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Sir Francis Drake
on the
California Coast,
1579

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INTRODUCTION

FRANCIS DRAKE, a native of Tavistock, Devonshire, early entered upon a sea life. In Hawkins's expedition of 1567 he commanded the *Judith*. The treatment he and others received at San Juan de Ulua so greatly embittered him against the Spaniards that for several years he ravaged the Spanish main. It was on one of these expeditions that Drake crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and obtained a view of the Pacific Ocean, which later he was to navigate and explore. He sailed from Plymouth, on his celebrated voyage around the world, November 15, 1577, his fleet consisting of five vessels. In sailing down the South American coast, Drake paused to refit here and there. Two months, from June 19, 1578, to August 17, were spent at Port St. Julian. The Straits of Magellan were reached August 20, and, after entering the waters of the Pacific, several months were passed in preying upon various Spanish interests on the west coast of South America, Drake enriching himself here and there with Spanish plunder. In March, 1579, having become separated from his consorts, Drake was at Cape San Francisco, a little north of the equator. April 15 he reached the harbor of Guatulco, or Aguatulco, with a reference to which the following extract from the *World Encompassed* begins.

After the events there narrated, Drake, leaving the American coast, crossed the Pacific to the Philippines, and then made his way home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, thus encompassing the world. He reached Plymouth September 26, 1580. The earliest relation of the voyage in print is the one ascribed to Francis Pretty, entitled *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea . . . begun in the yeare of our*

Lord 1577. Hakluyt had a copy, but in the introduction of his edition of 1589 he says that the friends of Drake, who did not wish to have their publications forestalled, asked him to omit it. He seems to have printed it privately, however, and the six pages, without pagination, were inserted after page 643 in some, if not all, of the copies of the edition. The John Carter Brown Library at Brown University and the Library of Harvard University have copies. Pretty's narrative found a place in the third volume of the edition of 1598-1600. The authoritative account of the expedition is to be found in *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, carefully Collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this Employment, and divers others his followers* (London, 1628). A reprint, edited by W. S. W. Vaux, was published by the Hakluyt Society (London, 1854). A portion has been reprinted in the *Old South Leaflets*, No. 116. The best discussion of the materials for the history of Drake's voyage of circumnavigation will be found in Mr. Julian S. Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I. 421-429.

Drake was rewarded by Elizabeth with the honor of knighthood. In 1587, when the Spanish Armada was in preparation, Drake, with his fleet, entered the harbor of Cadiz and destroyed nearly a hundred vessels. In the following year, at the destruction of the Armada, Drake was present as vice-admiral. In 1592 he was made a member of Parliament. He died December 27, 1595, while leading an expedition against Spanish interests in the West Indies, and was buried at sea. Of the voyage of 1595-1596 there is a manuscript account by Thomas Maynarde in the British Museum. This, with a Spanish account, was printed by the Hakluyt Society in 1849.

H. S. B.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ON THE CALIFORNIA COAST, 1579

From Guatulco¹ we departed the day following, viz., Aprill 16, [1579] setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and June 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the markes, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all; for besides that the pinching and biting aire was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an unnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone then any way so neere unto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun prevailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselves within their coverts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernesse of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremitie of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold: insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures

¹ A small port of Guatemala.

were as well affected with it as ourselves: our meate, as soone as it was remooved from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen up, and our ropes and tackling in few dayes were growne to that stiffnesse, that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and uttermost endeavour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased upon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our General be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the divine providence, and of God's loving care over his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to quite themselves like men, to indure some short extremity to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that every man was throughly armed with willingnesse and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West then we before imagined, we were neerer on it than wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came unto it, the more extremitie of cold did sease upon us. The 5 day of June wee were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate upon us, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for us; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged our men) would not permit us; and the winds directly bent

against us, having once gotten us under sayle againe, commanded us to the Southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 deg., in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in June, and the sunne in his neerest approach unto them, being covered with snow.

