abide the comeinge of the Prince of Parma and his armie, and upon their meetinge to have opened a letter directed to them both with further directions.

He was especially commaunded to sayle longst the coast of Brittanie and

Normandy, for geivinge daunger of discovery to us, and if he mett with the English fleete, not to offer fight, but seeke to defend themselves. When he came athwart the North Cape, he was taken with a contrary winde and fowle weather, and forced into the harbor of the Groyne, where part of his fleete laie attendinge his comeinge. As he was redie to departe from thence there came intelligence by an English fisherman that had bene taken prisoner, of our fleetes late beinge at sea and puttinge backe againe, not expectinge their comeinge that yeare, insomuch that moste part of our men belonginge to our shippes were discharged.

The intelligence made the Duke alter his direction given him by the kinge, not without some difficultie; for the Councell was devided into three opinions, some held it good not to breake the king's commaund, others not to loose the opportunitie offered to surprise our fleete at unawares, with a purpose to burne and consume them.

Diego Flores de Valdes, who had the commaunde of the Andalusia squadron, was a man the Duke relyed most upon for his experience and judgement; and he it was that only perswaded the attempt of our shippes in harbor, and with that consent and resolution they directed their course for England.

The first land they fell withall was the Lizard, the southermost part of Cornwall, which they took to be the Ram's head athwart Plymouth; and the night beinge at hand they tacked off to sea, makeinge account in the morninge to give the attempt upon our shippes in Plymouth.

But whilst they were thus deceived of the land, in the meane tyme they were discovered by Captaine Flemminge, a pyrate, that had bene at sea pilferinge, who, upon the viewe of them, and knoweinge them to bee the Spanishe fleete, he repaired with all speede to Plymouth, and gave warninge and notice to our fleete, who were then riding at an anchor; whereupon my Lord Admirall hastened with all expedition possible to gett forth the shippes, and before the Spaniards could drawe neere Plymouth, they were welcomed at sea by my lord and his navie, who continued fight with them untill he brought them to an anchor at Callis.

Thus much have I thought good to shewe of the Spanishe Invasion intended in 1588. Now shall ensue Her Majesties preparation to prevent all his designes, who by her wisdom and care had intelligence of his purposes from tyme to tyme.

And because she knewe his intent was to invade her at sea with a mightie and huge fleete from his owne coast, she furnisht out her Royall Navie, under the charge of the Lord High Admirall of England, and sent him to Plymouth, as the likeliest place to attend their cominge, as you have heard.

Then knoweinge that it was not the Fleete alone that could endainger her safetie,

for that they were of smale power to annoy her by land, without the assistance of the Prince of Parma and his armie in Flaunders, therefore she appointed thirty sayle of Holland shippes to lye at an anchor before the towne of Dunkerk, where the prince was to embarque in flattbottombe boates, made purposely for the Expedition of England.

Thus was the Prince, by the Queene's providence, prevented, if he had attempted, to putt out of harbor with his boates; but, indeede, neither his vessells nor his armies were in readines, which caused the kinge ever after to be jealous of him, and, as it is supposed, to hasten his end.

Her Majestie, notwithstandinge this vigilant care to foresee and prevent all daunger that might happen at sea, would not holde herselfe too secure of her enemie, but prepared a royall armie to welcome him upon his landinge; but it soe fell out that it was not the will of God they should sett footeinge on shoare in England, but made the Queene a victorious prince over him, with little hazard or bloudshedd of her subjectes.

Haveinge shoven the designe of the Spaniards, and the prevention of Her Majestie, I will collect the errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promised in the beginninge of my discourse.

And it was of most likelihood and reason, after the Duke had gotten intelligence of the state of our Navie, to surprise them in harbor at unawares, knoweing that if hee had taken awaie our strength by sea, hee might have landed both when and where hee listed, which is the cheifest advantage in the invador; yet, though it had tooke that effect he desired, I see not howe he was to be commended in breaking that direction given by the kinge; then, contrarywise, what blame did he deserve to alter his instructions, soe evill event followeing of it as it did.

It was not lacke of experience in the Duke, or layeing it upon Valdes, that excused him at his returne; but that he had smarted bitterly for it, had it not bene for his wife, who obtayned the king's favour unto him.

Before the arrivall of the shippes that escaped in this journey, it was knowne that Diego Flores de Valdes was the only perswader to breake the king's articles; whereupon he commaunded in all his ports, where the said Diego Flores de Valdes should arrive, to apprehend him, which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the Castle of Saint Andrea, where he was never seene or heard of after.

If the king's directions had bene reallie followed, then had his fleete kept the coast of France, and arrived in the roade of Callis, before they had bene discovered by us, which might have endaungered Her Majestie and realme, our shippes beinge soe farr of as Plymouth, where then they laye, and though the Prince of Parma had

not bene presently readie, he had gayned tyme sufficient by the absense of our fleete to make himselfe readie.

And moreover, whereas the prince was kept in by the thirty sayle of Hollanders, soe many of the duke's fleete would have bene able to have put the Hollanders from the roade of Dunkerke and possess it themselves, and soe have secured the armie and fleetes meetinge together; and howe easie a thinge it had bene after their joyninge to have transported themselves for England, as alsoe what would have ensued upon their landinge in England, may be imagined.

But it beinge the will of Him that directs all men and their actions that the fleetes should meete, they, beaten as they were, put from their anchorage in Callis roade, the Prince of Parma beleaguered at sea, their navie enforced about Scotland and Ireland with great adventure and losse, sheweth howe God did mervelously defend us against their daungerous designes.

Heere was another opportunitie offered to have followed the Victory upon them, for after they were beaten from the roade at Callis, and all their hopes and designes frustrate, if wee had once more offered them fight, the Generall by perswasion of his confessor was determined to yield, whose example it is very likely would have made the rest to have done the like; but this escape cannot be imputed to the negligence or backwardnes of the Lord Admirall, but meerely to the want of providence in those that had the charging and managing of the fleete, for at this tyme of most advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a generall scarcitie of powder and shott, for want whereof they were forced to return home. Another opportunitie was lost not much inferior to the rest, by not sendinge part of our fleete to the west part of Ireland, which the Spaniards of necessitie were to seeke after soe manie daungers and disasters as they had endured.

If wee had bene soe happie as to have followed this course, and it was both thought and discust of, we had bene victorious over this great and conquering navie, for they were brought to that necessity that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confest that were cast away in Ireland.

Heerein is to be noted howe weake and feeble the designes of men are in respect of the Creator of man, and howe indifferentlie he dealt betwixt the two nations, sometimes givinge one sometimes the other advantage, and yet soe that *he* only ordered the battaile.

The Action of Portugall, 1589 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMANDERS BY SEA.	COMMANDERS BY LAND.
The Revenge . . .	Sir Francis Drake	Sir John Norris
The Dreadnought . .	Captain Thomas Fenner	Sir Edward Norris
The Ayde	Captain William Fenner	Sir Henry Norris
The Nonparill . . .	Captain Sackfeild	Sir Roger Williams
The Foresight . . .	Captain William Winter	Captain Williams
The Swiftsuer . . .	Captain Goeringe	Serjeant-Major
		The Earle of Essex voluntary.

The last overthrowe of 1588, given to the Invincible Fleete (as they termed themselves) did soe encourage every man to the warr, as happy was he that could put himselfe in action against the Spaniards, as it appeared by the voluntaries that went in this journey : consideringe the great losse the Kinge of Spaine received in the yeare past, whereby it was to be imagined how weakelie he was provided for at home, made the Queene willinge to countenance this action, though she undertooke it not wholly of herselfe, which is to be imputed to the overthrowe of it.

For whosoever he be of a subject that thinks to undertake soe great an enterprise without a prince's purse shalbe deceived ; and therefore these two generalls in my opinion never overshott themselves more than in undertakeinge soe great a charge with soe little meanes, which is the only cause to be imputed to the ill successe of it, for where there is victualls and armes wantinge, what hope is there of prevailinge.

The project of this journey was to restore a distressed kinge to his kingdome, usurped as he pretended ; and, though the meanes for the settinge forth of this voyage was not soe great as was expedient, yet in the opinion of all men, if they had directed their course whither they intended it without landinge at the Groyne, they had performed the service they went for, restored Don Antonio to the crowne, dissevered Portugall from Spaine, and united it in league with England ; which would have answered the present charge, and have settled a continuall trade for us to the West Indies and the rest of the Portugalls dominions ; for soe wee might have conditioned.

But, as I have said, the landinge at the Groyne was a lingring of the other designe ; a consuminge of victualls ; a weakeninge of the armie by the immoderate drinckinge of the souldiers, which brought a lamentable sicknes amongst them ; a warninge to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugall ; and, as great as all this, a discouragement to proceede further, beinge repulsed in the first attempt.

Notwithstandinge this ill successe at the Groyne, they departed from thence towards Portugall, and arrived at Penech, a maritan town twelve leagues from Lishbone, where with smale resistance they tooke the Castle, after the Captaine understoode Don Antonio to be in the armie.

From thence Generall Norris marched with his land forces to Lishbone, and Sir Francis Drake with his fleete sayled to Caske Cadez, promisinge from thence to passe with his shippes upp the river to Lishbone, to meete with Sir John Generall Norris; which he did not, and therefore he was much blamed by the common consent of all men, imputinge the overthrowe of the action to him.

It will not excuse Sir Francis Drake in his promise made to Sir John Norris, though I would utterly have accused him of want of discreation if he had put the fleete to soe great an adventure to soe little purpose; for his beinge in the harbour of Lishbone was nothinge to the takeinge of the Castle, which was two miles from thence in circumference of height, for the Castle being taken the towne was tooke by course.

And moreover the shippes could not furnishe the armie with more men or victualls then they had; wherefore I understand not wherein his goeing up was necessary, and yet the fleete was to endure many hazards to this little purpose.

For betwixt Caske Cadez and Lishbone there are three castles, Saint John, Saint Francis, and Bellin. The first of them three I hold one of the impregnablest fortes to seaward in Europe, by which the fleete was to passe within calliver shott; though I doe not confesse the greatest daunger was in it to passe in, for with a reasonable gale of winde anie forte is to be past with smale adventure.

But at this tyme there was a generall want of victualls, and beinge entered the harbour their comeinge out againe was uncertaine, the place beinge subject to contrary windes; in which space the better part of the victualls would have bene consumed, and they would remayne in soe desperate estate as they would have bene forced to have fired one halfe of the fleete for the bringinge home of the rest: for beinge as they were, after the armie was imbarqued for England, many dyed of famine homeward, and more would have done if the winde had tooke them short, or if by the death of some, others had not bene releived.

And, besides all these casualties and daungers, the Adalantina was then in Lishbone with the gallies of Spaine, and howe easily he might have annoyed our fleete by toweing fired shippes amongst us, wee may suppose by the hurt wee did the Spaniards the yeare before in Callis roade, and greater we had done if wee had had the helpe of gallies.

It is a world to observe every man's opinion of this journey, as well those that

were actors in it, as others that staid at home, some imputinge the overthrowe to the landinge at the Groyne, others to the Portugalls faylinge of their helpes and assistance, as was promised by Don Antonio, and some of Sir Francis Drake's not coming up the river with his fleete.

Though anie of these three might seeme probable reasons to manie men that shall but heare them, and the landinge at the Groyne the cheifest of the three alledged, yet waigh trully the defect, and where it was, and the action was overthrowne before their settinge from home, beinge weakely provided of all things needefull for soe great an expedition.

For when this journey was first in speeche, the number of shippes was not concluded on accordinge to the proporcion of men, wherefore they were forced to make staie of divers Easterlings mett in our channells, and compelled them to serve in this action for the transportation of our souldiers; and though these shippes were an ease to our men, which would have bene pestered, yet their victualls was nothinge augmented, but they put aboard on shippes liked banished men, to seeke their fortunes att sea; for, by confession, divers of the shippes had not four daies victualls when they departed from Plymouth.

Another impediment to this journey was feild peeces, the want whereof was the losse of Lishbone; for the strength consistinge in the castle, and wee haveinge only an armie to countenance us, noe meanes for batterie, wee were the losse of the victory ourselves, for it was apparent by intelligence wee received, if wee had presented them with battery, they were resolved to parley and soe by consequence to yeild, and this was the mayne and cheife reason of the Portugalls excuse in not joyninge with us.

There is one other reason to be alledged on the Portugalls behalfe, and their love and favour to our proceedings; for though they shewed not themselves forward upon the occasion aforesaid in aidinge us, yet they opposed not themselves as enemies against us, for if they had pursued us in our retraite from Lishbone to Caske Cadez, our men beinge weake, sicklie, without powder and shott and other armes, they had put us to a greater losse and disgrace then we had on it. And if ever England have occasion to sett upon a competitor in Portugall, our carriage and good entreatie to the people of that countrie have gained us great reputation amongste them, for the Generall moste advisedlie forbadd the rifelinge of their howses in the countrie and suburbes of Lishbone, which they possess, and commaunded royall payment for every thinge they tooke without compulcion or rigorous usage: this hath made those that stood but indifferently affected before, nowe readie upon the like occasion to assist us.

A Voyage undertaken by the Earle of Cumberland with one ship royal of Her Majesties, and six of his owne and other adventurers. A° 1589.

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Victory	The Earle of Cumberland
The Margaret	Captaine Christopher Lister
And five others	Captaine Monson, now Sir William Monson, Vice-Admirall.

As the fleete of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake returned from the voyage of Portugall, my Lord of Cumberland proceeded upon his towards that coast, who, meetinge with divers of the shippes, he relieved them with victualls, which otherwise had perished.

This voyage was undertaken at his and his friends charge, excepting the Victorie, a shipp royall of the Queenes, which she adventured.

This journey is amplie and largely writt by that famous mathematitian, Mr. Wright, who was an actor in it himselfe, and what is heere sett downe is but a breife collection of his discourse.

The service performed at sea was the takinge of three Frenche shippes of the League in our channell. Upon his arrivall uppon the coast of Spaine, he encountred with thirteen hulkes, who made some resistance, out of the which he took to the valewe of £7000 in spices belonginge to Portugall.

From thence he crost over the islands of Terceras, and comeinge to Saint Michaells with boates, he fetched out two Spanish shippes from under the Castle, which the same night arrived out of Spaine.

