

A True and Tragickall Discourse, *she w in g t he most lamentable miseries*, and distressed calamities, indured by 67 Englishmen, which were sent for a supplie to the planting in *Guiana*, in the yeare 1605.

To make along and tedious discourse of that which may be uttered in few words, experience teacheth, doth rather move a loathing in the Reader, then anyway procure a liking either in reader or hearer: in which respect I have rather desired briefly to deliver a plaine truth, which of it selfe to the wise and discrete is ever most acceptable, then with filed phrases, or eloquent termes (which indeede in mee are wanting) to adde anything more then is most true, neither to represent, or lay open to the view of the worlde, ought more then what my selfe with my associates have had as wofull experience, as ever (in my judgement) had any creatures living under the Canopie of Heaven: only thus much I thinke it not impertinent to deliver, forthe better explanation of that which followeth, I make no question, but that the greater sort of people, which either have travailed themselves, had conversation with travaylers, or imployed themselves to much reading, we are not ignorant that in the maine of America, in that part thereof which is vulgarly called *The west India*, amongst many of her large Territories & Dominions, is the great and mightie Kingdome of *Guiana*, situated neare about the middle of the saide continent, or somewhat more southerly, it being neare under ye Equatorial line, the Southermost part therof, and extending itselfe to about some 5. or 6. degrees of North Latitude, being bordered on the South-west with *Perue*, on the South with *Amazonis*, on the North with *Mexico*, and on the East with the Ocean Sea.

The saide Countrey of *Guiana* was first discovered or made knowne to our English Nation, as farre as I can learne, about the yeare of our Lord 1594. at the charge and direction principally of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: the same againe seconded by him selfe the yeare following: afterward againe by Captaine *Keymish* and others, at the charges of the said Sir *Walter Rawleigh* it being reputed to bee the chiefest place for golde Mines in all the West India: but the prosecution therof being left off for a time, by what occasion I know not, it so happened that in the yeare of our Lord 1602, Captaine *Charles Leigh* made a voyage thither, for the discoverie thereof, and finding a fit place for habitation, determined to procure the planting of a Colonie there in the River *Wiapica*, which saide determination at his returne being put in practise, with the furtherance and speciall charge of the worshipfull Knight Sir *Olive Leigh*, certain men were sent thither, there to inhabite under the conduct of the aforesaid Captaine *Charles Leigh*, who remayned there about a yeare and a halfe, where he went with manie of his companie dyed. For a supplie unto which companie, was another companie sent, in the yeare 1605. at the charges of the sayde Sir *Olive Leigh*, and certain other adventurers, of which companie myselfe was one, all under the conduct and [B 2 {11}] leading of Captaine *Sen-Johns*, who being embarked in the *Olive Branch* of Sir *Olive Leigh*, whereof was captaine and master under God, captaine *Catlin* and *Arthur Chamberers*.

Being thus ready, we set saile the twelfth of April one thousand six hundred and five, not hincaping in g worth note, till we came as nigh as the North Cape, where an English Barke overtaking us, foure of our Gentlemen, by reason of their sicknesse were desirous to returne home againe, so that getting their passage for *Lisbone*, they tooke their leave of us, whose names were, Maister *Rogers*, Maister *Catlin*, Maister *Sanders*, and another whose name I doe not now remember. So we continued our course to the *Cannaries*, and so to Cape *Blanco* in *Barbarie*, and from thence to the Ile of *Mayo*: in which time of our voyage it fell out as often it hapneth in such actions, that our companie being divided, (as being some sea-men, and the rest land-men, who are for the most part many times of contrary interests) there was some heart-burning and malice one against another, which rested not onely in the common sort, but rather and most chiefly in our captaines, who se haughtie mindes not breaking contradiction on either side, had like to have grown to a dangerous distention, had it not bene appeased by the diligent perswasions of some other of the companie, whose plausible spirit was more addicted to unitie and peace, then any way liking of such dangerous and in direct courses, they well fore-knowing that civill [?] [cruell?] discorde have bene the overthrow of mightie kingdomes, and great common wales; and therefore well might have bene the utter subversion of our so weak & slenderly governed companie. But all parties being now (as it seemed) to the outward visi[o]n quieted, we went a shoore upon the saide Ile of *Mayo* to take in fresh water and salt, where we found 5. Portugals, which had bin robbed by [12] the French, and there set a shore, where having stayed five dayes hunting of Goats, and refreshing of our men, we departed to saint Iago, where we landed the five *Portugals*, in reward of which kindnesse of ours, the Inhabitants took three of our men, and kept them as prisoners while they sent seaven leagues into the Countrey to know the Governours pleasure, and at night sent them aboard againe, having taken certaine commodities from them, which they had us buy some of their fruits. From thence (having weighed our Anchor) with a merrie gale we sailed towardes our desired place to the countrey of *Guiana*: but missing of our expectation, here began the first scene of our ensuing miseries: for whether it was our Masters want of knowledge that we fell not with the preffred place, or that the current which our master alledged to be the reason, that setting verie strongly to the Northwards, put us so farre short thereof, or whether (as of all others that

is most certaine) it pleased God in that place at that time, and in such a manner, to let us feele some part of his heavi e displeasur e, concey ved again st us for ou r tim es formerly mispent: so as I say the ending of our hopes was the beginning of our mi series: for ply ing to any againe, w and[e]r ing as it w ere in a w ildern esse of woe, betwixt hope and dispaire, the time passed away & w ith the time our victuals, the onely h ope of our health exceedingly w asted: thereupon our allow ance was greatly short [e]ned, & w ith t he sam e & oth er occu rren ces our m ens mi nds very mu ch distressed, which br ot amo ngst us many fearfull & dan gerous mu tinies. A nd as one miserie commeth still in the necke of another, so fared it with us: for with our want of victuals, we being neare unto the Equinoctiall, and the Sun in that part of the Zodiacke wh ich was neare unto our Zenith, it was so exceeding hot, that with the vehemencie thereof many of our men fell marvellous weake, and some of them died, n amel y our C arpen ters m ate *Jo hn Br ow n e*, our [B3 {13}] Cooke, and *Robert Paine* , and many others were so weake, that they w ere not able to come above the hatches. This extremitie caused us (though against our stomacks) to entr eate the m aster to b rin g us to t he near est shore h e could . A nd so h avin g beene seventeene weekes at sea, in stead of our hopefull expectations of attaining to a pleasant, rich and golden Co untrey , and the comfortable com panie of our friends and C ountrey -men, there as w e supposed then resident, w e were br ought to an I[s]land in the West *Ind ia* somew hat distant from the m aine, called *Santa Lucia* , having about tw elve degrees of Nor th latitude, inhabited onely w ith a companie of most cruell Caniballs and man-eaters, where we had no sooner anchored, but the Carebyes came in their Perlagoes or Boats aboard us with great store of Tobacco, Plantens, Potatoes, Wines, Sugar Canes, and diverse other fruits with Hens, C hick ens, T urt les, & Gua vas: for all w hich w e conten ted and pleased th em well. T hese *Carrebyes* at their first comm ing in our sigh t, did seeme m ost strange and ugly, by reason they are all naked, with long blacke haire hanging downe their shoulders, their bodies all painted with red, and from their eares to their eyes, they do m ake three [?] [short?] strokes with red, which makes them looke lik e divels or An tick e faces, wh erein t hey tak e a great pr ide.