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a convenient and fit harborough,¹ and June 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of July following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so neere the sunne, yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busie employment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compeld us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us still our winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered us) to

¹ Professor George Davidson, of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, after a careful study of the *Narrative* and the coast (*Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539 to 1603*, Washington, Government Printing-office, 1887, pp. 214-218), identifies the harbor entered by Drake with Drake's Bay, under Point Reyes, about thirty miles north of San Francisco. "Drake's Bay," he says, "is a capital harbor in northwest winds, such as Drake encountered. It is easily entered, sheltered by high lands, and a vessel may anchor in three fathoms close under the shore in good holding ground. . . . If he had been inside the Estero Limantour, of which he could not have detected the entrance from his vessel, he would necessarily have been very close to either shore. And had he seen it, he would not have dared to enter it without sounding it out. It has only thirteen feet of water on the bar at the highest tides, and he would not have hazarded his vessel in entering such a doubtful anchorage. Nor would he have risked the possibility of attack from the Indians in such a contracted place. He doubtless anchored in Drake's Bay, and the reef in his plan represents in a crude manner the reef of the easternmost point of Point Reyes Head. In a rough sketch of his anchorage it is called Portus Novae Albionis." On the other hand Edward Everett Hale, in his "Critical Essay on Drake's Bay," in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III. 74-78, identifies the "convenient and fit harbor," which Drake entered, with San Francisco Bay. The consensus of opinion among scholars on the Pacific coast at the present time, however, is said to be in favor of Drake's Bay, and such is also the view expressed by Mr. Corbett in his *Drake and the Tudor Navy*.

have kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of sunne or starre.

And here, having so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or unlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesse of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made us so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a provident Father and carefull Physitian for us. We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in us; neither was there wanting to us the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proved the force of the burning Zone, whose advice alwayes prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that even after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could have beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe that caused this sensiblenes in us, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had never beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper, and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet used to come shivering to us in their warme furies, crowding close together, body to body, to receive heate one of another, and sheltring themselves under a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude them-

selves under our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaves, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of June and July. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to observe it), not daring so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature affoorded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chiefest of which we conceive to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully joined, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-covered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they have breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in June and July, as the North wind alone is in August and September, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued observations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie; hence comes it, that in the midst of their summer, the snow hardly departeth even from their very doores, but is never taken away from their hils at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne striving to performe his naturall

office, in elevating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sunnes indeavour, forces him to give over his worke imperfect; and instead of higher elevation, to leave in the lowest region, wandring upon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, unlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly beene at Wardhouse,¹ in 72 deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of June and July.²

And also from these reasons we conjecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that yet it is unnavigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and even in that height, when we had a franke winde to have carried us through, had there beene a passage, yet we had a smoothe and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and re-flowing, which could not have beene had there beene a frete;³ of which we rather infallibly concluded, then conjectured, that there was none. But to returne.

The next day, after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselves, send-

¹ Vardöhuus, in northern Norway.

² It was the unfavorable season for a visit to that part of the coast. The winters there are warm and the summers cool. Great changes occur in the temperature within twenty-four hours, the mercury varying from twenty to thirty degrees. Especially are the nights cool. For eight months in the year the wind pours in from the sea toward noon, and increases in chilliness till late at night. Heavy fogs occur during June, July, and August.

³ Strait; Lat., *fretum*.

ing off a man with great expedition to us in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to us continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: using in the deliverie thereof many gestures and signes, moving his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reverence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered upon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards observed) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabâh*.¹ Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to have recompenced him immediatly with many good things he would have bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliver the same, he could not be drawne to receive them by any meanes, save one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke up (refusing utterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were upon a board put off unto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at us as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3 day following, viz., the 21, our ship having received a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our

¹ Possibly tobacco. That Drake and his men should not have recognized it as something known to them is not strange, as tobacco seems not to have been known in England until introduced by Ralph Lane and his colonists on their return from Roanoke Island in 1586.

safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selves and goods: and that wee might under the shelter of it with more safety (what ever should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the countrey perceived us doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrey, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came downe unto us, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt us: standing, when they drew neere, as men ravished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they never had seene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship us as Gods, then to have any warre with us as with mortall men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itselfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies unto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women.