In his course from thence to Flores, hee tooke a Spanish shipp laden with sugars and sweete meates, that came from the Maderos.

Beinge at Flores he received intelligence of divers Spanish shippes to be in the roade of Phyll; he made his sudden returne to that island, where Captain Lister and Captaine Monson gave a desperate attempt in their boats upon the said shippes, which after long fight they possessed: one of them beinge in burden 300 tunnes, carrying eighteen peeces of ordinance and fifty men, was mored to the castle. This shipp, with one other, came from the Indies, two of the rest out of Giney, and one laden with oade, which that island affoards in great plenty. Puttinge from thence to sea, and cominge to the island of Graciosa, after two daies fight, it yielded us by composicion some victualls; off that island wee tooke a shippe of France, of two hundred tunnes, that came from Newfoundland, and of the League.

After saylinge to the eastward of the roade of Terceras in the eveninge, wee beheld eighteen talle shippes of the Indies enteringe into the said roade, one whereof wee after tooke in her course to the coast of Spain; she was loaden with hides, silver, and coocheneale, who, cominge for England, was cast awaie upon the Mount's Bay, in Cornewall, valued at £100,000.

Two other prizes of sugar wee tooke in our said course to the coast of Spaine, each shipp esteemed at £7000, and one from under the castle of Saint Maries, to the same value.

There was noe roade about those Islandes that could defend their shippes from our attempts and takeinge them; yet in the last assaulte we gave upon a shipp of sugars, we found evill successe, for wee were there sharply resisted, and two partes of our men suddenly slaine and hurt, by the occasion of Captaine Lister, who would not be perswaded but to land in the face of their fortifications.

The service performed by land was the takeinge of the island of Phiall, some months after the surprizeinge of those shippes you have formerly heard. The castle yielded us forty-five peeces of ordinance, great and smale: wee sacked and spoyled the towne, and after ransomed it, and soe departed.

These sommer services and shippes of sugar proved not so sweete and pleasant as the winter was afterwards sharpe and painefull, for in our returne for England wee founde the calamitie of famyn, the hazard of shippwracke, and the death of our men, that the like befell not any shippe in the tyme of the warr. All which disasters must bee imputed to Captaine Lister's rashenes, upon whome my Lord Cumberland cheifely relied, wantinge experience himselfe.

He was the man that advised the sendinge the shippes of wine for England, otherwise we had not tasted the want of drinke. He was as earnest in perswadinge our landinge in the face of the fortifications in Saint Maries against all reason and sence. As he was rashe, soe was he valiant, but paid dearly for his unadvised councell; for he was one of the first hurt, and that cruelly, in the attempte of Saint Maries, and after drowned in the rich shippe cast awaie in Mount's Bay.

Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobusher, their Voyage undertaken this
yeare. 1590 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Revenge	Sir Martyn Frobusher
The Mary Rose	Sir John Hawkins
The Lyon	Sir Edward Yorke
The Bonaventer	Captain Fenner
The Raynebowe	Captain George Beeston
The Hope	Captain Bostocke
The Crane	Captain Burnell
The Quittance	
The Foresight	
The Swiftsuer	

From the yeare 1585 untill this present yeare 1590, there was the greatest possibilities of enricheing our nation by actions at sea, if they had bene well followed ; forasmuch as the Kinge of Spaine nether did or could defend his subjects trades, soe weake he was growne in shippinge, by the overthrowe hee had for England in 1588.

Her Majestie beginninge nowe to finde howe necessary it was for her to maintaine a fleete upon the Spanishe coast, as well to forbidd his preparacions against her, which she imagined he would the rather doe in respect of the disgrace he received in 1588, as also to intercept his trade from the Indies, by which he grew great and mighty.

She sent this yeare, 1590, tenn shippes of her owne in two squadrons, the one to be commaunded by Sir John Hawkins, the other by Sir Martin Frobusher, two gentlemen of tryed experience.

The Kinge of Spaine understandinge of this preparacion of hers, sent forth twenty saile of shippes under the direccion of Don Alonso de Bassan, brother to the late famous Marquesse of Saint Cruze : his charge was to secure home the Indie fleete and carrecks.

But Don Alonso beinge at sea, and as it happened the Kinge of Spaine beinge better advised, then to adventure twenty of his beste shippes to ten of ours, sent for Don Alonso backe againe, and soe frustrated the expectation of our Fleete.

He likewise made a dispatch to the Indies, commaundinge the fleete there to winter, rather then to hazard their comeinge home that sommer. This was not done without great hinderance and losse to the merchants of Spaine, to be soe longe without returne of their goods, which caused many bankruptes in Civill and other places ; besides it was soe great a weakeninge to their shippes to winter in the Indies, as it was many yeares before they could recover their losses, as by the yeare followeing it appeared.

One fleete, as you have heard, beinge thus prevented, and havinge spent seven monethes in vaine upon the coast of Spaine and Islands, in that space they could not possesse themselves of one shipp of the Spaniards, for the carrocks upon which one of their hopes depended, came home without sight of the islands, and arrived safe at Lishbone.

This journey was a bare action to sea, though they attempted landinge at Phiall, which, as you have heard, the Lord Cumberland the yeare before had taken ; but the castle beinge reformed, they did not prevaile in their enterprise. Thenceforward the Kinge of Spaine soughte to strengthen his coasts, and laboured to increase in shipping, as might appeare by the next ensuing yeare.

Two fleets, the one by us under the Lord Thomas Howard; the other by the Spaniards, commanded by Don Alonso de Bassan. Anno 1591:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Defiance	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Revenge	Sir Richard Greenefield, Vice-Admirall
The Nonparill	Sir Edward Dennie
The Bonaventer	Captain Crosse
The Lyon	Captain Fenner
The Foresight	Captain Vavasor
The Crane	Captain Duffield

Her Maiestie, understandinge of the Indie fleete winteringe in the haven, and that necessitie would compell them home this yeare, 1591, she sent a fleet to the Islands under the charge of the Lord Thomas Howard.

The Kinge of Spaine, perceiving her drifte, and how much the safety of that fleete concerned him, caused him disambogue soe late in the yeare, as it indaungered the shipwracke of them all; and thus you may see he was rather willinge to hazard the losse of shippes, men, and goods, then indaunger the fallinge into our hands.

He had two designes in bringinge home this fleete soe late. By the one he thought the Lord Thomas would have consumed his victualls and have been forced him. In the other, he was in the meane tyme furnishinge a great fleete, little inferior to that of 1588. By the first he found himselfe deceived, for my lord was supplied both with shippes and victualls out of England. And by the second he was as much prevented, for my Lord of Cumberland, who as then lay upon the coast of Spaine with a fleet, had intelligence of the Spanishe preparacions, and advertised the Lord Thomas thereof with all expedition, and even the night before the Spaniardes arrived at Flores, where my lord lay.

The daie after this intelligence, the Spanish fleete was discovered by my Lord Thomas, whom he knewe by their number and greatnes to be those shippes of which he had warninge; and by that meanes he escaped the daunger that Sir Richard Greenefield his Vice-Admirall rashely rann into. Upon the viewe of the Spaniards, which were fifty-five in number, the Lord Thomas warily, and like a discrete generall, waighed anchor, and made signes to the rest of his fleete to doe the like, with a purpose to gett the winde of them; but Sir Richard Greenefield, being a sterne man, and imagininge this fleete to come from the Indies, and not to be the Armado of which they were informed, would by noe meanes be perswaded by his master or companie, to cutt his mayne saile to followe his Admiral: soe headstronge and rashe he was, that he offered violence to those that councelled him.

But, as the old sayeing is, a wilfull man is the cause of his owne woe; it could not be trulier verified then in him, for when the shippes approached nigh him, and he beheld the greatnes of them, he began to see and repent him of his follie, and when it was too late would have acquitted himselfe of them.

But in vaine, for he was left a prey to the enemie, every shipp accountinge himselfe happiest that could board him speediest.

This wilfull rashenes of Sir Richard made the Spaniards much triumph in their victory, beinge the first shippe that ever they tooke of her Majesties, and the best shipp, as she was commended to them by some English fugitives that served them; but their joy continued not longe, for they possessed her but five daies err she was cast awaie, with many Spaniards in her, upon the Islandes of Tercera.

Commonly one misfortune is accompanied with another, for the Indies fleete, for which my lord lay the whole sommer, the day after this mishapp, fell into the companie of the Spanish Armado; who, if they had staid but one daie longer, or the Indies fleete come home but one daie sooner, wee had possest them and enjoyed them, and with them manie millions of treasure which the sea devowred; for, from the tyme they mett with the Armado untill they recovered home, nigh an hundred of them received shippwracke, besides the Ascencion of Civill, and the double fly-boate that was suncke by the side of the Revenge.

All which occasioned by their winteringe in the Indies, and the late disambogueinge from thence; for the worme which the countrie is subject unto doth weaken and consume their shippes.

Notwithstandinge this crosse and perverse fortune which Sir Richard Greenefeild brought his fleete into, the Lord Thomas would not be dismayed or discouraged, but kept the sea the tyme of his victualls; and, by such shippes as himselfe and the rest of his fleete tooke, defrayed the better parte of the charge of the whole action.

The Earle of Cumberland to the Coast of Spaine, 1591:—

SHIPPES.

COMMAUNDERS.

The Garland of Her Majesties	The Earle of Cumberland
Seaven other shippes of his and his friends	{ Captain under him Captain Monson, nowe Sir William Monson.

The Earle of Cumberland keepinge the coast of Spaine, as you have heard, whilest the Lord Thomas remayned at the islandes, all to one end, viz., to annoy and dam-nifie the Spaniards, though in two severall fleetes, he found fortune in a kinde as much to frowne upon him as it had done upon the Lord Thomas Howard.

In this course from England to the Spanishe coast, he encountered with divers shippes of Holland, which came from Lishbone, in which he founde a great quantitie of spices belonginge unto Portugalls. Soe greatly were we abused by that nation of Holland, that though they were the first that engaged us in the warr with Spaine, yet did they maintaine theire trade into those parts, and supplie the Spaniards with municion, victualls, shippinge, and intelligence against us.

Upon my lord's arrivall upon the coast of Spaine, it was his happ to take three shippes at severall tymes, one with wines, which he unladed into his owne, and two sugars, which he enjoyed not longe, noe more did he the spices which he tooke out of the Hollanders.

For one of the shippes of sugar, by meanes of a leake that sprunge upon her, was forced to be cast of, and with much difficultie shee recovered the shoare and saved mens lives.

The other beinge sent for England, and tossed with contrary windes for want of victualls, was forced into the Groyne, where they put themselves to the mercie of the enemye.

The spices were determind to be sent for England, and a shippe appointed for that purpose, with other shippes to garde her. Captain Monson was sent on boarde her to the Islands of the Burlings, with charge to see her dispatched for England.

But, the other shippes faylinge theire directions, and the night fallinge calme, early in the morninge this scattered shipp was sett upon by six gallies, and after a longe and bloudie fight, the captaine and the principallest men beinge slaine, both ship and spices were taken. But whether it was in respect they had to the queenes shipp, which was Admirall of that fleete, or honor to my lord that commaunded it, or hope by good usage of our men to receive the like again, I knowe not; but true it is, that the ordinary men were treated with more courtesie then had bene from the beginninge of the warrs.

My Lord of Cumberland perceiving the disasters that thus befell him, and knoweing the Spanish fleet's readiness to put out of harbour, but especially findinge his shipp but evill of sayle, it being the first voyage she ever went to sea, she durst not abide the coast of Spaine, but thought it more discreacion to returne for Englande, havinge (as you have heard) sent a pinnace to my Lord Thomas with intelligence aforesaid.

A Voyage undertaken by Sir Walter Rawleigh, but himself returninge left the charge thereof to Sir Martyn Frobusher. Anno 1592:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS BY SEA.	COMMAUNDERS BY LAND.
The Garland	Sir Walter Rawleigh	Sir John Borough
The Foresight, with divers other	} Captain Crosse	
Merchants Shippes		Sir Walter went not, but Sir Martyn Frobusher

Sir Walter Rawleigh, who had tasted abundantly of the Queenes love, findinge it nowe began to decline, put himselfe into a journey at sea, and drewe unto him divers and sundrie friends of great quallitie and others, thinkinge to have interprized some place in the West Indies, and with this resolucion he put out of harbor; but spending two or three daies in fowle weather at sea, her Majestie was pleased to commaund his returne, and to committ the charge of the shippes to Sir Martyn Frobusher, who was sent downe for that purpose, but with an expresse commaund not to followe the designes of the West Indies.

This suddaine alteracion beinge knowne unto the rest of the captaines, for the present made some confusion, as commonly all voluntarie actions doe; their Generall leavinge them, they thought themselves free in their reputation, and as free in election what course to take; fewe of them did therefore submitte themselves to the commaund of Sir Martyn Frobusher, but chose rather each one to take his particular fortune and adventure at sea.

Sir Martyn, with two or three other shippes, repayred to the coast of Spaine, where he tooke a Spaniard laden with iron, and a Portugall with sugar; he remained there not without some daunger, his shipp beinge ill of saile, and the enemy havinge a fleete at sea. Sir John Borough, Captaine Crosse, and one other, stood to the islandes, where they mett with as many shippes of my Lord of Cumberlands, with whome they consorted. After some time spent thereabouts, they had sight of a carrecke, which they chased; but she recovered the Island of Fores before they could approache to her; but the carricke, seeinge the islands could not defend her from the strength and force of the English, chose rather, after the men were gott on shoare, to fier herselfe, then we the enemy should reape benefitt by her.

The purser of her was taken, and by threats compelled to tell of an other of their company behind, that had order to fall with that island; he gave that particular advertisement that indeede she fell to be ours.

In this meane tyme Don Alonso de Bassan was furnishinge in Lishbone twenty-three of his gallions, which the yeare before he had when he tooke the Revenge. He was directed with those shippes to goe immediately to Flores, to expect the

commeinge of the carracks who you have heard had order to fall with that island, there to put on shore divers ordinance for strengtheninge the towne and castle.

Don Alonso unadvisedly made his repaire first to Saint Michells with the breache of his directions, and there delivered his ordinance before he arrived at Flores, and in the meane tyme one of the carricks was burnt, and the other taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be such a disreputacion to him, and especially happeninge through his owne error and default, that he became much perplext, and pursued the Englishe one hundred leagues, but in vaine, they beinge soe farr ahead.