T h e next m ornin g we w ent a shore w ith all ou r w eak m en, w here there w as sixe or seaven houses planted by a fresh water River, w hich Captain *Se n -jo hn s* bought for a H atchet of an Indian Captaine called *Antho nie* , wh o could speak a little Spanish, and he told us he had beene a slave to the Spaniard in the Ile of *Margareta* : so he an d al[l] h is com pani e w ent to anot her to w ne som e three m y les off].

Whiles our sicke men w ere a shore refreshing themselves, our Master would have dep arted, and h ave left th em to shift am ong t he *Carrebyes*, but C aptain e *Se n -* [14] *Jo hn s*, and the chiefe of our companie wou ld not consent thereto. And seeing it was in vaine all of us for to venter hom e in the Shippe with that small allowance, wee w ere willing to come a shore, and there to live untill it should please Go d to send some m eanes to b rin g us a w ay : upo n th at con ditio n th ey sho uld de liv er u nt o u s on e gr eat peece, an d ev ery m an h is M usk et an d w eap on s, and h alfe the m uni tion in th e ship, w ith al l ou r C hests and comm oditi es wh atsoever, wh ich hee would not graun t, before we had subscribed to a certaine Writing wh ich he wrote to excuse himselfe at his returne into England: so we recey ved fou re litt le Barr els of pow der, an d ten r oun d Bull ets for the gr eat Peece, wh ich when w ee brought a shore did much feare the Indians; for they asked us if we brought it to kill them. But to please their humou rs, wee tolde them it was to kill the Spaniards, and then they came and helped us a shore with her, and with all our C hestes, of their ow ne accord.

Now after they had delivered all things a shore out of the Boat, we thought it good to stay her, and to keepe her for o ur ow ne use, for w ee did not k now wh at neede we might have of such a [illegible] afterwarde: so wee sent the sailers aboard in an Indian Boat, onely three would not goe but would stay with us: so we were in all left a shore threescore and seaven in the Isle of Saint *Lu c c a*.

At nigh t w hen w e w ere all sitt ing to gether at supp er abo ut a gr eat fire, w hich they could w ell per ceiv[e] fro m t he ship w hen i t w as dark e: and as it shoul d seeme in rev enge of th eir Boa t, befor e they depart ed they pur posed to let us k now they were not w ell pleased with the action, they shot a great peece at us with a single Bu llet, b ut as it ple ased Go d i t fel l do w ne b y th e sid e of o ur ho use, and m issed u s, which if it had com e amo ngest us w e sittin g so thick e, it cou ld no t hav e chosen bu t h ave [15] been e th e dea th of m any of u s.

T h is mad e C aptain e *Se n -Jo hn s* discharge our peece at them, witho ut intent to hurt them , but fairly overshot them: for he m ight have sunke them, and w ould if they had shot once mor e: then presently th ey w eyed A nchor and departed.

T h e next mo rnin g C aptain e *Se n -Jo hn s* went in th e Boate, with fifteene more in his companie, to trade with *Antho io* his father for *Fo n e* cloath, w hich he h ad

saved at sea great store: but when we came there, contrarie to our expectation, we found our ship there trading with them, who had incensed the Indians sore agayn st us, telling them that we were bad people, and would take all they had from them, and would cut their throats.

And as we towed alongst the shore, they discharged halfe a dozen peece of Ordnance, and a volley of small shot at us, but their *[sic]* great shot over shot us, and light upon the rockes, and scarred *[sic]* the Indians a shore mightily, and their small shotte light shorth with their armes. Their determination was to drive us from our Boat, or else to have sunke her, for their great shot came so thick that wee were forced to leape a shore into the Woods: then they manned their Periago, and came to take our Boat away, which wee perceyving entered her againe, and escaped all their malice: so wee returned home againe safe, and they departed toward Saint *Vincent*, the eighteenth or nineteenth of August, 1605.

After the departure of our ship we remained in peaceable manner amongst the Indians, daily trading with them for all manner of victuall, as Plantains, Potatoes, Penas, Papaians, Pumpkins, Gallobashoes, Pappes, Mammies, Guianas, with diverse other fruits, and Tobacco [in] abundance, all verie pleasan to eat. Also they brought Turtles, Guanas Hens and Chickens, Woodcocks and Snipes, with some Pellicans.

As for the Turtles, we ourselves did use every night [16] by courses to send out fire to catch them, which is easily done, by reason that every night they use[d] to come ashore, and lay their eggs *[sic]* in the sand, and by the heat of the Sun they are hatched. At their coming out of the water they do make as broad a track as a Cart with their fins, by which meanes wee are ledde to the place where they do sit, and so we turne them on their backes, which being done, they can do nothing but so lie till they be dead. The meate of them dooth eat like unto Vele, and I have seene taken out of one of them to the number of sixe or seaven hundred egges, which wee doe drie with the fat or oyle of the Turtle, and also with Cassada wee did make exceeding good White-pots and Puddings, putting the Egges and Oyle into it. Also the *Guana* is proportioned like a Serpent, more then an ell long, with foure short feete. In eating it is like a Connie, and hath in his belly to the number of five and twenty or thirty Egges.

This *Cassada* is a roote of a tree, whose juice is poyson: but being squeezed *[sic]* the flow doth make an excellent kind of bread, and will keepe long. The Indians did marvel much at our manner of dressing our meate, and they would be familiar, and would dine with us verie often, but by no meanes wee could not make them eat salt: for they use to eat all their meate seasoned with Ginnie Pepper: their women came verie seldome unto us, for they are verie jealous over them. Once or twice there came some women with them, unto whom wee gave shirts to cover their nakednesse, whereof they seemed proud: Their ancient women are verie ugly, by reason of their sick breastes, which dooth lie like emptic bagges: but those which have not give sucke, are well proportioned and proper. Also we had a Net, with the which we would get at once draught as many fish of diverse sorts, as would [C 1 {17}] serve all our company a day.

A little before our arrivall, three Spanish ships were cast away, and much of the goods these Indians had saved with their Boats, and hid it in the Woods, they had so much Roanloath, that all their Periagoes had sayles thereof. They also had great store of stuffe, Sirge, and Spanish woollen cloath, cloakes and apparell: insomuch that if we had had a Barke of fortie tons burthen wee could have laden *[sic]* her home with such commodities as would have made a saving voyage. All which we could have bought for hatchets, knives, beads, fish-hooks, and thimbls, with other trifles.

Thus for the space of five or sixe Weekes, wee went not much abroad, but cut downe the Woods about our houses every day, and mounded our great Peece upon broad Tables, which wee ourselves had sawne, least the *Carrebyes* should at any time assault us.

