

The Early English Caribbean, 1570–1700

Fitting Into the Empire

Edited by
Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger



THE EARLY ENGLISH CARIBBEAN, 1570–1700

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Volume 2
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HENRY SAVILLE, *A LIBELL OF SPANISH LIES* (1596)

Henry Saville, *A Libell of Spanish Lies: Found at the Sacke of Cales, Discourſing the Fight in the Weſt Indies, Twixt the Engliſh Navie Being Fourteene Ships and Pinasses, and a Fleete of Twentie Saile of the King of Spaines, and of the Death of Sir Francis Drake. With an Anſwere Briefely Conſuting the Spaniſh Lies, and a Short Relation of the Fight According to Truth, Written by Henrie Savile Eſquire, Employed Captaine in one of Her Majesties Shippes, in the Same Service Against the Spaniard. And Also an Ap- probation of this Discourse, by Sir Thomas Baskerville, then Generall of the Engliſh Fleete in that Service: Allowing the Maintenance thereof, Personally in Armes against Don Bernaldino, if Hee Shall Take Exceptions to that which is Heere Set Downe, Touching the Fight Twixt both Navies, or Juſtifie that which He Hath Moſt Faſely Reported in His Vaine Printed Letter. Proverb. 19. ver. 9. A False Witneſſe Shall Not Bee Unpunished, and He that Speaketh Lies Shall Perish* (London: Printed by John Windet, dwelling by Pauls Wharfe at the ſigne of the Crosse Keyes, and are there to be ſolde, 1596).

The earliest imperial rivalries in the region focused on the Spanish as England's nemesis, and the initial English publications often chronicled the dashing tales of Elizabethan-era English intruders into the West Indies. Pre-eminent among those heroes, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Drake earned deep and lasting fame.¹ Their own publications have been reproduced frequently, as have many of those recounting their exploits. An exception to this ready availability, the text that follows related the last voyage and death of Drake.

Drake, long feared and hated by the Spanish, died in the West Indies in 1596, at the low point of a difficult voyage. By that time the English and Spanish were at war. Elizabeth's support for the Dutch rebels prompted Philip II to send out his grand armada against England in 1588. A disastrous failure, this invasion attempt brought outright war. In 1595, Drake organized a campaign to the Caribbean and South America. That voyage proved difficult and unprofitable, marred by a series of defeats. In an unsuccessful attack on San Juan de Puerto Rico, Drake's ship was struck with a canon by the Spanish fleet. Drake survived the attack and retreated. Some weeks later, Drake died of dysentery while his ship was anchored at Portobelo, Panama. Drake's death effectively brought the

scheme to an end, and the English limped home while the Spanish crowed over the demise of their old enemy.

Henry Saville² authored this account to defend the memory of Drake, whom he had accompanied on this voyage. The ship Saville captained initially is a matter of some speculation, but by the time the expedition returned, Saville had been appointed captain of the *Adventure*, a 26-gun galley.³ He responded to a Spanish account conveyed in a letter by Don Bernaldino, which he dismissed as ‘a libel of Spanish lies’. The title page claimed that the account was ‘found at the sack of Cales’, but the author apparently intended it to read Cadiz; Sir Walter Raleigh having recently assailed that Spanish city.⁴ Although Saville describes the letter as having been printed, no publication information on it or an extant copy has come to light.⁵ To strengthen the authority of his own account, Saville arranged to have Drake’s second in command, Sir Thomas Baskerville, verify the veracity of his information. A partial reprint of this text is available in a collection of documents having to do with Drake’s last voyage.⁶

Notes

1. Both of these men are discussed in the General Introduction, see Volume 1. These events have been described by many biographers; see for instance H. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen’s Pirate* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 388–9.
2. Henry Saville was a ship’s captain who commanded ships under Drake in 1584 and again on this voyage. He probably first had the *Amity*, before taking charge of the *Adventure*; the former was a ship of 200 tons, the latter one of 340. See K. R. Andrews (ed.), *The Last Voyage of Drake & Hawkins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1972), pp. 41, 35.
3. His vessel had been put into service in 1594 and decommissioned in 1645. J. J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy: The Complete Record of All Fighting Ships of the Royal Navy*, rev. edn (London: Chatham, 1969).
4. The sack of Cadiz had occurred in the summer of 1596 and was intended here, as is clear from the account.
5. No record of the publication of that letter has been located. A manuscript copy of the text in Spanish is contained in the Museo Naval, Madrid (Navarrette MSS, no. 11, ff. 81–83); see Andrews (ed.), *The Last Voyage*, p. 240, n. 1.
6. See Andrews (ed.), *The Last Voyage*, pp. 240–7.