The Kinge of Spaine beinge advertised of his two carricks mishapp, and the negligence of Don Alonso, though he had much favored him before in respect of divers actions he had bene in with his brother, the Marquesse of Saint Cruz, as also for what he had lately performed takeinge the Revenge, the kinge held it such a blemish to his honor not to have his instructions obeyed and observed, that he did not only take from Don Alonso his charge and commaund, but he lived and died with his disgrace and disfavour, which in my opinion he worthilie deserved.

The Queenes adventure in this voyage was only two shippes, one of which, and the least of them two, was at the takeinge of the carricke, by the which title she resumed power by her regall authoritie, and made the rest of the adventurers submitt themselves to her pleasure, with whome shee dealt but indifferently.

The Earle of Cumberland, to the Coast of Spaine. Anno 1593:—

SHIPPES.

COMMAUNDERS.

The Lyon	The Earle of Cumberland
The Bonaventer	Captain under him, Captain Monson
And seven other shippes	Sir Edward Yorke

The Earle of Cumberland findinge by profe that many voyages he attempted miscarried by the misgovernment of those he trusted, and beinge encouraged by the good successe of his shippes the last yeare, he obtayned two of her Majesties shippes, and victualled them himselfe, with seaven others that did accompanie them, and arrived upon the coast of Spaine. He tooke two French shippes of the Leaguers, which did more then treble the expence of his voyage. My lord beinge one daye severed from his fleete, it was his happe to meete with twelve hulkes at the same place where Captaine Monson was taken the same daie two yeares before. He required that dutie from them that was due unto her Majesties shippes, which they peremptorily refused, presuminge upon the strengthe of their twelve shippes

against one only; but they found themselves deceived, for after two howers fight, he brought them to his mercie, and made them acknowledge their oversight; and willingly discovered and delivered a great quantity of powder and munition, which they carried for the King of Spaines service.

My Lord of Cumberland havinge spent some tyme thereabouts, and understandinge that Fervanteles de Menega, a Portugall, and the kinges generall for the fleete of twenty-four saile, was gone to the islands, he pursued them, thinkinge to meete the carricks before they should joyne together. At his comeinge to Flores, he mett and tooke one of the same fleete, with the death of the captaine, by whome he understood both where the fleete was and their strength. The daie after he mett the fleete themselves, but, beinge farr to weake for them, he was forct to leave them, and spent his tyme thereabouts till he understood the carracks were past by without seeing either fleete or island.

Sir Martyn Frobusher with a Fleete to Brest, in Brittany, 1594:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Vauntgarde	Sir Martyn Frobusher
The Raynebowe	Captain Fenner
The Dreadnought	Captain Clifford
The Quittance	Captain Savill

About three yeares past, 1591, the queene sent Sir John Norris, with 3,000 souldiers, to joyne with the kinges partie in those parties. The Kinge of Spaine, who upheld the factions of the League, sent Don John de Aquila, with the like forces, to joyne with the Duke Mercurie, beinge of the contrary side. The Spaniards had fortified themselves very strongly neere the towne of Brest, expectinge newe succors from Spaine by sea, which the King of France fearinge, craved helpe of shippes from the Queene, which her Majestie was willinge to grant, because the Spaniard, havinge the haven of Brest to entertaine their shippinge, might prove her most daungerous neighbours; wherefore she sent Sir Martyn Frobusher in this yeare, 1594, with fower of her shippes to make good that harbour. Upon his arrivall, Sir John Norris with his forces, and Sir Martyn with his seamen, came upon the forte; and, though it was as bravely defended as man could doe, yet in the end it was taken with the losse of divers captaines, Sir Martyn Frobusher beinge himselfe sore wounded, of which hurt he dyed at Plymouth after his returne.

A Fleete to the Indies, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, generalls, wherein they ventured deeply and dyed in the journey, 1595 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS BY SEA.	COMMAUNDER BY LAND.
The Defiance	Sir Francis Drake	Sir Thomas Baskerfeild
The Garland	Sir John Hawkins	
The Hope	Captain Gilbert Yorke	
The Bonaventer . . .	Captain Throughton	
The Foresight	Captain Winter	
The Adventer	Captain Thomas Drake	

Theise two generalls, presuminge muche upon their owne experience and knowledge, used many perswasions to the Queene to undertake a voyage to the West Indies, givinge much assurance to performe great services, promisinge to ingage themselves verie deeply, both with their adventure of substance and life. And as all actions promise good hope until they be performed, soe did this the more in opinion of all men in respect of the two Generalls experience.

There were many impediments and letts to this journey before they could cleere themselves of the coast, which put them to greater charge than they expected: the chieftest cause of their lingringe was a mistrust our State had of an Invasion, and the daunger to spare soe many good shippes and men out of England as they carried with them.

The Spaniards most subillie lett slipp noe opportunitie to put us in amazement, thereby to dissolve the action, and sent four gallies from Bleuret in Brittany, to seize some part of our coast, that wee might apprehende a feare of a greater force to followe. These gallies landed at Pensants in Cornewall, where they found the towne abandoned, which they tooke, sackt, and burnt; but this designe of theirs tooke little effect, for the journey proceeded notwithstandinge.

The intent of the voyage was to land at Nombre de Dios, from thence to march to Panumia, to possesse the treasure that comes from Perue; and, if they sawe reason for it, to inhabit and keepe it. But fewe daies before their goeing from Plymouth, they received letters from her Majestie of an advertisement she had out of Spaine, that the Indies fleete was arrived, and that one of them, with losse of her mast, was putt roome to the Island of Porto Rico. Shee commaunded, seeinge there was so good an opportunity offered as the readiness of that fleete and the weakenes of Porto Rico, to possesse themselves of that treasure, and the rather for that it was not much out of the way to Nombre de Dios. It is nether yeares nor experience

that can foresee and prevent all mishappes, which is a manifeste prooffe that God is the giver and disposer of men's actions; for this latter designe was as probable to be effected, consideringe the abilitie and wisdom of the two Generalls, as it was directed, and yet soe unadvisedly prevented as it failed in the execution. For there were five freegates sent out of Spaine to fetch the treasure at Porto Rico: in their waie it was their happ to take a pinnace of the Englishe fleete, by whome they understood the secretts of the voyage, and, to prevent the attempt of Porto Rico, they hastened thither with all speede. Whilest our Generalls lingred at Quadarupa to sett up their boates, they soe strengthened the towne with the souldiers brought in the freegates out of Spaine, that when our fleete came thither, not expectinge resistance, they found themselves frustrate of their hopes, which themselves were the occasion of, for not carryeing their actions with more secrecie. This repulse bredd soe great a greife in Sir John Hawkins as it is thought it hastened his daies. This disaster was great and unexpected, yet did it not discourage Sir Francis Drake's great mynde, but he proceeded upon his first resolved devise for Nombre de Dios, though with noe better successe; for the enemye, havinge knowledge of their cominge, fortified their passage to Panama, and forst their returne with losse. Sir Francis Drake, whoe was wont to rule fortune, nowe finding his errors, and the difference of the strength of the Indies since he first knewe it, grewe melancholie upon this defeate, and suddenly, and I hope naturally, died at Nombre de Dios, where he gott his first reputacion. The two Generalls dyeinge, all other hopes beinge taken awaie by their deathes, Sir Thomas Baskerville succeeded them in their commaunde, who was nowe to thinke upon his returne for England; but coming neere Cuba, he mett and fought with a fleete of Spaine, though not longe, by reason of the mortalitie of his men. This fleete was sent to take the advantage of ours in their returne, thinkinge, as it was indeede, that they should finde them both weake and in want; but the swiftness of our shippes, which gave us the advantage only against the Spaniards, defended us. You may observe that, from the yeare the Revenge was taken till this yeare 1595, there was no sommer but the Kinge of Spaine furnished a fleete for the guarding of his coasts and securing of his trades; and, though there was little feare of anie fleets from England to impeach him more then of this in the Indies, yet because he would shewe his greatnes, and give satisfaction to the Portugall of the care he had in preservinge their carricks, he sent the Earle of Ferra, a younge nobleman of Portugall, who desired to gaine experience, with twenty shippes to the islands; but the carracks did as they used to doe in many other yeares, misse both islands and fleete, and arrived at Lishbone safelie. The other fleete of the Kinge of Spaine in the Indies consisted of 24 shippes, their

generall, Don Bernardino de Villa Nova, an approved coward, when he came to encounter the English fleete, but his feare was redeemed by the valour of his vice-admirall, which our men did attribute much to his honor, whose name was John Garanay.

The Earle of Essex, and the Lord Admirall of England, generalles equally both by sea and land, 1596 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	The Earle of Essex; Captain under him, Sir William Monson
The Arke Royall . . .	The Lord Admirall; Captain under him, Ames Preston
The Meere-Honor . . .	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Warrspright . . .	Sir Walter Rawleigh
The Lyon	Sir Robert Southwell
The Raynehowe	Sir Francis Veare
The Nonparill	Sir Robert Dudley
The Vauntgarde	Sir John Winkfeild
The Mary Rose	Sir George Carewe
The Dreadnought . . .	Sir Alexander Clifford
The Swiftsuer	Sir Robert Crosse
The Acquittance . . .	Sir George Gifford
The Crane	Sir Robert Mansfeild
The Timontarie	Captain Kinge

The first of June, 1596, wee departed from Plymouth by meanes of the great paines, care, and industrie of the sixteen Generalls, who in their owne persons laboured the night before to gett out 100 of their shippes ridinge at Cattwater, which otherwise had not bene easily effected. The third wee sett saile from Causom Bay. The winde beinge when wee waighed at west and by south, instantly cast upp to the north east, and so continued untill it brought us upp as high as the North Cape of Spaine. This fortunate beginninge, with the like that after happened, put us in great hope of a luckie successe to ensue.

Wee beinge now come upon our enemies coast, it behoved the Generalls to be vigilant in keepeinge them from intelligence of us, who appointed the Litnes, the True Love, and the Lyons Whelpe (the three choice saylors of our fleete) to runn a-head, suspectinge the Spaniards had carvells of advice, which they did usually send forth to descrie at sea, upon any rumor of a lesse Fleete than this was made readie in England.

Noe shippe or carvell escaped from us, which I hold a second happiness to our voyage, for you shall understand hereafter the inconvenience that might have happened upon our discovery.

The 10th of June the said three shippes tooke three flyeboats that came from Cadez 14 daies before; by them wee understood the state of the towne was nothinge suspectfull of us, which wee did acknowledge as a third observation of good towards us.

The 12th of June, the Swann, a ship of London, was commaunded, as the other three, to keepe a good way off the fleete to prevent discovery: she mett with a flyboate, which made resistance, and escaped from her. This flyeboate came from the straites, bound home, who, discoveringe our fleete, thinkinge to gaine reputacion and reward from the Spaniards, shapte theire course for Lishbone, but she was luckely prevented by the John and Francis, another shippe of London, which Sir Marmaduke Dorrell commaunded, who tooke her within a league of the shoare; and this wee might accounte the fourth happines to our voyage. The first whereof was, the winde to take us so suddenly, and to continue soe longe, for our souldiers being shipt and in harbor would have consumed theire victualls, and have bene so pestered, that it would have endaungered a sicknes amongst them. The second was, the takeinge all shipps that were seene, which kept the enemie from intelligence. The third was the interceptinge the flyboats from Cadiz, whether wee were bound. They assured us our comeinge was not suspected, which made us more carefull to hayle from the coast, then otherwise wee should have bene. They told us of the daylie expectation of the gallions to come from Saint Jacar to Cadez, and of the merchantes that were bound for the Indies. These intelligences were of great moment, and made the generalls presently to contrive theire busines both by sea and land, which otherwise would have taken upp a longer tyme after their comeinge thither; and whether all men would have consented to attempt theire shippes in harbor, not knowinge the most parte of them to consist of merchants, I make it doubtfull. The fowerth and the fortunatest of all, was the takeinge of the flyboate by the John and Francis, which the Swann lett goe; for if she had reached Lishbone, she had bene able to make reporte of the number and greatnes of our shippes, and might have endangered the quantity of our men, she seeinge the course we bore, and that wee had passed Lishbone, which the enemie most suspected, and made his greatest preparacion for defence; and beinge out of that doubt he had noe place to feare, but Andolozia and Cadiz above the rest; soe that haveinge had the least warninge, the towne might have bene strengthened, and have put us unto great hazard. He might as well have secured his shippes by toweinge them out with gallies, and howsoever the winde had bene have sent them into the straytes, where it had been in vaine to have pursued them, or over the barr of Saint Lucas, where it had bene in vaine to have attempted them.

Wee, haveinge the experience of the good and ill intelligence of an enemie, of

the good in 1588, howe suddenly wee had been tooke and surprized when wee least suspected, had it not bene for Captaine Fleminge ; Of the ill in the yeare before, by the Spaniards takinge a barque of Sir Francis Drake's fleete, which was the occasion of the overthrowe of himselfe and his action.

The 20th of June wee came to Cadiz, earlier in the morning then the masters made reckoning of. Before our comeinge thither, it was determined by Councell, that wee should land at Saint Sebastians, the westermost part of the land, and thither came all the shippes to an anchor, every man preparinge to land as he was formerly directed ; but the winde beinge soe great, and the sea so growne, and four gallies lyeinge to intercept our boats, as there was noe attemptinge landinge without the losse of all.

This daye spent in vaine, in returning messengers from one Generall to another, and in the end they were forcete to resolve upon a course, which Sir William Monson, captaine under my Lord of Essex, advised him to the same morninge he discovered the towne, which was to surprize the shippes, and to be possessors of the harbor, before they attempted landinge.

This course being now resolved upon, there arose great question who should have the honor of the first goeing in ; my Lord of Essex stood for himselfe ; my Lord Admirall impugned it, knoweing his miscarryinge might hazard the overthrowe of the action ; besides he was straightly charged by her Majestie that the Earle should not expose himselfe to danger, but out of necessitie.