Soone after this, there came another Captaine from Saint *Vincent*, called *Augraumar*, which was brother to *Anthonio*, who was offended with him for selling the houses unto us: for the which cause *Anthonio* bid us kill him, and tolde us hee purposed to bring twelve Periagoes laden with *Carrebyes* to kill us, but wee found this *Augraumar* verie kinde unto us, and was willing to doe, or tell us any thing wee desired him, for he taught us to make a Grater, which he made of small sharpe flint stones beaten into a broad boore to grate our *Cassada* on, whereof we made our breade, and hee tolde us, that *Anthonio* would cut our throates, and therefore bid us kill him. This made us doubtfull which to trust to. We had certaine Articles drawne, which were to be observed, wherein Captaine *Nicholas Sen-Johns* was Captaine: his brother *Alexander* Lieutenant, *Miles*

*Pet*, and *Philip Glascock* were commanders for the appoyning of our Watch: *John Rogers* was our [18] interpreter for the Spanishtongue, and was to buy and bargain with the Indians for all the commodities, both for commodities and victuals, Maister *Garret*, Master [sic] *Tench*, *Francis Brace*, and my selfe, were appointed to order the domesticall matters.

[In left margin: "*Carebie* signifies in their language, a valiant man." ] All the occasion yet [that] we made whereby the *Carrebyes* should fall out with us, was that one of our companie did sell a sword unto Captain *Anthonio*, which was contrary to the Articles we had set downe, for none was (upon paines of severe punishment) to sell either Sword, Dagger, or Hedge-bill: which when we knew, *Alexander Sen-Johns* with a dozen more went to his house, and found him in his bed, which they call a *Hamaco*, with a little fire under him because he was not well, and the Sword standing by him, which yo[u]ng *Sen-Johns* tooke and brought forth to us. This drove him into a great rage against us, for never after that would he be familiar with us.

The *Carrebyes* did weare for an ornament upon the small of their naked rmes a foure-square plate, which maister [sic] *Browne* a Gold-finer told Captain *Sen-Johns* had three partes of it Golde, which he asked the *Carrebyes* where they got it? who presently pointed us to a great Mountaine on the North-west part of the Island, whose toppe we might see from the place where we dwelt: but *Anthonio* saide there was none. These contrarie tales made us suspect some villanie, and that it was but a policie to drawe some of our companie thither, whereby they might the better deal with us: for at home they durst not attempt any thing against us, both for feare of our great Peece, and also we would not suffer them to bring their bowes and arrows within our Contentell. Yet our Captain would not be content till we consented that hee should goe to the Mountaine, and tooke with him all sortes of commodities to bargain with the Indians for Cloath, and hee took the old *Browne* [C 2 {19}] the Gold-finer, and his sonne *George Browne*, *John Rogers*, Maister *Loking*, the three sailers, whose names were, *John Fleming*, *Thomas Butler*, *Owen* a Welch-man, *James Garret*, & one *Joseph* and *Christopher*, two Grocers, and one Maister *Evan*s, with diverse more, to the number of sixteene.

And upon Monday they all embarked in the Boat taking eight dayes victuall with them, promising to return betwixt that and the next Monday, leaving his brother *Miles Pet*, *Philip Glascock*, *M. Garret*, *M. Tench*, and my selfe, to rule at home. Upon Tuesday & Wednesday the Indians did not come unto us with victuals as they had wot, which made us after suspect that they were at the slaughter of our men at the Mount: & upon Wednesday, my selfe with 3. more went to *Anthionio* [sic] house, where we found a great number of women, but not passing halfe a score men, making great preparations of victuals: some baking of Cassada, others roasting and boiling of great fishes and Turtl es. I offered to buy some of them, but they refused and would not, neither would they looke of any commodity we had, which made us much marvel: for before that time they never denied us: so we departed, & by the way we light [sic] of a narrow path wherein we traveled a little, and all along the way did growe abundance of Gutana trees, whose fruit is as big as an Apple, and verie pleasant to eate: the greene ones are wholesome for the bloodie flaxe [sic].

We had not traveled a Mile, but wee entered downe by a Thicket into a most pleasant Garden of Potatoes, which drove us into greate admiration to beholde the manner [sic] of it, for it was made round like a Bowler, encompassed with a greene Banke, so equally, that made us thinke some Christians had made it for a strength to save them from the Indians: and upon the toppe thereof did growe a companie of the moste [20] tallest Trees that ever I behelde, which did naturally growe so neere one to another, and so thicke from the roots to the toppe, that wee could not perceyve the skie through them. But following the path, we perceyved it to passe through a narrow cut in the bank, where we traveled tworther mile further, passing through many goodly Gardens, wherein was abundance of Cassada, Potatoes, Tobacco, Cotton-wool-trees, and Gutana trees, in diverse places as we traveled we did marvel to see the huge and great trees that were there: for most of them were five or sixe fathoms about, and fearing that we should be benighted, we returned the same way againe, with as much greene Tobacco, Potatoes, and Cassada, as we could carrie, which did much content our men at home: for the Indians had not brought any victuals in threedayes before.

At night sixe of our men went to seeke for Turtles, and founde two verie great ones, but could not bring them home. For when they had turned them on their backs, it beganne to raine, thunder, and lighten [sic] so extraordinarily, that they

had much a doe to get home themselves, and so it continued all night, with the most horrible thunder-claps that ever I heard, with lightning and rain as light as day, which caused us to awake, and after prayers to sit all night by great Fiers [*sic*], drinking of Tobacco; with extraordinary myrth amongst our selves, little foreseeing the danger [*sic*] that befell to be the next day.

Early [*sic*] the next Morning, we went to bring home our Turtles, and there we found a great number of *Carrebyes* on the shore; and three or four Boats by them, roasting of land Caribes, for what purpose they were so gathered together we know not, but least we should suspect them of any bad intent towards [C3 {21}] us, they willed us to eat with them, and brought home our Turtles to our house.

All that fore-noon we kept good watch, for there was verie many which came both by sea and land, and *Augraumart* and his father came with a great number of Indians, and brought in his hand a quarter of a Turtle, and a hundred Egges, and gave them to young *Sen-Johns*, and tolde him, that if hee would goe to his Brother *Anthonis* house, hee should have great store of victuals, and that hee should see his wife, and therefore to perswade him to goe, hee professed [?] that we should have Hamacas for to sleep in, which is the beds they use. Their Women dooth make them of Cotten that growes naturallye on the Trees, were of [*sic*] they have abundance. Wee manye times made [requests?] [to?] them for these Hamacas, because they would bee a meanes to save us from the Stings of a certaine flye called a Musketo, the which would so torment us with their poysoned stings, and cause us to swell as though we had the Leprosie, for they would sting through three payres of Stockings, but they were not willing [can't read four or five words] that we should have any. And because they were so kinde to us, wee tooke them all into our houses, and were verie merrye and pleasant with them, and gave them *Aqua vitae* which they delighted much in. But Maister *Tench* (who had wont to bee a curious corrector of us in our merriments) did shewe him selfe so extraordinarie pleasant, that hee fell a singing of Caribes with the *Carrebyes*, and caused them to drinke carouses of *Aqua vitae* and water.