To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that wee might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our Generall, with all his company, used all meanes possible gently to intreate them, bestowing upon each of them liberally good and necessary things to cover their nakednesse; withall signifying unto them we were no Gods, but men, and had neede of such things to cover our owne shame; teaching them to use them to the same ends, for which cause also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giving them to understand that without that wee could not live, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remove that opinion which they had conceived of us, that wee should be Gods.

In recompence of those things which they had received of

us, as shirts, linnen cloth, etc., they bestowed upon our Generall, and diverse of our company, diverse things, as feathers, cawles of networke, the quivers of their arrowes, made of fawne skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore upon their bodies. Having thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of us, they departed with joy to their houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and have from the uppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set up, and joined close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church; which being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake: its made in bignesse and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed upon it, and lying round about the house, have their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giveth a marvelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part goe naked; the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kemming it after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hanges downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a covering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire upon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all services; yet of themselves offring to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left us (being neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainely, with wonder and admiration, did heare the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shreeking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting them-

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selves, and awfull demeanour used towards us, we thought it no wisdom too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with us before, made us carefull to provide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen), and therefore with all expedition we set up our tents, and intrenched ourselves with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselves, we might be able to keepe off the enemie (if they should so prove) from comming amongst us without our good wills: this being quickly finished, we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward about our other businesse.

Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with us), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (invited by the report of them which first saw us, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time unto us, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobàh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, upon this perswasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both us his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration; delivered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the uttermost strength of nature, and his wordes falling so thicke one in the necke of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soone as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reverend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed *Oh*: thereby giving their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had uttered their minde by his mouth unto us; which done, the men laying downe their bowes upon the hill, and leaving their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselves happy that they might have accesse unto our Generall, but much more happy when

they sawe that he would receive at their hands those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselves nearest unto God when they sate or stood next to him. In the meane time the women, as if they had beene desperate, used unnatural violence against themselves, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests, besides despoiling the upper parts of their bodies of those single coverings they formerly had, and holding their hands above their heads that they might not rescue their brests from harme, they would with furie cast themselves upon the ground, never respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whatever else lay in their way, itterating the same course againe and againe; yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselves: a thing more grievous for us to see or suffer, could we have holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it. This bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall, with his companie, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prayers; and by signes in lifting up our eyes and hands to heaven, signified unto them that that God whom we did serve, and whom they ought to worship, was above: beseeching God, if it were his good pleasure, to open by some meanes their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him, the true and everliving God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the salvation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentively: and observing the end at every pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, greatly rejoycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaáh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

Our Generall having now bestowed upon them divers things, at their departure they restored them all againe, none carrying with him anything of whatsoever hee had received, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happie that they had found so free accesse to see us.

Against the end of three daies more (the newes having the while spread itselfe farther, and as it seemed a great way up into the countrie), were assembled the greatest number of people which wee could reasonably imagine to dwell within any convenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the king himselfe, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., June 26, came downe to see us.

Before his comming, were sent two ambassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hióh*, that is, their king, was comming and at hand. They in the delivery of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hióh* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hióh*. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

In their comming forwards they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certaine comelinesse and gravity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace, made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, and in length about a yard and a halfe, before the king. Whereupon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a marvellous length, and

often doubled, besides a bagge of the herbe *Tabâh*. The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought upon most curiously with feathers of divers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion. The chaines seemed of a bony substance, every linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to weare the same; and even they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall use, as some ten, some twelve, some twentiè, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they knowne to be the more honorable personages.

Next unto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him; his attire upon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought upon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of worke; upon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some having cawles likewise stucke with feathers, or covered over with a certaine downe, which groweth up in the countrey upon an herbe much like our lectuce, which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse, and beeing layed upon their cawles, by no winds can be removed. Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour), and the seeds are not used but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers; but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, every one pleasing himselfe in his owne device.