When my Lord of Essex could not prevaile, the whole Councell withstandinge him, hee sent Sir William Monson that night on boarde my Lord Admirall, to resolve what shippes should be appointed the next daie to undertake the service. Sir Walter Rawleigh had the vanward given him, which my Lord Thomas hearinge, challenged it by right of his place of Vice-Admirall, and was graunted him. But Sir Walter, haveinge order over night to plye in, came first to an anchor, but in that distance from the Spaniards as he could not annoye them, himselfe returned on boarde, the Lord Generall Essex excusinge his comeinge to anchor soe farr off, for want of water to goe higher ; which was thought strange that the Spaniards which drewe much more water and had noe more advantage then hee of tyde, could passe where his shippe could not. Sir Francis Veare, in the Raynebowe, was appointed to second him, who passinge by Sir Walter Rawleigh his shipp, the second tyme he waighed and went higher. The Lord Generall Essex, who promised to keepe in the midst of the fleete, was tould by Sir William Monson, that the greatest service would depend upon three or fower shippes, and put him in minde of his honor, for that many eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetfull of his promise, and to use all meanes he could to be formost in the fight. My Lord Thomas Howard, who could not be suffered to goe up in his owne shipp, the Meere-Honor, betooke himselfe to the Nonparill; and, in respect the Raynebowe, the Repulse, and Warrspight had taken up the best of the channell, by their first comeinge to an anchor, to his griefe he could not gett higher. Heere did every shipp strive to be the headmost, but such was the narrownesse of the channell, as neither the Lord Admirall nor any other shippe of the Queenes could passe one by another. There was commaundment given, that noe shippe should shoote but the Queenes, makeinge account that the honor was the greater that was obtayned with soe fewe. This fight continued from ten till fower in the afternoone. The Spaniards then sett sayle, thinkinge either to runn higher the river, or els to bringe the other broadeside unto us, because of the heate of their ordnance; but howsoever it was, in their floatinge they came aground, and the men began to forsake their shippes; whereupon there was commaundment given, that all hoyes and vessells that drewe least water to goe unto them. Sir William Monson was sent in the Repulse his boate, with like directions. They possest the great gallions, the Mathewe and Andrewe, but the Phillippe and Thomas fired themselves, before they could be quenched.

I must not forgett to describe the manner of the Spanishe shippes and gallies rideinge in harbor at our first comeinge to Caliz. The fower gallies singled themselves from out the fleete, as guardes of their merchants. The gallies were placed to flancke us with pouse at our entrie; but when they sawe our approche, the next morninge the merchants rann upp the river, the men of warr of Port Royall, to the point of the river; and brought themselves into a good order of fight, moveinge their shippes a-head and a-sterne to have their broadeside upon us. The gallies betooke themselves to the garde of the towne, which wee put them from, before wee attempted the shippes.

The Victory beinge thus obtayned at sea; the Lord Generall Essex landed his men in a sandie bay, which the castle of Poyntull commaunded, but they, seeinge the successe of their shippes, and mistrustinge their owne strength, neither offered to offend his landinge, nor defend the castle, but quitted it; and soe wee became possessors of it.

After my lordes peaceable landinge, hee considered what was to be done; and, whereas there was noe place the enemye could annoy us but by the bridge of Swasoe, which goeth over from the maine land to the Island, and that by makeinge good the bridge the gallies could not escape us, he sent three regiments, namely, Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Christopher Blunt, and Sir Thomas Garrett, to the bridge.

Att theire first comeinge they were encountered, but possest themselves of it, with the losse of some men ; but whether it was for the want of victualls or other reasons they acquitted it I knowe not, and the gallies, breakinge downe divers arches, past and by that meanes escaped.

My lord dispatched an other messenger to my Lord Admirall, entreatinge him to give order to attempt the merchants that rode in Port Royall, for that it was daungerous to geive them a night's respite, least they should convey away their wealth, or take example by the Phillipp and Thomas to burne themselves. This messuage was delivered by Sir Anthony Aishley and Sir William Monson, even as my Lord Admirall was in his boate, ready with his troupes of seamen to land, and, fearinge the Lord Generall Essex should be put to distresse with his smale companies, which were but three regiments, hastened by all meanes to second him, and gave order to certaine shippes the next day to pursue them.

Seeinge I have undertooke, to except against the escapes committed in any of our English voyages, without feare or flattery, they shall appeare to the judicious reader.

Though the Earle of Essex his forwardnesse and carriage merited much, yet if it had bene with more advisement, and lesse haste, it would have succeeded better. If he were now livinge he would confesse Sir William Monson advised him rather to seeke to be master of the shippes then of the towne ; for it was they that affoarded both wealth and honor ; for the riches in the shippes could not be concealed nor conveyed as in townes it might. Shippes beinge brought for England were alwaies in the eye of them that beheld them, and puts them in remembrance of the exploit : as the towne perhappes was soone wonne, not longe enjoyed, so it would be quickly forgott. And to speake indifferently, his suddaine landinge without the Lord Admirall's privitie, and his givinge advice by a messuage to attempt the shippes, which should have bene by a mature determinacion, noe doubt but the Lord Admirall did finde his honor a little eclipsed, and perhappes did hasten his landinge for his reputacion, when he thought it more reason to have possest the fleete.

Before the Lord Admirall could drawe neare the towne, the Earle of Essex had entered it, and, although theire howses were built in that manner as that every house served for a platforme, yet they were forct to quitt them, and to retire into the Castle.

My lord at last, in despite of the enemye, gained the market place, where he found greatest resistance from the howses thereabouts, and heere it was that that worthie gentleman Sir John Wingfeild was unluckely slaine. The Lord Generall Essex caused the drum to sound through the towne, that all those that would yeild should repaire to the towne-house, where they should have promise of mercie, and

those that would not, to expect noe favour. The Castle desired respite to consider untill the morninge followeing, and then by one generall consent they surrendered themselves to the two Lord Generalles mercies. The cheife prisoners, men and woemen, were brought into the castle, where they remayned a little space, and were sent awaie with honorable usage. The noble treatinge of the prisoners hath gayned an everlastinge honor unto our nation, and to the Generalls in particuler every one.

It may be supposed the Lord Generalls had leasure to be idle the daie followinge, haveinge soe great busines to consider of as the securinge the towne and enjoyninge the merchants shippes, and for the speedier dispatch of their busines they had speeche with the best men of the Citie what ransome would be given for their towne and libertie; 120,000 ducketts was concluded upon, and for securitie thereof many of themselves became hostiged. There was likewise an overture for the ransome of their shippes and goods, which the Duke of Medena hearinge, rather then we should reape commoditie by them, hee caused them to be fired.

We found by experience that the destroyinge of this fleete (which did amounte to the valewe of six or seaven millions) was the generall impoverishinge of the whole countrey, for when the pledges sent to Civill to take upp money for their redempcion, they were answered, that all that towne was not able to raise such a somme, their losse was soe great by the losse of their fleete. And to speake indifferently, Spaine never received so great an overthrowe, soe great a spoile, soe great an indignitie at our hands as this, for our attempt was at his owne home, in his port that he thought soe safe as his chamber, where wee tooke and destroyed his shippes of warr, burnt and consumed the wealth of his merchants, sackt his city, ransomed his subjects, and entered his country without impeachment.

To write all accidents of this journey were too tedious, and would weary the reader, but he that would be desirous to knowe the behaviour of the Spaniards, as well as of us, he may conferr with divers Englishmen that were redeemed out of the gallies, for ransome of others, and brought into England.

After wee had enjoyed the towne of Cadiz a fortnight, and that all men grewe riche by the spoile of it, the generalles imbarcked their armie, with an intent to performe greater services before their returne: but such was the covetousnes of the better sort that grewe riche, and the feare and hunger in others that complained of victualls, as they would not willingly be drawne to any action to gaine more reputacion. The only thinge that was after attempted was Pharoah, a towne of Algarola in Portugall, a place of noe resistance or wealth, only famous by the library of Osorius, who was bishop of that place, which library was brought into

England by us, and many of the books bestowed upon the newe erected library of Oxford.

Some prisoners were taken, but of smale account. They discovered the greatest strength of the countrie to be in Lawguste, the chiefe towne of Algarola, twelve miles distant from thence. They commended that place for strength, and the rather because most part of the gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither to make it good, expectinge our comeinge. This newes was acceptable to my Lord of Essex, who preferred honor before wealth; haveinge had his will and spoyle of the towne of Pharoah and countrie thereabouts, aboarde shipp he went with his armie, and counsell of the Lord Admirall howe to proceede after. My Lord Admirall diverted his purpose for Lawgust, alleadginge the place was stronge, of noe wealth, alwaies holden in the nature of a fisher towne, belonginge to Portugalls, who in their harts were our friends; that the winninge of it after soe eminent place as Cadiz could add noe honor; and if it should be carried, it would be the losse of his best troupes and gentlemen, who would rather desire to dye then to receive the indignitie. My Lord of Essex, much againste his will, was forct to yield to theise reasons, and desist from that enterprise.

About this tyme, there was a generall complaint for want of victualls, which proceeded rather out of a desire that some had to be at home then out of necessitie; for Sir William Monson and Mr. Dorrell were appointed to examine the estate of every shippe, and found seaven weeks victualls, drinke excepted, which might have bene supplied from the shore in water, and this put the Generalls in great hopes to performe some thinge more then they had done. The only service that was nowe to be thought on was lyeinge for the carricks, which by all possibilitie could not escape, though there were many doubts to the contrary, but easily answered by men of experience, but in truth some mens desire homeward was soe much as reason could not prevaile nor perswade with them.

Comeinge into the height of the rocke, the Generalls tooke counsell once again, and this the Earle of Essex and the Lord Thomas only offered, and that with great earnestnes, to staie forth the tyme of their victualls, and to have but twelve shippes furnished out of the rest to staie with them; but this could not be granted. The squadron of the Hollanders offered voluntarie to staie. Sir Walter Rawleigh alleadged the scarcitie of victualls, and the infection of his men; my Lord Generall Essex offered, in the greatnes of his minde and the desire to staie, to supplie her want of men and victualls, and to exchange shippes, but all propositions were in vaine, for the riches kept them that gott much from attempting more, as if it had bene poore^a wante, though not honor, would have enforced them to greater enterprises.

^a Pure.

This beinge the last of all hopes of the voyage, and beinge generally resisted, it was concluded to steare awaie with the North Cape, after to viewe and search the harbor of the Groyne and Ferroll; and if anie of the kinges shippes of Spaine chance to be there, to geive an attempt upon them.

The Lord Admirall sent a carvell of our fleete into those two harbors, and apparalled the men in Spanish cloathes to avoid suspicion; this carvell returned the next day with a true relation that there were noe shippes in the harbours; and now passinge all places of hope of doeinge good, our returne for England was resolved upon, and the 8th of August the Lord Admirall arrived at Plymouthe, with the greatest part of the armie; the Lord Generall Essex, two daies after, who staid to accompanie the Saint Andrewe, he undertooke the charge of her, and was reputed of his squadron. The 10th of August he came to Plymouth, where he found the armie in that perfect healthe as the like hath not bene seene, soe many to goe out of England to prevaile in so great enterprises, and soe well to returne home againe.

He himselfe ridd upp to the Court to advise with her Majestie of the wyning of Cadiz, which the Spaniards tooke the Easter before. Heere was a good opportunitie to have enjoyed the auncient patrimonie of England; but the Kinge of France withstood it, thinkinge with more ease to regaine it from the Spaniard that was his enemye, then recover it from us that were his friends.

My Lord Admirall, with the fleete, went to the Downes, where he landed and left the charge of the navie to Sir Robert Dudley and Sir William Monson. In goinge from thence to Chattam they endured more fowle weather and contrary windes, then in the whole voyage besides.

A Voyage to the Islands, the Earle of Essex, general, 1597 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Meare-Honor; after in the Repulse .	The Earle of Essex; Captain under him, Sir Robert Mansfeild
The Lyon	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Warrspight	Sir Walter Rawleigh
The Garland	The Earle of Southampton
The Defiance	The Lord Mountjoy
The Mary Rose	Sir Francis Veare
The Hope	Sir Richard Lewson
The Mathewe	Sir George Carewe
The Rainebowe	Sir William Monson
The Bonaventer	Sir William Harvey
The Dreadnought	Sir William Brooke

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Swiftsuer	Sir Gilly Mericke
The Antilopp	Sir John Gilbert (He went not.)
The Nonparill	Sir Thomas Vavasor
The Saint Andrewe	Captain Throgmorton.

Her Majestie haveinge knowledge of the Kinge of Spaines draweing downe his fleete and armie to the Groyne and Ferroll, which intended some action against her, and that, notwithstandinge the losse of thirty-six saile of his shippes that were cast away upon the North Cape in their comeinge thither, he prepared, with all possible meanes, to revenge the disgraces we did him the yeare paste at Cadiz; her Maiestie likewise prepared to defend herselfe, and fitted the moste parte of her shippes readie for the sea, but perceivinge his drift was more to feare her then offend her, though he gave it out otherwise, because she should provide to resist him at home, rather then to annoy him abroad, which the queenes Maiestie perceivinge, and what charge she was driven unto, she augmented her charge, and converted her preparations.

The project of this voyage was to assault the King of Spaines shippinge in the harbour Ferroll, which was the thinge the queene chiefly desired for her owne security at home; after to goe to the Islands of Tercera, to take it and keepe it, there to expect the comeinge home of the Indie fleete; but indeed nether of the two designes tooke that effecte that was expected; for, in our settinge forth, the same daie wee put to sea wee were taken with a most violent storme and contrarie windes, that the Generall was separated from the fleete, and one shippe from an other, that of force the one halfe were compelled to returne home: the rest that kept the sea, haveing seized the coast of Spaine, were comaunded home by order from the Lord Generall.

Thus after their returne they were to advise upon a newe journey: findinge their shippes and victualls unable to performe their former designe, it was thought most convenient the armie should be discharged, for the prolonginge of victualls for the rest, except a thousand of the prime souldiers of the Lowe Countries, which were staid principallie to put into her Majesties shippes if they should chance encounter the Spanish fleete. Thus the second tyme they departed England, though not without some daunger of the shippes, winter approacheing, which in their returne they were sure to finde.