If we had benee determined to have killed them, wee might have done it at that time with small danger, wee had a hundred and above of them within our houses without their bowes or Arrows. And when some [22] of our companie, made such a motion as to put them to the Sworde (for some of us was halfe and more jealous of them, that they had done some mischief to our captaine, by reason one of our companie did say, that hee heard an Indian say, that the Captaine of the English had his hande cutte off at the Mount) but this was not regarded, but was imputed that hee had misconstrued the *Carrebyes* language. Maister *Tench* was agaynst it, say in g: God would not be pleased with such a bloudie Act, agaynst such harmlesse people, and therefore willed so not to doe it without they gave the first occassion, wherein hee wronged himselfe and us all, in seeking to save the lives of those who within three houres after most cruellye [*sic*] murdered him. Before Dinner they all departed, but *Augraumart* and his father, who did need with us. And presently after dinner, eightene was chose to goe to *Anthonis*' house with *Augraumart* and his father, who had neither bowe nor arrow: onely his father had a Brasen sworde.

This they did least wee should suspect their treacherie. But wee not fearing anye treason, because wee had benee often times well used there before, went on boldly.

And some of our companie thought that the verie sight of our Peeeces was sufficient to terrifie them, for attempting any villiany [*sic*] against us. And therefore did not regarde either to charge them, or to light our match. In this carelessse and secure manner, wee travayled through all the necke of land which runnes farre in to the Sea, and then wee entered upon the sand, which was so extreame hote with the reflexion of the Sunne that wee were not able to travele apace, being laden with our Peeeces.

But Maister *Alexander* had put off his Doub- [23] let, and gave his Boy his Peece, & went jesting and playing arme in arme with the two *Carrebyes* a good space before us, until wee came to a point of Land a quarter of a mile from *Anthonis* house, and then hee called us to come forwards, but hee beinge light and coole, did keepe a great way before us still. And when hee least suspected danger, *Augraumart* made as though hee would embrace him. And suddenlye, clasping holde with one hand on his Rapper [*sic*], and the other on his Dagger, and his Father with a great Brasen Sworde, strooke him downe before we could come at him, but hee moved not [?] agayne.

Then came the Arrows so thick out of the wood, that we could not get our

match in the Cocke for pulling the Arrowes out of our bodies: so amongst us all was but five or six peeces discharged, which when the Indians saw give fire, they did fall flat on the ground, shouting and crying with a most hellish noise, naming us by our names when they hit us.

Then were they tired back to a point of land, thinking there to have fitted our peeces, and to have given them a volley of shot, But there came another Ambush on our backs, and round about us, insomuch that we were enforced to forsake our peeces, and betake us to our swords, which did much incourage them, for when they saw we could not hurt them with our peeces, they would come so neere us, as though they purposed to make choyce in what place to hit us, of some they shot in the faces, others through the Shoulders, and of others, they would nail their feet to the ground together.

Maister *Budge* and *Robert Shaw* ran into the sea, and there were both drowned and kild with Arrowes, Maister *Tench* had a little Buckler, with which he did save himself a long time, but at the last an Arrowe passed through both his legges, that he could not goe, [24] and stooping to pull it out, they kild him, and if any of us offered to runne at one or two of them, they would runne away, and of a suddaine twentie or thirtie would inclose us, and still shoote Arrowes in them till [sic] they were downe, and then would they with a great Brasen sword beate them to death, and after would rifle them: Maister *Kettleby* did [?] [show e?] himselfe verie gallantly, for hee did not respect what arrowes hee received in his bodye, so hee could but reach one stroke at a *Carrebye*, but they were too nimble for us in regard they were naked.

Yet neere the sea, wee runne through them all, thinking that if we had escaped that ambush, there had been no more to trouble us, but as I was pulling Arrowes out of his bodye, to the number of twentie at the least, there came the third ambush out of the woodes from whence came an Arrowe and hit him in the Breast, which hee perceived would be his Death, for hee could not stand but as I held him, but I was forced to let him goe, and shift to save myselfe.

Then I after took the young *Sen-Johns* his bodye almost full of Arrowes, of which I pulled out a number, But what for the blood that runne from him, and the extremitye hee ate hee was in by his running, hee was not able to overtake the rest of our companye that was before.

And still the *Carrebyes* did gather ground upon us, and the Arrowes came thicke on everie side.

Then he willed me to intreate them stay, and when I had overtaken one, I caused him to stay, which he was unwilling to doe, for hee tolde mee his Sword would not come forth of the Scabbard [sic], so I tooke hold of the Hilt, and betwixt us both pulled it out, but before we had made an ende, those cruell and bloody *Carrebyes* had encom passed yong [sic] *Sen-Johns* yet (to my griefe) I did stand and beholde his ende, who before hee fell, [D1 {25}] did make them run like so many Curres from a Lyon: for looke which way hee ran, they all fled before him: his body was so loaden with Arrowes, that he fell to the ground: and upon one hand and knees, hee did keepe them from him with his Swoord [sic], so much hee scored so basely to dye at their hands.

We two were then the onely markes they aimed at: for having rifled yong *Senjohns* [sic], they pursued us very hotly, which caused us make haste to foure of our fellowes, who were entred [sic] into a narrow path, which leadeth through the woodes, from the sandes to the Houses where wee dwelt: but there was in the path another Ambush, which drove them backe to the sandes againe: and when they saw us so hardly chased, they entred the path with us againe.

The one side of the path was a high Mountayne, the other went downe a low Vallie. The first foure tooke up the Mountayne, by which meanes, they were a fayre marke for them to hitte, who dropped downe one after another.

All this time neyther *Harry* which was *Stokeleys* man (a Marchant now in *Bucklersbery*) nor myselfe was shot: but as we thought desperatly [sic] to run through them in the narrowe path, there came an Arrowe and pearced quite through his head, of the which he fell suddenly, and I ran to lift him up, but he was dead without speaking one word to mee at all.

Then came there two Arrowes and hitte mee in the back, the one directly against my hart, the other through my shoulder blade: so (with my sword in my hand) I ran upon them desperatly, thinking (before I had died) to have ben [sic] the death of some of them. And in my running, I saw Captaine *Anthony*, with an Arrow in his Bow drawne against me, who stood untill I came very neere him (for he purposed to have kylld [?] mee with that [26] shot) which when I had come, I thought to put it by with my sword, but it light on my hand, & passed thorow [sic] the handle of my sword, and nayled both together: but I continued running at

him still; and before he could nock e [*sic*] another, I made him and all the rest turne their backs, and run into the sands againe: which oportunity [*sic*] when I espyed, I leapt in to the wood, downe to the valley, where I found a great Lake: and hearing them, with great showts and cry, which they use in signe of tryumph and victory, pursue mee still, I leapt into the Lake, with my sword nay led to my hand, and two arrowes in my backe, and by the helpe of God swamme over, but with much ado: for the further side was shallow water, but I waded in much [*sic*] up to the waste, which had almost spent me.