This one thing was observed to bee generall amongst them all, that every one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, every man also bringing

in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, having within them divers things, as bagges of *Tobâh*, a roote which they call *Petâh*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it rawe; broyled fishes, like a pilchard; the seede and downe aforenamed, with such like.

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuffe, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely use of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought upon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into divers workes and formes.

In the meane time, our Generall having assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand upon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore every man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had beene desperate enemies, they could not have chosen but have conceived terrour and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against us, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere unto us, trooping together, they gave us a common or generall salutation, observing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon, he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the

least halfe an houre. At the close whereof there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation, given by every person: and the king himselfe, with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselves againe in their former order.

And beeing now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto observed a kind of measures in a dance: whom the king with his guard and every other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, saving onely the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiving their plaine and simple meaning, gave order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke. Where, after they had entred, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming.

After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselves in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to have him sit down; unto whom both the king and divers others made severall orations, or rather, indeed, if wee had understood them, supplications, that hee would take the Province and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities: which that they might make us indeed beleieve that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, set the crowne upon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering unto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyóh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; be-

cause they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still judged us to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselves were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reject or refuse the same, both for that he would not give them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefly for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore, in the name and to the use of her most excellent majesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her majesty to enjoy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof¹ (wherewith in the upland countries it abounds) might with as great conveniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and loving a people as they shewed themselves to be, might have meanes to have manifested their most willing obedience the more unto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and everliving God.

The ceremonies of this resigning and receiving of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, leaving the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or survey of every man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of us), they presently enclosing them about offred their sacrifices unto them, crying out with lamentable shreekes and moanes, weep-

¹ Drake little even dreamed of the treasures of gold and silver in those upland countries, as well as in the beds of the streams flowing from the highlands.

ing and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but even old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre prevaile in seducing these so harmlesse soules, and laboured by all meanes, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that served not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift up towards heaven) to the living God whom they ought to serve; but so mad were they upon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not prevaile (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conveyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury and outrage seeke to have againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne unto us their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them having old aches, some shruncke sinewes, some old soares and canchred ulcers, some wounds more lately received, and the like; in most lamentable manner craving helpe and cure thereof from us; making signes, that if we did but blowe upon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pittie on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might understand we were but men and no gods, we used ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and unguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to give cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to us.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from us, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily

every third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainly understood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort unto us in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-time forgate to provide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieving them with such victualls as we had provided for our selves, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to us, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence us with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced upon us, though it were never so necessarie or needfull for themselves to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they use very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weaknesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take upon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, up hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the use whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we observed in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would never, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a journey up into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and

commodities of the country. There houses were all such as we have formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made severall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; under his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to travaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinn, for their kings holidiaies coate was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might have some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was sometimes so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set up a monument¹ of our being there, as also of her majesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme poste; whereon is engraven her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arrivall there, and of the free giving up of the province and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her majesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; underneath was likewise engraven the name of our Generall, etc.

¹ In giving a name to the country, and in setting up a monument in token of discovery, Drake laid the foundation of a claim to English sovereignty.

The Spaniards never had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the utmost of their discoveries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceived by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to themselves to increase upon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtful they shewed themselves what they might doe; so that we might easily judge that that joy (being exceeding great) wherewith they received us at our first arrivall, was cleane drowned in their excessive sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, joy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar rejoycing one with another, and all pleasure what ever flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heavy hearts and grieved minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselves as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heavy a burthen, or to deliver them from so desperate a strait, as our leaving of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enjoy our presence, they (supposing us to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate us that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole upon us a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not prevaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediatly to forget their folly, and leave their sacrifice unconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating us in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heaven, as they saw us do.

The 23 of July they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of us, but being loath to leave us, they presently ranne to the top of the hills to keepe us in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