The first land in Spaine wee fell withall was the North Cape, the place whether our directions ledd us, if wee happened to loose companie. Beinge heere descried from the shore, and not above twelve leagues from the Groyne, where the Spanish

Armado laie, wee were in good hope to have inticed them out of the harbor to fight with us; but spendinge sometime thereabouts, and findinge noe such disposition in them, it was thought fitt noe longer to linger upon that coast, and loose greater opportunities upon the Indie fleete; therefore every captaine received his direction to stand his course into thirty-six degrees, there to spread ourselves north and south, a hight that commonlie the Spaniards saile in from the Indies.

At this tyme the Lord Generall complayned of a leake in his shippe, and two daies after, towards night, he brought himselfe upon the ley to stopp it. Sir Walter Rawleigh, and some other shippes, beinge ahead the fleete, and it groweing darke, could not discerne the lord generall's workeinge, but stood theire course directed before, and through this unadvised workeinge of my lord, they lost him and his fleete.

The day followeing, Sir Walter Rawleigh was informed by a pinnace he mett, that the great Armado, which wee supposed to be in the Groyne and Ferroll, was gone to the Islands for the garde of the Indie fleete. This pinnace, with this intelligence, Sir Walter Rawleigh immediately sent to looke out the Generall. My lord had noe sooner received this intelligence, but at the verie instant he directed his course to the islands, and dispatched some smale vessells to Sir Walter Rawleigh to informe him of his sudden alteration upon the newes received from him, commaunding him with all expedition to repaire unto Flores, where he would not faile to be. At our arrivall at the islands, we found this intelligence moste false, for nether the king's shippes were there nor expected. Wee met with divers Englishmen that came out of the Indies, but they could give us noe assurance of the comeinge home of the fleete, nether could wee receive any advertisement from the shore, which made us halfe in despaire with them.

By that tyme wee had watered our shippes and refreshed ourselves at Flores, Sir Walter Rawleigh arrived there, who was willed by the Lord Generall (after he was furnished of such wants as that poore island doth afford) to make his repaire to the island of Fyall, which my lord intended to take. Heere grewe great question and hart burninge against Sir Walter Rawleigh, for that he comeinge to Fyall, and missinge the lord generall, but knoweing my lord's resolution to take the island, he held it more discreacion to land with those forces he had then to expect the comeinge of my lord, for in that space the island might be better provided; whereupon he landed and tooke it before my lord's approache. This act was held such an indignitie to my lord, and urged with that vehemencie by those that hated Sir Walter, that if my lord, who by nature was timerous and flexible, had not feared howe it would have bene taken in England, I thinke Sir Walter had smarted for it.

From this island we went to Graciosa, which did willingly releive our wants, as it could affoarde, with humble intreatie to forbear landinge with our armie, especiallie because they understood there was a squadron of Hollanders amongst them who did not use to forbear crueltie where ever they came; and heere it was that wee mett the Indie fleete, which, in manner followinge, unluckely escaped.

The Lord Generall haveinge some men of good account in the island to see there should be noe evill measure offered the Portugalls, passinge his word to the contrarie, those men advertised him of four saile of shippes descried from the shore, and one of them shewing greater than the reste seemed to be a carricke. My Lord received great joy upon this newes, and devided his fleete into three squadrons, to be commanded by himselfe, the Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Rawleigh. The next shipp to my lord of the queenes was the Raynebowe, wherein Sir William Monson went, who received direccion from my lord to steare awaie south that night, and if he should meete with any fleete to followe them, carryeing lights, shootinge of his ordinance, or any other signe that he could make; and if he mett with noe shippes to direct his course the next day to the Island of Saint Michael's, but promisinge that night to send twelve shippes after him. Sir William besought my lord, by the pinnace that brought him this direction, that above all things he should have a care to dispatch a squadron to the roade of Augra, in the Tercera, for it was certaine, if they were Spaniards, thither they would resorte.

Whilst my lord was thus contrivinge his busines and orderinge his squadrons, a smale barque of his fleete happened to come unto him, who assured him that those shippes discovered from the land were of his fleete, for that they came in immediately from them. This made my lord countermand his former direction, only Sir William Monson, which was the next shippe unto him, and received the first commaund, could not be recalled back. Within three howres after his departure from my lord, and which might be about twelve of the clock, he fell in companie of a fleete of twenty-five sayle, which at the first he could not assure himselfe to be Spaniards, because the daie before that number of shippes was missinge from our fleete. Heere he was in a dilemma and great perplexitie with himselfe, for in makinge signes as hee was directed, if the shippes proved English it were ridiculous, and he might be held a scorne, and to respite untill morninge were as dangerous if they were the India fleete, for then my lord might be out of view or of the hearinge his ordinance; therefore he resolved rather to put his person than shippe in perill; he commanded his master to keep his weather gage of the fleete whatsoever should become of him, and it blew little wind, he betooke himselfe into his boate, and rowed up with the fleete, demaunding of whence they were; they

answered, of Civill in Spaine, and requiring of whence he was ; he told them of England, and that the shippe in sight was a gallion of the queenes of England single and alone, alleadginge the honor to winn her, urginge them with daringe speeches to chase her, his drift beinge to drawe and intice them into the wake of our fleete, where they would be soe intangled as they could not escape. They returned him soone shotte and ill language, but would not alter their course from the Terceras, whether they were bound, and where they arrived to our misfortune. Sir William Monson returned aborde shipp, makeing signes with lights, and reporte with his ordinance, but all in vaine, for my lord, alteringe his course as you have heard, stood that night to Saint Michael's, and passed by the north side of Tercera, a further waie then if he had gone by the waie of Augra, where he had mett the Indie fleete.

When daie appeared, and that Sir William Monson was in hope to finde the twelve shippes promised to be sent with him, he might onlie discern the Spanish fleete two miles and a little more ahead him, and astearne him a gallion, and a pinnace betwixt them, which puttinge forth their flaggs he knewe to be the Earle of Southampton in the Garland. The pinnace was a friggett of the fleete, who tooke the Garland and the Raynebowe to be gallions of theirs, but seeinge the flagg of the Garland she found her error, and sprange a loofe, thinkinge to escape ; but the earle pursued her with the losse of some time. hee should have followed the fleete, beinge desired to desist from that chace by Sir William Monson, who sent his boate unto him ; but by a shott from my lord this frigott was suncke, and whilst his men were rifling her Sir Francis Vere and Sir William Brooke came upp in their two shippes, who the Spaniards made us believe were two gallions of theirs, and soe much did my lord certifie ; Sir William Monson wishinge him to staie their comeinge upp, for that there would be greater hope of them two shippes (which noe doubt but wee were able to over master) then of the fleete, for which wee were too weake.

But after Sir William had made the two shippes to be the Queenes, which he ever suspected, he began to pursue the Spanish fleete afresh, but by reason they were so farr a head him, and had soe little waie to saile, they recovered the roade of Tercera, which he and the rest of the shippes pursued, himselfe leadinge the waie into the harbour, where he found sharpe resistance from the castle ; but wee soe battered the shippes that we might see the mast shott by the board of some, the men quitt the shippes, that there wanted nothinge but a gale of winde to cutt the cable of the house and to bring them off. He sent to the other three great shippes of ours to desire them to attempt the cuttinge their cables ; but Sir Francis Vere

rather wished his comeinge off, that they might take a resolution what to doe. This must be rather imputed for want of experience then backwardnes in him; for Sir William sent him word, if he quitted the harbour, the shippes would towne neere the Castle, and as the night drewe on the winde would freshen and come more off the land, which indeede was soe, and we above a league from the roade in the morninge.

Wee may saye that truly there was never the possibilitie to undoe that state of Spaine as nowe, for every ryall of plate wee had taken in this fleete had bene two to them by convertinge it by warr upon them.

Noe man can receive blame heereby, but the want of experience in my Lord, his flexible nature to be overruled; for the first howre he anchored at Flores and called a councell, Sir William Monson advised him, and upon the reasons followeing after his watering, to runn west, spreadinge his fleete north and south, soe farr as the easterne winde that then blew would carry them, alleadginge if the Indie fleete came home that yeare by computacion of the last light moone disimbogueing in the Indies, they could not be above two hundred leagues short of that island, and whensoever the winde should chopp upp westernly in fewe daies (he bearinge a slacke saile) they would overtake him if they were for to come home.

This advice he seemed to take, but he was diverted by divers gentlemen, whose comeinge was principally for land service, and found themselves tyred by the tediousness of the sea. It is certaine, if my lorde had followed his advice, within lesse than fortie howres he had made the queene owner of that fleete; for by the pylots carde, which was taken in the frigott, the Spanishe fleete was but fifty leagues in traverse with that eastern winde when my lord was att Flores, which made my lord wishe the first tyme Sir William Monson repaired unto him after the escape of the fleete, that hee had given his hand he had bene ruled by him.

Beinge mett aboard Sir Francis Veare as you have heard, he desired to consult what to doe. We resolved to acquaint my lord with what had happened, desiringe his presence to be an eye witness if there were anie possibilitie to attempt the shippinge, or to surprise the island and possesse the treasure.

My lord received this advertisement even as he was readie with his troupes to have landed in Saint Michaell; but this messuage diverted his landinge, and made him presentlie cast about for the islands of the Terceras, where wee laie all this while expectinge his cominge. In his course from Saint Michaell's it was his happ to take three shippes that departed the Havana the daie after the fleete, which three shippes did more then countervaille the expence of the whole journey.

At my lord's meetinge with us at Tercera there was a consultacion howe the

shippes might be feetched off or destroyed as they laie. All men with one consent delivered the impossibility of it. The attemptinge the islands was propounded, but withstood with these reasons: the difficultie in landinge, the strength of the island, which was increased by 14 or 15 C. souldiers in the shippes, and the want of victuals in us to abide the seidge. Seeinge we were frustrate of any hope at the Tercera, we resolved of a landinge in Saint Michaelles, and arrived in Punta delgada, the cheife city, the daie followeing. Heere my lord imbarqued his smale armie in boats, with offer to land, and, haveinge drawne theire greatest forces thither to resist him, suddenly he rowed to Villa Frank, three or four leagues distant from thence, which he took, not being instructed by the enemie. The shippes had order to abide in the roade of Delgada, for that my lord made account to marche thither by land; but being ashore at Villa Franke, and the marche unpossible, as he was told, by reason of the high and craggie mountaines, diverted his purpose.

Victualls grewe short in many places, and my Lord Generall began discreetelie to foresee the daunger in abidinge upon these coasts towards winter, that could not afford him an harbour; only open roades that were subject to southerne windes, and upon every such winde he must put to sea for his safetie; and if this should happen when his troupes were on shore, and he not able to seize the land in a fortnight or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a desperate case he should put himselfe unto for want of victualls; and, waighinge withall that he had seene the end of all his hopes by the escape of his fleete, he embarqued himselfe and armie, though with some difficultie, the seas were soe growne.

By this tyme the one halfe of the fleete that ridd in Punta delgada put roome for Villa Franke. Those that remayned behinde were imagined by a shipp of Brazell to be the Spanishe fleete, who came in amongst them, and was thus betrayed. After her there followed a carrecke, who had been served in the like manner, but for the hastie and indiscrete weyinge of a Hollander, that made her run ashore under the Castle. When the winde lessened, Sir William Monson weyed with the Raynebowe, thinkinge to give an attempte upon her notwithstanding the Castle, which she perceivinge, as he drewe neere unto her, she sett herselfe on fire, and burned downe to the very keele: she was a shipp of 1400 tunns in burden, that the yeare before was not able to double the Cape of Bona Esperansa in her voyage to the East Indies, but put into Brazill, where she was laden with sugars, and thus destroyed. The Spaniards presuminge more upon theire advantages then valours, thought too weake a condition to followe us to the island, and put theire fortunes upon a daies service, they rather devised subtilelie to intercept us, as wee should come home, when we had least thought or suspicion of them, and the fleete that was all this while in the

Groyne and Ferroll, not dareinge to put forth whilst they knewe ours to be upon the coast, againste the tyme wee should returne, their Generall the Adalantada came for England, with a resolucion to land at Fawmouth to fortife it, and after with their shippes to keepe the sea, expectinge our comeinge home scattered.

Haveinge thus cut off our sea forces, and possessinge the harbour of Famouth, with a second supplie of thirty-seven Levantiscos shippes the Marquesse Armubullo commanded, they hoped to have a good footing in England.

These designs of theirs were not foreseene by us, for wee came home scattered as they made reckoninge, not twenty in number together.

Wee may saie, and that truly, that God fought for us; for the Adalantada, beinge within fewe leagues of the Island of Cilley, had commaunded all his captaines to boarde him to receive their directions; and whilst they were busie in consultation a most violent storme tooke them at easte, insomuch that the captaines could hardly recover their shippes, but in noe case were able to save their boates, the storme continued soe forceable, and happie was he that could recover home. Seeinge themselves lost and their actions overthrowne by losse of their boats, their meanes of landinge beinge taken awaie, some that were more willinge to receive the directions of the generall then the rest, kepte the seas so longe and upon our coast, that in the end they were taken; others put themselves into our harbours for refuge and succor; and it is certainly knowne that in this journey the Spaniards lost eighteen shippes, the Saint Luke and the Saint Bartholomewe beinge two, and in the ranke of his beste gallions.

Wee must ascribe this victory onlie to God; for certainelie the enemies designs were perillous, and not diverted by our force, but by His will, who from tyme to tyme would not suffer the Spaniards in any of their attempts to sett footing in England, as wee have done in all the quarters of Spaine, Portugall, the Islands, and bothe the Indies.

The Lord Thomas Howard, Admirall to the Downes, from whence he returned in one moneth. A° 1599:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Elizabeth Jonas	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Arke Royall	Sir Walter Rawleigh
The Triumph	Sir Fulke Greville
The Meare-Honor	Sir Henry Palmer
The Repulse	Sir Thomas Vavasor
The Garland	Sir William Harvie
The Defiance	Sir William Monson

Principal Naval Engagements of

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Nonparill	Sir Robert Crosse
The Lyon	Sir Richard Lewson
The Rainebowe	Sir Alexander Clifford
The Hope	Sir John Gilbert
The Foresight	Sir Thomas Sherley
The Mary Rose	Mr. Fortescue
The Bonaventer	Captain Throughton
The Crane	Captain Jonas
The Swiftsuer	Captain Bradgate
The Trimontarie	Captain Slingsbie
The Advantage	Captain Hoer
The Quittance	Captain Reynaldes.