Now when I was over, I conveyed my selfe into the thickest parts of ye [the] wood, making all the haste I could, to give my fellowes, which were at home, warning, lest the *Indian s* should set on them unawares: and in my going, I came into a path, and sought for a great tree, to see, if by the ay me of the lland [*sic*], I could perceyve which way our houses stood. Then suddenly I heard a great noyse, which made me stand behind a tree, and there I saw two or three *Indian s* goe by me, which I imagined were going to set on them at home: but it pleased God I got home, & gave warning before their coming: so *Miles Pett* charged our great Peece, and all [*sic*] our men were in redines [*sic*] for their coming. Then presently, they all came in sight upon the sands, whom we sent away (by shooting of our great Peece) & came no more in 3. daies: in which time, we fortified our selves with our Chests: And upon Monday morning (before wee had made an end of praier) there came to the number of 13. or 14. *C. Indian s* (both by sea and land,) & there beset us round, making a noyse with their Hornes, and made most horrible cries, which they do use, the more to terrify the enemies: and we did an - [D2 {27}] sweare them agayne with thelyke cries, deying our selves into 4. parts, according as we had made our Forts of our Chests, placing five in every Forte, and three to the great Peece, where *Miles Pett* [*sic*]. my selfe and another was. Then they shot their Arrowes among us as thicke as hayle, and lest they should follow in upon us and make use of those Arrowes agayne, we gathered them all together, & made great fires with them before their faces, and many times they purposed to rush in upon us by multitudes, & to have beaten us downe with their Brazen Swoordes: But our great Peece was so mounted, that very readily we could turne it which way we pleased, and looke which way their greatest company went, we let her flye amongst them. So perceiving that they could not prove agai nst us, they put Cottenwool upon the end of their Arrowes, and put fire on them and shot at our Houses which were made on [*sic*] long Canes or Reedes, and suddenly took the fire by reason of the heat of the day, & burned downe to the ground, fastning on our Chests which were our Forts, and burned all downe to the ground, the extreme heat of the flame did make our men forsake their Forts, and retire behind the great Peece, to the Sea-side, which incouraged the *Carra bies* [*sic*] mightily. *M. William Kettleby* lay close unseene of the *Indian s* upon the sand, and with a long Peece hee would reach them 12. score paces, & galled them much: otherwise, they would have come on the backes of us by Sea, but he shot their Boats thorow and thorow, and scar[e]d them for [*sic*] entering that way. Now, when all [*sic*] our men were fled behind the great Peece, onely *Philip G lascocke* & *Richard Garrat* stood behinde the smoke, and marked where they purposed to enter, & eche [*sic*] of them discharged halfe a score times at them: At last, *Philip G lascocke* received an Arrowe in his head, and *Richard Garrat* one in his Brest, and two in his backe. And when the [{}28] *Indian s* saw that all were fled but them two, they purposed to enter through the smoake upon us: but in the entering [*sic*], hee gave a warning to *Miles Pett* to turne the Peece against the smoake: which presently we did, and let flye amongst them and drove them all backe, with most lamentable shrikes [*sic*] and cries: no doubt but that shot was the death of many of them: for she was charged with stones. Then they blew their great Hornes, and all retired backe to their Boates, without shooting on the Arrowe at us. After that our house was burned and all our Chests, which before were our Fort, we fortified our selves with the remnant s of the stakes, and thatch which we saved from burning, setting it in the ground slope wise, covering it with Sand & Earth, which saved us ever after from their Arrowes.

In all these extreme dangers and imminent Calamities which all this while we endured, let the Christian Reader judge in what a perplexed state we were plunged, seeing still one misery to follow another, and each misery farre exceeding the former: As first, our danger at Sea to be famished: then a comfortlesse remedy against Famishment, to be left in a farre remote and unknowne place, amongst a cruel, barbarous and inhuman people, without hope of ever having any meanes to recover the sight of our native and deare countrey and friends: Then the loss of our Captaine (and others) which before (in all extremity) was still some comfort unto us: And now (lastly) these lamentable strata gements [*sic*] of the

massacre of our fellowes and friends, therin [*sic*] seeing as in a G lasse, the ut ter rui ne and Butch erly mu rth ering of our ow ne selves, bein g w e mad e mo st assured accompt to drinke of the same Cuppe: But this was the least of our feares, and not th e gr eat est o f ou r m iser ies: Fo r b ein g now for a time ri d o f ou r b lo ud - [D3 {29}] thirsty\* [\*{in margin} Which departed in their Periagos. ] enemies, our provision of victuals being al w asted, spent and spoy led, and havin g no m eanes to get any more, it wou ld have mooved the heart of the cruell est Tirant [*sic*] in the world to compassion. But in the midst of all this unendurable misery, it pleased God (contrary to our expectation, in some sort) to relieve us even by our enemy es: For when all the r est wer e out of sight, o ne *P e r i a g o* returned very w ell provided of victual, and three or foure came on land, with as much as they w ere able to carry of *C a s s a d a*, *P o t a t o s* & *P l a n t o n s*, and cr y ed u n t o u s t o e x c h a n g e w i t h t h e m , f i r s t holding up their Bowes, and after laying them on the ground againe in signe of peace: w h i c h w e p e r c e i v i n g, s e n t o u t t h r e e l i k e w i s e t o b a r g a i n w i t h o u t w e a p o n s, carry ing Knives, Beades and other tr ifels: Which being done, th ey depar ted, and we r eturned, giv ing pray se to God (thus m iraculou sly) for to feede us, for w ee had no meanes of our selves to get any.

Then, the Nette (with the wh ich we had wont [to] get as much fish of all sorts as wo uld su ffise [*sic*] us all for a day ) the *Indian s* to ok e from us.

Th us for th e space of 6. or 7. day es, every day fightin g for th e space of thr ee or foure houres, and then our victualls began to faile againe, which caused us to hold out a Flag of tr uce: w h i c h the *Indian s* perceiv ing, cam e in peaceab le m aner [*sic*] un t o u s: Th en on e *F r a n c i s B r a c e* (by mean s of his Fren ch ton gue) m ade them understand that our desire was to give them all that wee had, if they w ould let us have a *P e r i a g o* to carry us away, which one Captain *Antonio* w illin gly consent ed un t o , and th e ne xt day after br ou ght her , dr aw in g h e r ash or e w i t h i n t h e com passe of our Fortes, we giving them, of Hatchets, Knives and Beades unty ll [*sic*] they were contented: And to please them the more, w e gave them every one a Shovell or a Spade, and so they departed.

[{30}] An d then w ee wen t all to w ork e, som e to m ake t h e Say le, w h i c h w ee made of very good *Roane*-cloath, and some to make the M ast: and every on e did labour all that he could, to bee ready against night: for *Antonio* told us, that his Brother *Angrauem a r t* wou ld come the next day from S. *V i n c e n t* with tw elve *P e r r i a g o s*, all laden w ith m en and A rrow es: whose w ords w e alway [*sic*] found tru e, for he co uld n ot dissem ble.

And w ee concluded, rather then wee wou ld stay and dy e so miserably at the *C a r r a b i e s* hands, who thirsted for nothing but to eate our flesh, and drinke our blood, as they had done with m any other of our fellowes, wee promised unto the LO RD (wh o had a ll th is ty me fou ght for us,) to b etak e our selves un t o h i s m e r c y , and doubted not but that hee would guide us safely to some Christian Harbour.

And u pon the xxvi. of September, 1605, at one a clocke after midnight, w e emb arqu ed all x i x. i n t h a t l i t t l e V e s s e l l o r B o a t e w h i c h t h e *Indian s* had made all of one tr ee, shee w as not so b roade as a W h e r r y , but it w as almo st as long agay ne: Ou r Roap es for our Say le were our Garters, and our Y ard, a Lance: Shee had a little Rother or Helme, but not one of our company had skylk how e to use it, ney ther had w ee Com passe to direct us, but sayl ing by the Sunn e in the day , and by the Starres in the night, keeping alway es betwixt South-west and West: For wee imagined, the maine Land of the West-Indies lay so.