I cannot write of anie thinge done this yeare of 1599, though there was never greater expectations of warrs with less performance ; for whether it was a mistrust one nation had of another, or a policie held on both sides to make peace with sworde in the hand, a treatie beinge entertained by consent of eache prince, I am not to examine ; but sure I am, the preparation was great on both sides, the one expectinge an invasion from the other, and yet it was generally conceived not to be intended by either, but that it had only relation to my Lord of Essex, who was then in Ireland, but had a designe to trie his friends in England to be revenged of his enemies as he pretended, and as it proved after by his fall. Howsoever it was, the charge was not great, yet necessary ; for it was commonly knowne the Adalantada had drawne both shippes and gallies to the Groyne, which was not usually done, but upon some intended action for England or Ireland, though he converted them after to an other use, as you shall heare.

The gallies were sent into the Lowe Countries, and past the narrowe seas whilest our shippes laye there, and with the fleete he pursued the Hollanders to the Islands, whom he suspected were gone thither. This fleete of Hollanders, which consisted of seventy-three sayle, were the first shippes that ever displayed their coulors in warlike sorte against the Spaniards in anie action of their owne ; for howe cruell soever the warr seemed to be in Holland, they mayntayned a peaceable trade in Spaine, and abused us. And as this was the first action of the Hollanders, soe it did not succede to the best for them ; for after their spoile in a towne in Canaria, and some hurt done at the Island of Saint Ome, they kept the sea for some seven or eight monthes, in which tyme their generall and most of their men died with sicknes ; the rest returned with losse and shame. The second benefitt wee received by this preparation was, that our men were nowe taught suddenly to arme ;

every man knoweth his commaund and how to be commaunded, as before they were ignorant: and who knowes not that suddaine and false alarmes in the armie are sometymes very necessarie.

This expedition in draweing together soe great an armie by land, and rigginge her royall navie to sea in soe little space, is soe admirable in other countries, that they received a terror by it; and many that come from beyond sea saie, she was never more dreaded for any thinge then for it.

Frenchmen that came aboard our shippes did wonder as a thinge incredible that her Maiestie had rigged, victualled, and furnished her royall shippes to sea in twelve daies. Spain, as an enemie, had reason to feare and greive: first, for seeinge this sudden preparation: secondly, when they shall understand the harts of her Majesties subjects joyned with their hands—for with one consent they were readie to spend their dearest blood for her and her service—Holland might see that if they became insolent wee would be as soone provided for them as they for themselves; which celerity they did hardly believe to find in any nation but themselves.

It is probable that the Kinge of Spaine and the Archduke were drawne by this to entertaine a speeche of peace; for, as soone as our flete was at sea, a gentleman was sent from Bruxells with an overture of peace; although for that tyme it succeeded not; whether it was that the intended invasion from Spaine was diverted, or that her Majestie was fullie satisfied of my Lord of Essex, I know not; but it is very like by the sudden returne of the shippes from sea, after they had lyen three weekes or a monthe at the Downes.

Sir Richard Lewson to the Islandes. Anno 1600:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	Sir Richard Lewson
The Warspight	Captain Throughton
The Vauntguard	Captain Sommers.

The last yeare, as you have heard, put all men in expectacion of warr, which came to nothinge. This sommer gave us greate hope of peace, but with the like effect, for, by consent of the Queene, the Kinge of Spaine, and the Archduke, their commissioners mett at Bullinge in Picardie to treat of a peace, a place chosen indifferentlie, the Kinge of France beinge in league and friendship with them all. Whether their meetinge was but a shewe, as being out of hope to effecte a peace, or that their severinge after they met was upon advised and true ground, I knowe

not; but methinks the occasion was but very slender that parted them, for there grewe a difference of precedencie betwixt the two nations that was ever due to England, and soe that happie busines was made frustrate, which, once more I saie, if it had bene reallie intended that might easily have been accommodated.

The Queene suspectinge the evente hereof before their meetinge, and the rather because the Spaniard entertained her with the like treatie in 1588, at the same instant his navie appeared upon her coast to invade her; and least the Queene should be blamed or condemned by other princes of too great securitie, in relyeing upon the successe of this doubtfull peace, she furnished the three shippes before named, but in shewe to garde the western coast, which at that tyme was infested with Dunkerker.

And because there should be the lesse notice taken of this fleete, parte of the victualls was provided at Plymouth, and Sir Richard Lewson, who was then admirall of the narrowe seas, appointed Generall for the secret and provident carriage of these shippes. It could not be conjectured either by their victuallinge, by the meane condicion of their captaine, or by the admirall of the narrow seas, that it was a service from home. As they were in a readines att Plymouth expectinge their directions, the Queene was fully resolved that the treatie of Bulloigne would breake without the effect of peace. She commaunded Sir Richard Lewson to hasten to the Islands, to expecte the carricks and Mexico fleete. The Spaniards, on the other side, beinge as circumspect to prevent a mischeife as we were subtile to contrive it, and trusinge as wee did that the peace would prove a vaine hopelesse shewe of what was never meant, they furnished eighteen tall shippes to the Islands, as they did usually doe since the yeare 1591, as you have heard. The generall of this fleete was Don Diego de Borachero.

Our shippes comeinge to the Islands, they and the Spaniards had intelligence of one another, but not the sight, for that Sir Richard Lewson hayled sixty leagues westward, not only to avoid them, but in hope to meete with the carrickes and Mexico fleete before their joyninge. But the carrickes beinge formerly warned by the takeinge one of them, and the burninge another in 1591, I knowe not whether to impute it to deteccions or to their providence; but it is most certaine, that since that yeare they shunned the sight of that island, and by consequence the fleete that lay to waste them. Our fleete beinge thus prevented, as they had often bene, whereby the uncertaintie of sea actions may be discerned, where shippes are to meete one another casually, they haveinge consumed their tyme and victualls, and seene not so much as one sayle from the tyme they quitted the coaste of England untill their returne, two shippes of Holland excepted that came from the East

Indies, for they began their trade thither, which shippes Sir Richard Lewson relieved, findinge them in great distresse and wante.

Sir Richard Lewson in Ireland. Anno 1601:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Warrspight	Sir Richard Lewson
The Garland	Sir Amyas Preston
The Defiance	Captain Goer
The Swiftsuer	Captain Sommers
The Crane	Captain Mainwairinge

In the yeare 1600, and part of the yeare 1601, there was a kinde of cessation from armes, though not by agreement, for this yeare gave a hope of peace, which failing, the former course of annoyinge each other was revived; wee in relievinge the Lowe Countries, the Spaniards in assistinge the rebells in Ireland. This was the sommer that the Archduke beseidged Ostend, which was bravely defended, but principallie by the supplies out of England. Towardes winter, when the Spaniards thought wee least looked for warr, Don Diego de Borachero, with 48 sayle of shippes, and 4000 soldiers, were sent to invade Ireland.

In his waie he lost the companie of his Vice Admirall Siriago, who returned to the Groyne; which when the kinge heard, hee was much distasted with Siriago, and commaunded him upon his alleagiance to hasten with all speede for Ireland, as he was formerly directed. Don Diego his landinge beinge knowne in England, and too late to prevent it, yet least he should be supplied with further forces, Sir Richard valiently entered the harbour, drewe neere their fortifications, and ceased not fightinge the space of one whole daie, his shippe beinge an hundred tymes shott through, and but eight men slaine. God soe blest him that he prevailed in his enterprise, destroyed their whole shippinge, and made Siriago flye by land into another harbour, where he obscurely imbarqued himselfe in a French vessell for Spaine. All this while was the maine armie which landed with their generall, Don Juan de Aquila, seated in Kinsayle, expecting the ayde of Tyrone, who promised everie day to be with him. Our armie, whereof the Lord Mountjoy was Generall and Lord Deputy of Ireland, beseiged the towne, soe that he prevented their meetinge, and many skirmishes past betwixt them.

This seidge continued with great miseries to both the armies, and not without cause, consideringe the season of the yeare, and the condition of the countrie, that afforded little releife to either. Some fewe daies before Christmasse, Tyroen appeared

with his forces, which was a little hartninge to the enemie, in hope to be freed of theire imprisonment, for soe may I call it, they were soe strictly beleaguered. The daie of agreement betwixt the Spaniard and Tyroen to geive battell was Christmas Eve, which daie there happened an earthquake in England: and as many times such signes betoken bonum or malum omen, this proved bonum to us, the victory beinge obtayned with soe little losse as it is almost incredible.

This was the daie of tryall, whether Ireland should continue a parcell of our crowne or noe, for if the enemie had prevailed in the battell, if mediacion had not hereafter obtayned more then force, it is to be feared Ireland would hardly bene ever recovered. The Spaniards seeinge the successe of Tyroen, and the impossibility for him to reforce his armie, and beinge as hopelesse of supplies out of Spaine, theire povertie daily increasinge, they made offer of a parlie, which was graunted, and after ensued a peace, the condicions whereof are extant in print. They were furnished of shippes, and secured of theire passage into Spaine, who arrivinge in English vessells, the said shippes returned backe for England.

Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson to the coast of Spaine. Anno
1602:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	Sir Richard Lewson
The Garland	Sir William Monson
The Defiance	Captain Goer
The Mary Rose	Captain Slingsby
The Warrspight	Captain Sommers
The Nonparill	Captain Reynoldes
The Dreadnought	Captain Manwayringe
The Adventure	Captain Trevor
An English Carvell	Captain Sawkell

The last Attempt of the Spaniards in Ireland awakened the Queene, who it seemeth two or three yeares together entertayned the hope of peace, in that she was spareinge in imployinge the fleets. But now, perceiving the enemie had found the waie into Ireland, it behooved her to be more vigilant then ever; and resolved, as a course most safe unto her, to infest the Spanish coast with a continuall fleete; and in this yeare furnished the shippes abovesaid, with promise from the State of Holland to joyne 12 sayle of theires with hers. And because this important service did require great speede, there was not leasure to furnish them altogether soe well with men, or

other provisions, as they were usually wonte to bee, soe desirous was the Queene to see her shippes at sea.

Sir Richard Lewson sett saile to five of them shippes the 19 of March, and left Sir William Monson with the rest, which were four, to attend the comminge of the Hollanders, though within two or three daies after he receaved commaund from the Queene to hasten with all speede to Sir Richard Lewson, for that shee was advertised that the silver shippes were arrived at Terceras. Sir William Monson heereupon neglected noe tyme, either to see himself better manned, or his shippes better furnished, but put to sea the 26th of Marche.

This intelligence of the Queenes was true, for the fleete had bene at the Terceras and departed from thence, where in thiere course for Spaine Sir Richard Lewson with his fewe shippes mett them, and fought with them, but to little purpose, wantinge the rest of his fleete, and the helpe of the twelve Hollanders. Wee may very well account this not the least error or negligence that hath bene committed in our voyages; for if the Hollanders had kept touche accordinge unto promise, and the Queenes shippes fitted with care, wee had made her Majestie mistress of more treasure than anie of her progenitors ever enjoyed.

Sir Richard Lewson his fortune against the Indie fleete, notwithstandinge his renowned valour, beinge thus, and by the Hollanders' slacknes only crossed, he plyed towards the Rocke to meete Sir William Monson, as the place resolved on betwixt them. But Sir William haveinge spent fourteen daies thereabouts, and hearinge noe tydings of him, went roome to the southward Cape, where he was likewise frustrate of a most worthie hope; for, meeting with certaine Frenchmen and Scotts, at the same instant he descried three shippes of ours sent by Sir Richard to looke him. These French and Scottish shippes came from Saint Lucas, and made reporte of five gallions, readie the next tyde to sett sayle for the Indies; they likewise told of two other that departed three daies before, wherein went Don Petro de Valdes to be Governor of the Havana, that had sometimes bene prisoner in England.

These two latter shippes were mett one night by the Warspight, whereof Captain Sommers was captaine, but whether it was for the darksomnes of the night, or any other casualltie (for the sea is subject to many) I know not, but they escaped.

This newes of the five gallions, and the three shippes of the Queenes so happilie meetinge together, made Sir William direct his course into the height of the Spaniards, where they were most likely to haile in, and cominge into that height, he had sight of five shippes, which in respect of their number and course he made reckoninge to be the five gallions, and did thinke that that daie should be a full

determination and triall of the straight betwixt the English and the Spanishe shippes, their number and greatnes being equall. But their joy was soone quailed, for, comeinge up with those shippes, he found them to be English comeinge out of the straites bound home. This was noe discouragement, but that the Spaniards might be mett withall; and the next day he gave chase to one shippe alone that came out of the Indies, which he tooke, though he had bene better without her, for she brought him soe farr to leeward, that that night the gallions passed to windward, not above eight or ten leagues, by report of a English pinnace that mett them, who came into the companie of us the daie followeing. These misfortunes lightinge upon Sir Richard first, and after upon Sir William, might be sufficient reasons to discourage them; but, they knoweing the accidents of the sea, and that fortune could as well laugh as weepe, havinge good shippes under foote, their men sound and in health, and plentie of victualls, they did not doubt but that some of the wealth which the two Indies did send forth into Spaine would fall to their shares.

Upon Tuesdaie the 1st daie of June, to beginn our newe fortune with a newe monthe, Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson, who some fewe nights before had mett accidentally on the sea, were close on board the *Rocke*, where they took two shippes of the east countrie bound for Lishbone; and whilst they were romaging these shippes, they descried a carvell from Cape Picher bearinge with them, which by the signes she made they perceived she had a desire to speake with them, which Sir Richard immediately chased, and left Sir William with the two easterlings to abide about the *Rocke* untill his returne. The carvell beinge fetcht upp made a relacion of a carricke and eleven gallies to be in Cisembre Roade, and that she was sent by two shippes of ours, the *Nonparill* and the *Dreadnought*, which lay thereabouts, to looke out the admirall. With what joy this newes was apprehended may be imagined. Sir Richard made signes to Sir William to stand with him, and leaste the signes should not be discerned he caused the carvell to plye upp with him, wishing him to repaire to him, but before they could approache the Cape, it was in the midst of the night, and nothing chanced all that time but the passage of some shott that passed betwixt the admirall and the galleys.