Th e Vict uals th at w ee had, w ere no t sufficient t o serve th at com pany thr ee day es: for w e had n ot abo ve tw entie Bi skets, th ree *C a s s a d a* C akes, a do sen [*sic*] *P l a n t o n s*, and some thirty *P o t a t o s*: and of Water, some foure or five Gallons, & a little Barrell halfe full of Rice, which Master *Garrard* had given him to sowe in the Country of *G u y a n a*, if we had gotten thyther.

[D4 {31}] And as it pleased the Lord, h ee had saved it, untill this our gr eat necessitie for the preservation of our lives: for all our other victuall was gone in two dayes, our water in three daies, & then *R i c h a r d G a r r a r d* gave to every tw o of us a Porindish of his Rice twice a day, w h i c h w ee w ashed in salt water & so eate it raw e. Th u s w e e co n t i n u e d a t S e a, s e e k i n g f o r l a n d f o r t h e s p a c e o f t e n n e d a y e s, where wee indured one great tempest, although to our great perill, looking alwayes when wee should bee swallowed up in the huge waves, the storme contin ewi ng [*sic*] for the space of foure and twentie houres, both boysterous for winde and rayen (for all the Sea was in a white foome) which was unto us in the midst of our danger, a great comfort: for wee saved the rayne w ater and drancke it gladly , th a n k i n g G o d f o r t h a t g o o d r e f r e s h i n g : w h o l i k e w i s e s e n t t h e v e r y f o w l e s o f y e [th e] ayre to feede us, for they being wery [*sic*] o f t h e i r f l i g h t , w o u l d r e s t t h e m o n t h e s i d e o f o u r b o a t e, s o t h a t w e e t o o k e t h e m a n d d r i e d t h e m i n t h e Sunne, with a little Gunpowder and eate them. Our boate was so neere the water,

that every wave came over her reddie to sinke her, but that foure of us did not hing but lade it out againe by courses. To speake of the misery we endured there, it is impossible; for I cannot expresse it.

Upon the tenth day after our comming forth of S. *Lucea*, being [sic] the fifth of October, one *Thomas Morgan* died, not being able to live of that small allowance. And at twelve a clocke at noone wee threwe him over-board: and with him an houre after, it pleased God to glad us with a joyfull sight of the land: then wee hoisted up our sayle, sett to rowe with all the force wee could, making to the nearest place, imagining all dangers were past.

[{32}] But the winde being calme, we were benighted before wee could come at it, and so wanting the light of the day, we were upon the Rocks before wee were aware: and by reason that the breach of the wave was so great and violent, we could not holde her off, but (forceably) ranne against the Rockes, and there split our Boate to the very middest, and all our men turned out, I onely holding the Helme, thinking the next Wave would heave her over the Rockes, not knowing her to bee split.

But the Breach was so great, that it turned mee under, putting mee in great danger to be grated to peeces with her weyght above mee against the great Rockes: And at the last, wee all recovered ourselves, some sitting upon great Rockes, others on the rootes of great Trees, thinking there to save our selves tyll the morning: And I finding a long Poale which fell out of our Boate, tooke it and asked if any would venture to the shoare with mee: which *Francis Brace* perceived, to okethether end: so we two waded to the Land, and then therest all followed, and some brought Perrywinckles in their hands, and broke them out of the shells and did eate them raw: then every one cryed out for fresh Water. So *William Piques* and my selfe went to seeke for water: but we had not gone halfe an houre, but wee came to our Fellowes agayne, without finding of any Water to comfort us withall. So, the place where wee landed, proved to be a broken Island compassed with the Sea, about a league from the Mayne.

As soone as it was Day, wee digged pittes in the ground for fresh water, but could finde none that was to be drunk: some went to the Boate to save such commodity ties, as were left undriven away with the Sea: Others found Perrywinckles on the Rockes, which [E1 {33}] was all the victuall we had to eate: but our stomacks were so weak, we could not eate above two or three a day.

Thus, not knowing what course to take to save our lives from famine, one *Myles Pett*, *William Piques*, and my selfe went and haled the Boat out of the rockes to the shore, which was split to the very midst, and so far with our swordes we cut off, & put in a head in the midst and fastned it with our Daggers, Knives, and Bodkins, stopping all the leakes with our shirts.

So five of our company ventered in her to the maine land, their names were *Myles Pett*, *William Kettlebie*, *William Piques*, *Francis Brace*, and *William Butcher*, leaving *Richard Garrard*, *Philip Glescocke*, *John Coxford* and my selfe with the rest in this hungry and desolate Island. And at last it pleased God to bring them to the maine land: they halde their Boate alongst the shore, crossing many great rivers, wherein [sic] they were pursued by divers devouring Serpents of the Sea, as the *Aligators*, who are of such force, that they will pull a horse under water and devour him, and will travell more then two leagues from the water to seeke their prayes: And also that greedy *Sharke*, who hath three rankes of teeth set like a saw, and will bite off a mans thigh at one snatch.

Yet God preserved them miraculously: And when they were like to give over travellin g, being in despair for ever to find any *Spaniards* for to succour them with foode, God pitying their estates, guided them to a place where they found a great Earthen pot full of wheat flower [in margin: A pot of flower set in a Cave by some Indian.], which they boyled with fresh water, and satisfied their hungry appetites with thankes to God for the same. And within two dayes after, they met with three *Spaniards*, and with halfe a dozen *Indians* and *Negros*, travellin g from *Carracas* to *Coro*, driving horses and Mules laden with *Marchandise* [sic].

[{34}] Who seeing their weakness for want of victual, unloaded their beasts to feed on the grasse, whilst they fed our hungry men with plentie of their good cheare, shewing them great courtesie, sufferin g them to ride, & went themselves afoote two or three dayes, till they came to a towne of civill *Indians*, called *Tocoya*, where they stayed to refresh them.

And there they let the *Spaniards* know in what miserable case they left us in a desolate Island, where wee endured greatest misery that ever men did and live: for wee continued fifteene dayes, having no kinde of meat but Periwinkles or Whelkes, Tobacco, & Salt-water, which did nothing at all nourish us: yet it tooke away the desire of hunger, and saved us from eating one another.

In that fifteene dayes five of our companie pined to death for hunger: Their names were *John Perkins*, *Edward Greene*, *Jerome Swash*, *Thomas Stubbs*, and an olde man called *John*. Tobacco was the chiefe food I found to do me good, and did preserve my life, and those which could take it downe, did keepe strongest, but those which could not take it at all, died first.

By noting one or two of our men to die, we knewe when any of us drew neere our death, which was, first they would swell very bigge, and after, fall to the very bones, and then wanting natural strength in their backs to hold up their heades, it would fall downe and droupe in there [*sic*] bosomes, and within twelve houres after they would die.

*Françis Brace*, having more strength then the rest [in margin: At the 15. daies end.], guided the three *Spaniards* to the Island where we were, wee little expecting it, for we thought they had bene kild, eyther by wild beastes or Salvages, and wee had given over looking for comfort, but every one particularly desiring God, yet [that] him selfe might not be the last man [E2 {35}] of dying: which conceit was worse then death it selfe unto us. But his returne did adde much comfort unto us in that distresse: for they brought us victuall, which when wee had eate had almost kild us, by reason of the weaknesse of our stomackes, beyng so farre spent, that wee could not digest it, although we did eate it very sparingly.

The next day the *Spaniards* carried us to the maine land, where wee had horses brought us, and the goods we had, they took it all for the King of Spaines use, and then they conveyed us to *Tocoya*, where wee which were weakere remained for fifteene daies, and those which were strong went to *Coro*, fiftie leagues from *Tocoya*.

At the 15. daies end, one of the three *Spaniards*, whose name was *Signior Carow Vallo*, came for us with horses, who shewed himselfe as carefull to us, as if wee had bene his owne Country men and friends, & in 5. daies brought us to *Coro* to our fellowes, where wee were brought before the Governour, and by a Fleming which could speake a little English, which had been prysoner there sixteene yeres, we were examined of the cause of our coming on that coast, who excused us very well, for he knew, that if we confessed whither wee were detemined to goe, meaning *Guaná*, they would eyther have put us to death, or condemned us to the Gallies to rowe. But he told them, that wee never purposed to come into the West *Indies*, but that we were by misfortune and tempest driven on that coast, and told them of all the miseries and dangers we had endured and escaped, which drove them into great admiration, saying we were devils and not men. And the Fleming [*sic*] to lde us, the fathers of their churches said, that if we had bene good Christians, we deserved to be canonized for Saints: but in regard we were *Lutherans*, it was more by the devils meanes, then by the providence of God wee escaped these dangers. [36]

So all the chiefe of the Towne being there, every man was desirous to take one of us, who did not use us like prysoners, but were as carefull of us as of their owne children, not suffering us to want any thing that was necessary for the procuring of our health.

My selfe being extremely sicke of the Calticut, one Captaine *Pero so*, who married his daughter with whom I dwelt (whose name was *Françisco Lopez* [*sic*]) having good skill in Physicke, came daily to my chamber, & there let mee blood, purged, and dieted me, giving his daughter in charge not to let me want any thing, by whose courteous and tender usage, it pleased God to restore mee to my health and strength againe. There in *Coro* two of us died, whose names were *Thomas Fletcher*, (hee was servant to a silke man at the signe of the Angell in C. heapside) and one *Foulke Jones* a shoemaker.

In *Coro* eleven of us remained alive, being all that was left of three score and seven, for the space of five moneths, every day going to one another when we pleased, and often riding into the Country, where the *Indians* tooke great delight in our company: for at our coming they would provide all kind of delicious fruites, which were in most abundance in that country, and kill [*sic*] Deere, and wild Pork for us, & would bring us Apples, Muncy es, Parrats, and any thing that they thought wee delighted in.

The country there about *Coro* doth yeeld abundance of Suger [*sic*], Hony [*sic*], Ginger and Pitch: Also, they have very good Wheat growing there, but their Bread is altogeather made of *Mais*, of ye [the] which they have great plenty: for they reape four times a yere. This *Maiz*, they do make it with the juyce of Suger-Cane s [*sic*], which makes it an excellent kinde of Bread, and it will keepe long as Bisket. Also they make their drinke of this [E3 {37}] *Maiz* and of *Potatos*, which is very strong and sweet, for the *Indians* will quickly be druncke therewith.

Whilst we were there, a Spaniard rode into the Countrey to a place of his (with his Brother) to make *Tobacco*, where he had many *Indian*s dwelling: one of his chiefe *Indian*s (which used to be familiar with him) took a new Hatchet (which his Master had broght [*sic*] with him) and asked his Master what it cost, & suddenly clove his head therewith, which his brother perceiving, ran for his Rapier, thinking to revenge it: but yet [the] *Indian* women had stolne it away before, and so they killed [*sic*] him also with their Bowes and Arrowes, and three or foure *Negros* which seemed to resist them: And thereupon he fled to the Mountayns, gathering a great company unto him, promising them, that if they would ayde him agaynst the Spaniards in *Coro*, he would give them their Wives & daughters in marriage: But before they put it in practise, Captayn *Pero*, by a policie, tooke him feasting amongst his fellowes and women, and tooke thirty with him, and brought all to *Coro*, where they were to suffer death with great torments, to terrifie the rest, not to doe the lyk: And of some, they cut off their thumbs, and cut the sinewes of their two fore-fingers, whereby they wanted the benefit of shooting.

Our entertainment was such, that we could not desire to part from them, to come in to our owne Countrey, without offending them: For there being a frigate at *Coro*, ready to go for *Carthagera*, foure of us made entreaty for passage, which was *Philip Gascoscke*, *Richard Garrard*, *William Piques* and my selfe, all the rest being in the Countrey upon pleasure, some in one place and some in another, and when the Ship was ready to depart, our *Signiors* perswaded the Governour not to let us go, without he had a Letter from the Vice-Roy, [38] that we might passe in safety into Spaine, and so for England: and then he shewed them a Letter, that it was at our owne choice, whether we would go or tarry: yet because they were loath to part with us, they would the Fathers of their churches to tell us, that if we would stay, we should be as themselves, and they would willingly [*sic*] bestow their Daughters and their goods upon us.

Also they told us, that now England & Spayne were all one in Religion, and that our Saviour Christ came in a Vision upon the Crosse, and appeared before our Kings Majestic, and told him that hee was in an error, and by hym [*sic*] turne, and be as the Catholickes are, for they are good Christians: and bow at the sight thereof, three of our chiefe Byshoppes were stricke into a traunce for the space of threedayes, and after they recovered agayne, they preached that they should all repent and become Catholickes: adding further, that the King had sent to the Pope, to send learned men into England, to teach their Doctrine aright: which we well perceived, was onely the suggestion of their Popish Priestes, thereby to have made us hearken to their [*sic*] Doctrine: yet notwithstanding all their allurements on both sides, our desire was for our owne Countrey: And so, three procured meanes for to go.

But *William Piques*, by meanes the Governour said, that foure was too many to venture [*sic*] in the Ship, was staide.

So, about the last of April, *Philip Gascoscke*, *Richard Garrard*, and my selfe tooke our leaves to depart, leaving all, with whom we dwelt, very sorry [*sic*]: who gave us great store of provision for our passage, and wept, as though they had parted from their owne brethren and Children.

They were very loath to let us go to *Carthagera*, for [E4 {39}] feare we should be put in to the Gallies. And the Governour of *Coro* himselfe, wrote unto the chiefe men of *Carthagera*, in our commendations. As to *Don Pedro de Barres*, who was his sonne in Law, but it tooke small effect: for as soone as we arrived there (which was the sixth of May, within foure dayes after, we were committed to Prison for Spies by the *Teniente* [in margin: The x. of May we were committed. 1066.]: for the Governour was dead, not three dayes before we came: yet we carried one Letter from *Coro*, written by *Signior Gesper Sansious*, in our behalf, to *Signior Antonio Canbero*, who proved a special friend to us: for we had not ben [*sic*] an houre in prison, but he came to us & comforted us, & bid us not to feare, for we should not want any thing wherein he could pleasure us: so he went to the *Teniente*, profered [*sic*] 3. of his *Negros* to set us at liberty: & if we made an escape, he should have those *Negros* for his owne use.