Upon Wednesdaie the 2nd of June, every man looked early in the morninge what shippes of her Majesties were in sight, which were five in number; the *Warspight*, wherein Sir Richard was, for the Repulse he had sent for England some fewe daies before, by reason of a leake; the *Garland*, the *Nonparill*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, besides the two easterlings taken the daie before. All the captaines resorted on bord the admirall to councell, which tooke the most part of the daie; and where there was an opposition in some, who alleadged the daunger

and impossibilitie of the takeinge the carricke, beinge defended by the Castle and eleven gallies, Sir William Monson prevailed soe farr, as made them all consent to goe upon her the next daie, and concluded upon this direccion followeing: that he and Sir Richard should anchor as neere the carricke as they could; the rest to plye up and downe and not anchor. Sir William was gladd of this occasion to be revenged of them gallies, hopeinge to requite the slavery they put him unto when he was prisoner in them, and singled himselfe from the fleete a league, that the gallies might see it was in defiance to them, which the Marquesse of Saint Cruz, and Fridericke Spinola, the one generall of the Portugalls, the other of the Spanish gallies, so apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight with him; but beinge within shott, was diverted by one John Bedford, an Englishman, that undertooke to knowe the force of the shippe, and Sir William that commaunded her. Before I goe further, I will a little digresse and acquaint you with the situacion of the towne, and the placinge of the gallies against us. The town of Cisembre lyeth in the bottome of a rhoade, which is a good succor for shippes with a northerly winde; it is built with free-stone, and neere the sea is erected a stronge and spacious fort, well replenished with ordenance. Above the towne, upon the topp of an hill, is seated an auncient stronge fryerie, whose scituacion maketh it impregnable, and able to commaund the towne, castle, and rhoade; close to the shoare laye the carricke, like a bulwarke to the west-side of the castle, so as it defended both her and the east parte of the towne. The eleven gallies had flancked and fortified themselves with the smale necke of a rocke on the west side of the rode, with their prores right forward to play upon us, every one carryeing a cannon in their cruzia, besides other peeces in their prores; and they were noe waie to be endaungered, till our shippes came soe nigh the towne that all these forces might plaie upon us at an instant.

The Gallies beinge placed to this great advantage, they made account (as a capitaine of one of them wee tooke confest) to have suncke our shippes of themselves without anie further helpe. Wee sawe the tents pitched, and great troupes of soldiers drawne together, which was noe lesse then the whole countrie in armes against us; the boates past betwixt the shore and the carricke all the daie longe, which wee supposed was to unlade her, but wee found it was rather to strengthen her with men and municion. Heere appeared many difficulties very daungerous, and the hope of takeinge her little, but rather of sinckinge or burninge her, as most men did conjecture. One was the daunger of the gallies beinge flancked with the point of a rocke at our entrance, as you have heard it, beinge calme and they shootinge lowe; the other was the daunger of the winde, for if it had come from

the sea, the rhoade being open and the baye deepe, would have frustrate our attempt. Notwithstandinge these daungers, and many more apparently seene, noe man thought but that most of the carrick's ladinge was on shoare, and that they would hayle her on ground under the castle, that noe shippes of ours should bee able to fleete to her; all which objections, with many more, might be and were alleadged, but they little prevailed. Procrastination was perilous, and therefore with all expedicion they thought convenient to charge the towne, the fort, the gallies, and carricke all at one instant. They had determined if the carricke had bene on ground, or soe nigh the shore that the Queenes shippes could not fleete to her, that the two easterlinges the daie before taken should board her and burne her.

Thursdaie the third daie, earlie in the morninge, every man commendinge and committinge himselfe to God's tuicion and proteccion, expected when to begin accordinge to the agreement the daie before. A gale of winde happeninge about tenn of the clocke, the admirall weighed, shott off a warninge peece, and put forth his flagge in the maine topp. The vice-admirall did the like in his foretopp, accordinge to the custome of the sea, every captaine encourageing his men, which did so embolden them as, though they were growne weake and feeble before, they were nowe revived, and bestirred themselves as if a newe spirit had bene infused into them. The admirall was the first that gave the charge; after him followed the rest of the shippes, sheweinge great valour and gayninge great honor. The last of all was the vice-admirall, at whose entrance into the fight he still strived to luffe upp soe neere the shore as he could, where hee came to an anchor, continually fightinge with the towne, the forte, the gallies, and carricke, all at one instant, for he brought them betwixt him, that he might plaie both his broade sides upon them. There might be seene the prores of the gallies swimme on the one side; the slaves forsake them, everie thinge beinge soe confused amongst them; and thus they fought untill five of the clocke in the afternoone. The vice-admirall was anchored in such a place as the gallies rowed from one side to another, seekinge to shunn him, which Sir Richard Lewson observinge, came on boarde him, and openly in the viewe and hearinge of his whole companie, imbraced him, and tould him he had wonn his heart for ever.

The rest of the shippes, as they were directed, plyed upp; and, except the admirall, who by the negligence of his master, or some other impediment without his privitie, when he should have anchored fell so farr to leeward as the winde and tyde carried him out of the rhoade that it was the next day before his shippe could bee fetcht in againe; whereat the admirall was soe enraged that he put himselfe into the Dreadnought and brought her to an anchor close to the vice-admirall, about

two of the clocke in the afternoone. There was noe opportunitie lett passe, for where the admiralls sawe defect in any other shipp, they supplied it with their owne persons; and the easterlings that were appointed to boarde beginnunge to faint and faile of the directions given them, which the vice-admirall perceivinge, went on board her himselfe, voweinge if they seemed backwarde in puttinge in execution the stratageme of fireinge the carricke they should have as little hope of life as to be killed by the enemye. Whilst he was thus orderinge these things on boarde, Sir Richard Lewson came unto him, but in no case would suffer Sir William to board the carricke himselfe, but carried him into the Dreadnought, where they consulted howe to preserve the carricke and enjoy her.

The resolucion of this conference was to offer her parley, which they presently put in practice, and commaunded all the shippes to leave shootinge untill the returne of the messenger. The man imployed was one Captain Sewell that escaped and swamme to us, who had bene four yeares prisoner in the gallies, and soe did many Turks and Christians. The effect of his parlie was to perswade them to yield, promisinge honorable condicions. He was to intimate as of himselfe, that the gallies, whose strength he presumed upon, were beaten, some burnt, the rest fledd, and wee had the possession of the rhoade, the castle not able to abide our ordinance, much lesse the carricke; and if they refused his offer of mercie, they were to expect all the crueltie and rigor that a conqueror would yield his enemye. After some conference to this effect, the captaine of the carricke told him he would send him some gentlemen of sort with commission to treat, and desired that some of the like quality might repaire unto him to the same effect.

These gentlemen came aboard the Dreadnought, where the admirall and vice-admirall were attendinge the returne and successe of Captain Sewell. After the delivery of the message, they found a necessitie to hasten on borde the carricke, for that it seemed by these two gentlemen, there was an uproare and a devision in her. Some were of opinion to entertaine a parley, others to save themselves and sett her on fire, which Sir William Monson hearinge, without further delaie or conference with Sir Richard what was to be done, he leaped suddenlie into his boate, and rowed unto the carricke. As he drewe neere her, he was knowne to divers gentlemen on board her, since his imprisonment amongst them, who seemed to be very gladd of their meetinge, with divers imbracements and remembrances of their old acquaintance. The captaine was called Don Diego Lobo, a gallant young gentleman of a noble howse; he descended downe upon the bond of the shipp, and commaunded his men to stand aside; Sir William did the like to his companions in the boate. The captaine demaunded of him if he had the Portugall language; he

tould him sufficiently to treat of that busines, and acquainted him of the place he commaunded in the fleete. Sir William intimated the affection and respect he bore to the Portugall nation, and that the treatie which was offered proceeded out of his mocion, and wished him to proceed to his propositions, which were as followeth :— The first demaund he made was, that they should be safely putt on shoare with their armes; the second, that it should be done the same night; the third, that they should enjoy their shippe and ordinance, as apperteyninge to the kinge, but wee the wealth; the fowerth, that the flagg and auncient should not be taken downe, but woven while the carricke was unlading. His speech being ended, Sir William told him his demaunds gave suspicion that under pretence of parley he meant trecherie, or that their hopes were greater then there was cause, or he could conceive; and but that he knewe it was the use of some men to demaund great things when lesse will serve them, he would not loose his advantage to entertaine a parley; he desired what they intended might be quickly concluded, for night groweing on might advantage them; and for his resolucion he should understand it in fewe words, as followeth :—To his first demand he was willing to yield, that they should be put on shore with their armes; to the second, he was contented that they should be sett on shore that night, except eight or ten of the principallest gentlemen, which he would detaine three daies; to the third, he held it idle and frivolous, to imagine he would consent to separate shipp and goodes, and esteemed it *por cosa de burla*; to the fourth he would not consent, being resolved never to permitt a Spanish flagg to be worne in the presence of the Queenes shippes, unlesse it were disgracefullie over the poepe. There was longe expostulacion upon these pointes; and Sir William Monson, seeinge the obstinacie of the captaine, offered in greate rage to leape into his boate, resolvinge to leave the treatie, which the rest of the gentlemen perceivinge, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well stand with their reputacion, they intreated him once more to ascend into the shippe, and they would enter into newe capitulacions, the effect whereof, and as it was agreed upon, was thus, as followeth :—

That a messinger should be sent to the admirall to have his confirmacion to the pointes concluded on, and that in the meane tyme the flagg and auntient should be taken downe; and if the admirall should not consent to the agreement, they to have leisure to put out their flagg and auntient before the fighte should beginn; that the companie should bee presently sett on shore, the captaine with eight other of the principallest gentlemen, three daies after; that the shipp with her goods should be surrendred without any practise or treason; that they should use their endeavors that the Castle should forbear shootinge whilest wee ride in the rhoade; and

this is the effect of the condicions agreed upon. You muste understand that the carricke wintered in Mosambicke in her returne from the Indies, a place of great infeccion, as appeared by the mortallitie of this shippe, for of 600 and odd men 20 of them lived not to returne home. After a great deale of callamitie and mortallity, she arrived at this port of Cisembres, as you have heard, with the Vice-Roy of Portugall havinge sent eleven gallies to her rescue, and 400 *Mocas de Camara*, which is a title of gentlemen that serves the kinge upon anie honorable occasion when they are commaunded. And beinge brought to this estate, and forct to yield on those conditions as aforesaid, Sir Robert Cecill, when he was livinge, was wonte to impute the successe thereof much unto the gentlemen's acquaintance with Sir William Monson. Although three daies were limited for settinge the captaine on shore, yet it was held discretion not to detaine him longer then the carricke was brought off safely to our shippes; and that night Sir William Monson carried the captaine and the rest of the gentlemen on board him, where they supped, had varietie of musicke, and spent the nighte in great pleasure and delight. The morninge followinge he accompanied them on shoare himselfe, where the Conde de Vitagera had drawne all the force of the whole countrie, amountinge to the number of ten thousand men.

I must not lett passe to describe the behaviour of the gallies in the fight, that everie man may have that honor that is due to him. Those of the Portugall beinge of the squadron of the Marquesse of Saint Cruz betooke themselves with their generall to flight in the middle of the fight; but Frederico Spinola, who had the conveyance of his gallies out of Spaine into the Lowe Countries, followed not the example of the marquesse, but made good the rhoade, which the other seeinge with shame returned, but to both their costes; for before they departed they found the clymate soe hott as they were both forct to flye, their gallies beinge soe miserablie beaten, and their slaves soe pittifully slaine, as there wanted nothing but boates to possesse them all, as well as two wee tooke, which is a president seeldome seene or heard, for shippes to take and be destroyers of gallies. The number of men slaine in the towne, the castle, the carricke, and the gallies, are unknowne, though they cannott chuse but be manie. The wealth of the carricke could then as ill be estimated, though after found to be great; the value of the two gallies burnt with their loading of powder as hard to judge, though knowne to be a service of great import. For our losse it was not much, only one man killed in the flyboate, five slaine and as many hurt in the Garland, and one hurt in the Adventure. Sir William Monson had the lefte winge of his dublett shott awaie, but received noe other hurt.

The daie followeing with a favorable winde wee stood our course for England, which brought us into 47 degrees, and there wee mett a pinnace, sent with a packet from the lords, signifyeing the readynes of a second fleete to supplie us, and the departure of the Hollanders, which were soe longe looked for; which fleete of Holland was in viewe of the pinnace the same night, but past by us unseene. This unlooked for accident made the admirall and vice-admirall consider what to doe, and concluded they would not both appeare at home, and have a fleete of soe great importance upon the enemies coast without a guide or head; and therefore they held it fitt the vice-admirall should put himselfe into the Nonparill, as the ablest shipp of the fleete, and make his returne once more to the coast of Spaine. Having taken his leave, and standinge his course for the coast, a most violent storme with a contrary winde tooke him, and continued tenn daies, which the weakness of his shippe found, and had like to have foundred in the deepe. The carpenters and the companey seeinge the apparent daunger if he bore not upp before the wind, presented him with petition, beseeching him to have a regarde of their lives, for by keepeinge the seas they should all perishe. Thus was he forced out of extremitie to beare roome for England, and comeinge for Plymouth he found the carricke safely arrived, and that fleete hee went back to take charge of not to have quitted the coast of England.

Though it be somewhat impertinent to this voyage to treat of more then the successes thereof, yet I will a little digresse, and relate the mishapp of that worthie young gentleman Don Diego de Lobo, captaine of the carricke; and because his worth shall more appeare by his answere to Sir William Monson his offer, when he was his prisoner, thus it was: Sir William told him, it could not chuse but by the losse of the carricke hee should loose his best meanes, for that he supposed what he had gayned in the Indies was laden in her, and therefore told him, what he would challenge upon his reputacion to be his owne, he should have freedome to carrie it with him. The gentleman did acknowledge the favour extraordinarie, but replied, that what he had he had gayned by his sword, and that his sword he doubted not but would regaine his fortune; utterly refusinge to accept anie courtesie in that kinde; but, poore gentleman, ill fortune thus left him not, for the viceroy, Don Cristoball de Moro, holdinge it for a great indignitie to have the carricke taken out of their port, that was defended by a castle, and guarded with eleven galleys, and especially in his owne hearinge of the ordinance to Lishbone, and in the viewe of thousands of people that beheld it, some of them feelinge it by the losse of their goods in her, others greivinge for the death of their freinds that were there slaine, but every man findinge himselfe touched in reputacion.