The worst of these *Negros* was worth 300. Ducates: but he would not, neither would he allow us any Victualles.

But this *Canbero* sent us every day at noone one very good meales meat. Also, there were three Englishmen, who served as Marryners in the King of Spaynes Gallions of Plate, who after that they were at Sea, were by a very great tempest of weather dryven backe agayne to *Carthagera*, in great danger to be suncke: for she had twelve foote water within her: some of them escaped to the

*Havana*, and five of their most richest Gallions were in the Shoaldes betwixt *Carthagen*a and the *Havana* lost: these three English men did allow us twelve pence a day, so long as wee remayned in prison.

Every Satur day, the *Tenientie* doth sit upon matters concerning the Pr yson ers, with his *Alcades* or Justices.

This *Tenientie* comm aunded [*sic*], that we sho uld be sent [{}40] to the Gallies.

Then on e *Alcade* who was alway [*sic*] found a favour er of English men, his name was *Signior Francisco Lopus de Moralis*, called for our Examination, which when he had per used, he told him that he could not with Justice com mit us. Who answered agayne, Then let them remayne in pr yson, until the *Gallions* come from Spaine for the Treasur e.

Then, within two Moneths after, a Deputy Governour was chosen, unto whom a Porty ugall [*sic*] (who was our great friend in the pr yson) [in margin:

Who was Pr isoner also.] framed a Petition, which was deliv ered by *John Frengham* our Country-man. Whose Answer was to him, that if we could procure any Spaniards to bayle us for our fourth comm ing, we should be at liberty.

Which graunt, *Signior Francisco Lopus* and *Antonio Cambero* [*sic*] had no sooner heard of, but they entred [*sic*] in Bond of a thousand Ducates for our fourth -comm ing.

The cause, why *Francisco Lopus* did this for us, was because Captain e *Drake*, when he took e *Carthagen*a, did save all his fathers goods, and his life withall.

And at our deliv ery, the *Tenientie* told us, that altho ough by order of Law e, they could justly have put us to death: Yet seeing [*sic*] God had so mercifully saved us, and that we had indured so many miseries to save our lives, and that onely we came to them for succour and reliefe, they were content to set us at libertie.

Then *Francisco Lopus* brought us a discharge from the Governour [*sic*] to the Jayler for our deliv ery out of pr yson, and bro ught us all three to his owne house, where was provided for every of us a severall bedde, for the count ry is so hot, we cannot lye but one in a bed. Our entertainement was great, and all our services in plate, with great variety of meates, and all the most delicious [F1 {}41] *Indian* fruites whatsoever, and yet he thought wee never fared well, without hee sent us out extra ordinary dish or other from his owne table. Also many Gallants resorted to his house to play at Cardes, who would shewe themselves very liberall unto us at their winning.

There wee continued in great pleasure, until the Gallions were readie to goe for *Spaine* with the treasur e.

The City of *Carthagen*a is a place of great force, for by Land, you can not come to it, but one way, which is strongly garded [*sic*]: it is (almost) encompassed with the Sea: It hath foure Castles [*sic*], two at the entrance of the Harbour, and one within, where Chaynes are drawne across the water. The fourth is within the City, where their Court of garde is kept, of 500. Souldiers: and it hath foure Churches.

[In margin: Aug. 25.] The day before we embarked, there came two more of our company from *Coro*, which was *Miles Pet* and *Richard Farn e*. *Francisco Lopus* procured us passage in these severall Ships: *Philip G lascocke*, *Miles Pet* and *Richard Farn e* in the Ship, called *St. Bartholom e*: *Richard Garrard*, in *La Madre de Deo*: myselfe in *La Santa Cru se*. So we were a moneth in sayling to the *Havana*, which is neere three hundred Leagues from *Carthagen*a. [In margin: S[ep]. 20.]

In the *Havana*, we lived al ashore with eighteene pence a day for our dyet.

It is a place of great strenght, for it hath 1. great Castle built upon the Rock s at y e [the] entrance of the Harbo ur, and another within on the other side, which commaund all the Towne and Harbour: And the third within the town e, where *Don Pedro de Valdes* was govern or, which was Prisoner in the Tow er 1588.

[{}42] There they victualled the Fleete, and watered and repayred their shippes, because they had not victuall to serve all the Fleete, they left two ships ther e, the one new hereof was that wherein our thr ee men were placed, called the *S.*

*Bartholom ew*: the other the *S. Vincent*. And abo ut the tenth of October, wee departed for *Spaine* by the *Bermouthos*, and shot the Gu lfe of *Florida* in eight day es against the wind, and so we were nine weekes in sayling betwixt the *Havana*,

and the coast of *Spaine*: the tempest and stormes wee had were wonderfull great, in so much that all the Fleete were dispersed, and not above two shippes did hold company together, which put them in great feare, lest they should have met with the Flemings, who might with three good ships have taken all their treasur e with small ado e: for every little Carvill did put them in feare, thinking her to be a man of warre.

And with in three dayes before we came in sight of *Spaine*, we overtooke one of the company, which had been long wanting. And the Master of the *Santa Cruse*, wherein I was, thinking to welcome her with a peale of Ordnance [*sic*], went himself without the poste to charge a peece, and suddenly fell into the Sea, and before we could bring the ship astayes [?], he was drowned.

And upon the fifteenth [*sic*] of *Decem ber* we came against the barre of *Saint Lucas*, but could not enter, because the winde was contrarie. Then came the Gallies out of *Cales*, and towed us into *Cales*, where they unloded [*sic*] the treasure. This made well for us which were prysoners: for they were so busie with the Plate, that they never regarded us: for when the Captaine and Souldiers were gone without, we went ashore to *Cales* without constraint: And [43] when I thought to have beene secure the Captaine, with whom I came home by chance, met me in the streete, and called me to him, and said, that I did know how that I was delivered unto him as prisoner, and willed me to come to him in *Saint Lucas*, and there he would seeke a discharge for me. And I promised him that I would come: but afterward I feared that he would have delivered me to the Justice; & so not daring to trust him, I never came in his sight more, but sought all meanes for my passage, which I found harder to get, then when I was in the *Indies*: for our owne Contrimen would answer us, that they would not indanger themselves, to take us, with whom we had a discharge from the *Spaniards*.

Whose uncomfortable speeches did much dismay us: so we remained in *Cales*, in *Saint Lucas*, and in *Sivill*, with an y hope of passage, one month and more, at the charge of *John Frendg eham*, *William Gourdon*, *John Dan e*, who was chiefe Trumper of the Spanish fleete, and *John Pater*, a Musician: And at the last, (despayring of passage) *M. Garrard* got passage for *Sandwich*: And my selfe made moans to Master *Barwicke*, Master of a little Ship of *Welles* in *Norfolke*, called, *The George*, who at the first word, graunted mee passage. So on the second day of Februar y, 1606. hee landed mee safely at ye [the] *Downes*, in *Kent*, giving me two shillings to bring me to *London*.