The names of the Carricke and Eleven Gallies :—

Saint Valentine, a carricke of 1700 tunnes.

The Christofer, the Admirall of Portugall, wherein the Marquesse of Saint Cruz went.

The Saint Lewes, wherein Frederick Spinola went Generall of the Gallies of Spaine.

The Forteleza, Vice-Admirall to the Marquesse.

The Trinidad, Vice-Admirall to Frederick Spinola, and burnt.

The Suis, in which Sir William Monson was prisoner, anno 1591.

The Occasion, burnt, and the Captain taken prisoner.

The Saint John Baptist.

The Lazear.

The Padillar.

The Phillipp.

Saint John.

The viceroy, not knowinge howe to cleere himselfe soe well as by layeing it upon the gentlemen he put on board her, the same night they returned to their lodgings, he caused the most part of them, with their captaine, to be apprehended, layeing the losse of the carricke to their cowardlynes and feare, if not to their treason and connivancie with the enemye. After some tyme of imprisonment, by mediation of friends, the gentlemen were released, the captaine only detayned, who received secret advertisement that the viceroy intended his death, if he sought not to escape to prevent it. Don Diego being thus perplexed, practised with his sister, who found meanes for his escape out of a windowe, and fledd into Italie, where he lived in exile from 1602, that this happened, untill a thousand six hundred and fiftene; and his government in the Indies, for which he had a patent in revercion, was confiscate, and he left hopelesse ever to returne into his native countrey, much lesse to be restored to his commaund, an evill welcome after soe longe and painefull navigation. Haveinge spent thirteen yeares, as you have heard, in exile and banishment, at the last he advised with friends, whose advise he followed, to witt: to repaire into England, there to enquire after some commaunders that had bene at takeinge the carricke, by whose certificate hee might be cleared of blame or treason in the losse of her, which would be a good motive to restore him to his government againe. In the yeare 1615 he arrived in London, and after enquirie he found out Sir William Monson, to whom he complained of his hard mishapp, craveinge his assistance, with some others. Sir William he knewe to be at the takeinge of the carricke, and therefore desired him to testifie the manner of surprizinge her, which he alleadged

was noe more then every gentleman was bound to affoord to an other in such a case.

Sir William wondred to see him, and especially upon such an occasion as hee reported; for the present he entertained him with all courtesie, and as his staie was the longer in England, soe the courtesies were the greater Sir William did him. Sir William procured a true and effectuall certificate from himselfe, Sir Francis Howard, Captain Barloe, and some others, who were witnesses of that service; and to give it the more reputacion, he caused it to be inrolled in the office of the Admiraltie. The gentleman beinge well satisfied in his entertainment, and receiveinge his wished desires in his busines, he returned to Flaunders, where he presented his certificate to the Archduke and the Infanta, and he found that favour from them that did not only purchase the king's good likeinge of him, but restitution of his government of Malacca. The poore gentleman beinge tossed with the waves of callamitie from one countrey to an other, and never findinge likelyhood of rest, till nowe death, that masters all men, cutt him off short even as he was preparinge his journey for Spaine. And this was the end of an unfortunate gallant young gentleman, whose deserts were farr more worthie of a better reward, if God had pleased to have affoorded it him.

Sir William Monson to the coast of Spaine. Anno 1602:—

SHIPPERS.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Swiftsuer	Sir William Monson
The Mary Rose	Captain Trevors
The Dreadnought	Captain Cawfeild
The Adventure	Captain Norris
The Answer	Captain Bredgate
The Quittance	Captain Browne
The Lyons Whelpe	Captain Maye
The Paragon, a Merchant	Captain Jason
A smale Carvell	Captain Hooper

The fleete of Sir Richard Lewson beinge happily returned with the fortune of a carrick, as you have heard, and havinge noe shipps of her Majesties upon the Spanish coast, to impeache the enemies preparacions, the Queene feared the fleete which was readie at the Groyne was to give a second assaulte upon Ireland; whereupon Sir William Monson, who by this tyme was arrived at Plymouth, was sent for in great hast by her Majestie, both to advise and take upon him the charge of the second fleete, then at Plymouth. After a long conference in the presence of her

Majestie, her Lord Admirall, her Treasuror, her Secretary, and Sir William Monson, it was resolved immediately: that Sir William should repaire to Plymouth, and with speede gett forth them shippes, and others that were makeinge readie. His direccions were to present himselfe before the harbor of the Groyne, the place where the Spaniardes made their randevous, and if he found anie likelyhood of daunger to be intended against Ireland, not to quitt that coast untill he utterly sawe the issue and event thereof; but if he found Ireland secure, and the preparacion for the defence of the coast, from thence his instruccions ledd him where the Holland fleete had order to attend and expect him; and after this the carriage of the action was referred to his discretion, but with this caution, that above all covetous respects he attended the affaires of Ireland. The winde this part of sommer hung contrary, and it was six weeks before he could cleere the coaste, the tyme which gave greatest hope of profit by the returne of the carricks and Indie fleete, which happened one moneth before his arrivall. He sett sayle from Plymouth the last of August, with a scant winde, which continued with fowle weather untill he recovered the Groyne, choosinge rather to keepe the sea then hazard the overthrowe of his voyage by his returne.

He attended the Groyne untill he was truly advertised that the fleete which there was prepared, and suspected for Ireland, was gone to Lishbone to joyne with Don Diego de Borachero, who all that sommer durst not set forth for feare of our fleete, that made good the coast. Sir William, in the waie to the Rocke, commaunded his carvell to repaire to the Islande of Bayon, as the likeliest place to procure intelligence of the state of those parts. As the carvell drewe neere the islande, she might discern the Spanish fleete, consistinge of 24 sayle, whose designes were, as she understood by a boate she tooke, to looke out the English fleete, whose comeinge they daily expected upon the coast; and meetinge Sir William with this newes, he held it a good service to be warned of them. Heere he tooke two goodly shippes of France bound for Lishbone, which harbor he put them from, and tooke pledges that they should directlie returne into France, without touchinge in any harbor of Spaine, for that he understood the Spanishe fleete was ill provided of men, and many other things which those shipps could supplie. Sir William and the Dreadnought were carryed with the chase into the Rhoad Cisembre, a place where the carricke was taken not longe before; and, after some fight with the castle, who defended the chase, they came to a friendly treatie, and presentes past betwixt them. That night, whilst the admirall ridd in the rhoad, a carvell comeinge in, not mistrusting him, was taken, but dismissed with friendly entreatie, by whome he understood the affaires of Lishbone, but could get noe notice of the Holland fleete, which was appointed to attend at the Rocke, whether once more he repaired.

And comeinge thither the 26th of September, a light was espied in the night, which the admirall chased, thinkinge it had bene the fleete of Saint Omen or Brazill, bound into Lishbone, where they were expected, but draweing soe neere them that he might hayle them, he found them, by the hugenes of their vessells and the number, to answere the relacion the carvell made, to be the Armado of Spaine; whereupon hee sought meanes howe to quit himselfe, being ingaged amongst them, and made a Spaniard which served him call unto them in that secret manner they could not heare him. The Adventure only and the Whelpe were left with him, the rest loosing companie four nights in a storme. Perceiving this light, and thinkinge it to be the admirall that had commaunded some fleete of Fleminges, stood in amongst them, but the Adventure being discovered to be an enemy, the alarum was soone taken, and they shott at her, and slewe and hurt some of her men. Soe soone as the daie appeared, the Spaniards might beholde the three English shippes ahead them, whome they chased: and by reason that three of them were of better sayle then the rest, they fetcht upon them and drewe neere the Whelpe, who was of small force to resist them.

But the admirall resolvinge, though it was to his owne evident perill, not to see a pinnace of her Majesties soe lost that he could rescue with the losse of his life, though it was much against the persuasions of his master and companie, he stroake his two sailes for the Whelpe, and commaunded her to stand her course, whilst he staid for the three Spanishe shippes, with hope to make them have little lust to pursue them. The admirall of the Spaniards perceivinge howe little he cared for his three shippes, for that he lingred for their comeinge upp, tooke in with the shoare and shott a peece for his three shippes to followe him. It may appeare by this, as by severall expeditions of ours, howe much the swift saylinge of shippes doth availe, beinge the principall advantage in sea service, and the only thinge wee could presume upon against the Spaniards. Sir William haveinge thus escaped the enemy, in his traverse in the sea there happened, as there doth in all coasts where there is plentie of trade, divers occasions of chases; and one daie Sir William followeing one shipp, and the Adventure another, they lost companie for the whole voyage.

Sir William was advertised by a shipp he tooke, beinge a Frenchman, that came from Saint Lucas, that the Saint Domingo fleete was looked for daily; which intelligence made Sir William beare upp for the South Cape, as well in hope to meete with them as to have newes of his fleete.

He was noe sooner come to the Cape, but he was informed by some English shippes of warr that the Domingo fleete was passed by two daies before. Heere he

mett with divers shippes of several nations : some he rescued from pyrats ; to others that were in league with her Majestie he gave his safe conduct for their free passage in the sea. He kept that coast untill the 21st of October, in which morninge he gave chase to a gallion of the Kinge of Spaines, who recovered under the castle of Cape Sacre before he could fetch her upp ; but, notwithstanding that he knewe the strength of that castle, and knewe the shoare, yet he attempted her, and had carried her, had it not bene for the feare and cowardlinesse of Helme, that bore upp when he was readie to boarde. The fight was not long, but sharpe and daungerous, for there never past shott from one to an other until they were within length of their shippes. The castle plaied her part and rent his shipp, that she might be cropt through. Betwixt shippe and castle they slewe in the Admirall tenn menn and hurt many more, in the viewe of Sireago and his squadron to the westward, and divers English men of warr to the eastward, that durst not put themselves to the rescue of Sir William for feare of the castle. Sir William beinge now left alone, and seeinge what headland soever he came unto he was to encounter a Spanishe squadron, he stood his course that night at sea, thinkinge to trie if the island of Teceras would affoord him anie better fortune ; but, comeinge within forty or fifty leagues of the island, he was taken short with the winde, and evermore bore upp for the Rocke ; but findinge his victualls grewe short, and his mast perished, and the daunger by keepeinge the coast, he directed his course for England, and came into Plymouth the 24th of November, where he found the Marie Rose and Dreadnought with the moste part of their men dead and sicke.

The Adventure arrived within one howre after him, who in her waie homeward fell amongst the Brazill fleete, and incounteringe with them lost divers men, but tooke none. The Paragon was at home longe before with a prize of sugar and spices, which countervailed the charge of the voyage. The Quittance in her returne mett two shippes of Dunkerke, and in fight with them her captaine was slaine ; but she acquitted herself very well without further hurt. This fleete, as you have heard, was to keep the enemie occupied at home, that he might be diverted from the thought of Ireland ; and what hazard it endured by the enemie, and the fury of the sea by fowle weather, it doth appeare : and we marvell, for it was the latest fleete in winter that was ever kept upon the Spanish coast, and the last fleete her Majestie employed ; for in March after she dyed, and by her death all warr ceased. As Sir William Monson was generall of this last fleete, soe was he a souldier and a youth at the beginninge of the warrs and at the takeinge of the first Spanish prize that ever sawe Englishe coast, which they bought with the death of twenty-five men and fifty hurt ; which shipp was after a man-of-war, and served against the Spaniards. And

in those daies the best man that went to warr was called the Commaunder, and belonged to Sir George Carewe, then governor of the Isle of Wight.

Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson into the narrowe seas, 1603 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	Sir Richard Lewson.
The Mearehonor	Sir William Monson.
The Defiance	Captain Gore.
The Warrspight	Captain Seymors.
The Rainebowe	Captain Trevor.
The Dreadnought	Captain Reynolds.
The Quittance	Captain Howard.
The Lyons Whelpe	Captain Polewhee.

Sir William Monson returninge with his fleete in November, there was a resolution to furnish an other against February, which should be supplied with shippes, men, and victualls in June ; Sir Richard Lewson to command the former fleete, and Sir William Monson the latter ; for the Queene held it both secure and profittable course to keepe a continuall force upon the Spanish coasts from February to November, a tyme of greatest perill to her Majestie. She was the rather encouraged thereunto by the safety she found the last sommer, and the wealth she enjoyed of her enemies. The complainte of the ill furnishinge her shippes in other voyages, made it more carefully to be lookt unto nowe, and there was better choice of victualls and men then usually had bene. But in this meane tyme it pleased God to visit her Majestie with sicknes, which made a lingringe though noe absolute staie or dissolvinge of the fleet ; and as her daunger was perceived to increase, the shippes were hastened to sea, holdinge it a point of policie of state to keepe our seas guarded from feare of anie forraign attempte, untill his Majestie should be peaceable seated in England. This fleet departed from Quinborough the 22nd of March, and arrived at the Downes the 25th of the same, beinge the daie after her Majesties death ; the newes whereof, and commaundment to proclaime King James the Sixth of Scotland our lawfull right inheritor to the crowne, arrived both together, which put us unto two contrary passions ; the one of greife, the other of joy : greife by the losse of the Queene, and joy in acceptinge the Kinge, and in that peaceable manner that it made a happines to all men against expectacion, either at home or abroad.

As the part and office of this fleete was to garde and defend the coaste from any

incursion that should bee made out of France or the Lowe Countries, soe the commaunders were as vigilant to appeare upon the coastes, once in two daies, to disharten them if they had anie such thought ; but it was farr from their abilities, whatsoever was in their harts, to impugne His Majesties proceedinges. And because the archduke would make it appeare more apparent to the world, he called in his letters of reprizall against the English, and published an edict of a free and lawfull traffique into Flaunders ; so that nowe our merchants may trade peaceablie into those parts from which they had bene debarred the continuance of eighteen yeares warrs. The kinge findinge that France neither impeached his right nor gave anie jealousie by the raysing of an armie, and that the archduke made a demonstration of his desire of peace, his Majestie did the like, acknowledginge his league with those princes with whom the late Queene had warrs ; for warrs betwixt countries are not hereditarie, but commonly end with the deathes of their kinges : wherefore he commaunded his shipps to give over their southerne ymployment, and repaire unto Chattam, givinge manifest testimonies that the subjecte should recover that wealth and freedome by peace which he had formerly lost by warr.