Henry Saville, *A Libell of Spanish Lies* (1596)

To the Courteous Reader.

WHereas, *DON BERNALDINO DELGADILLO de AVELLANEDA*,¹ Generall of the Spanish fleete, hath by his Printed letters published to the worlde divers untruthes, concerning our fleete and the Commaunders thereof, seeking therby his owne glorie, and our disgrace; I have taken upon me (though of many least able) to confute the same, the rather for that the printed Coppie came first into my hands, having my selfe beene Captaine of one of her Majesties shippes in the same voyage: Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and love to my Countrie and Countrie-men, And expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a Souldier, and Navigator: Which if you take in good parte, may draw me shortly to a greater labour, by publishing unto you our whole voyage.

Henrie Savile.

THE true Coppie of a letter found at the sacking of Cales, written by *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda*, Generall of the king of Spaine his Navie in the west *Indies*, sent unto Doctor *Peter Flores*, President of the Contraction house for the *Indies*, and by him put in Print, with priveledge: wherein is declared manye untruthes, and false reports, tending to the disgrace of the service of her Majesties Navie, and the Commaunders thereof, lately sent to the west *Indies*, under the Commaund of *Sir Frances Drake*, and *Sir John Hawkins*² Generals at the Sea; and *Sir Thomas Baskerville*³ Generall at land: with a confutation of divers grosse lies and untruthes, contayned in the same letter: together with a short relation of the fight according to the truth.

COPIA DE UNA Carta, embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, General dela Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Presidente dela casa dela Contratacion de las Yndias, en que trata del sucesso dela Armada de Ynglaterra, despues que pattio de Panama, de que fue por general Francisco Draque, y de sumuerte.

DE Cartageua di cuenta a. V. m. como sali del puerto dela ciudad de Lisbona, en busca de la armada Ynglesa, aunque por la mucha priessa, no se pudieron reparar tambien los Galeones como fuera necessario, y conel tiempo se perdio uno,

y por desgracia se quemio un Filibote, y a vie[n]do andado muchos dias en busca del enemigo, hasta quellegue a Cartagena, don de aviendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acuna Governador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha necessidad de agua, y reparar los Navios por que venian faltos della, me detuve en aquel puerto, a donde tuve noticia por un Aviso, que Francisco Draque murio en nombre de Dios, de pena de aver perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque / despues se supo mas por estenso, y avie[n]do dado a. V. m. cuenta de lo que hasta alli a sucedido agora la doy de que sali de aquel puerto a dos de Março, y tome la derrota de la Havana, donde entendi hallarlo, y aviendo hecho la diligencia posible. Lunes a onze del dicho mes, alas dos despues de medio dia, al salir dela Ysla de Pinos, enla ensenada de Guaniguanico, tope co[n] elque yva con catorze Navios muy buenos, fueme arrima[n]do a el, aun que tenia el viento por suyo, y el Almiranta que yva mas al viento co[n] orros dos Navios commenço arrimarsele, y aunque vino sobre ella con todos los suyos tres vezes, no fue parte acei carsele / para quequi siesse investir, los que estavamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos hasta jugar la artilleria, Mosqueteria, y Arcabuzeria delos mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio m uy conocido dano, ello hiza conel artilleria como suele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la volu[n]tad con que a el nos arrimavamos, con mas diligencia delo que se puede creer se desembarço de todosponiendose en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en le mar todas, las La[n]chas que traya. Yole segui con nueve Navios toda la noche, y con quatro mas to do el dia hasta hazerle doblar el cabo de san Anton, y tomar la derrota / de la Canal de Bahama conforme alas instrucciones de su Magestad, sirvio de poco el verme con menos numero de Navios, ni todas las diligencias que se hizieron, para que se inclinase a esperar ni abordar, ni tirar un Arcabuz, ni una pieça, porque el se dio la diligencia que pudo, porque sus Navios los avia reduzido a la mitad y los mejores, y estos acabava de reparar en Puerto Belo, donde se estuvo mas de quarenta dias, y ansi venia[n] muy reparados y yo saque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiepo lugar para adereçarlos. A que navego dos meses y medio, y traygo la capitana que desde que parti de Cartagena no an parado / las bombas, y el dia que sali me ie arrimo una Zabra con esta necessidad; la Almira[n]ta y los demas Navios vienen conel mismo trabajo, perosin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha seria apoderarse delsino es hallarlo sobre el Ferro. Con todo esso me an dexado un Navio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en nombre de Dios y que va por general dela dicha armada Ynglesa, el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que se a dado no an podido tomar: Agua; lena, ni carne, y van de manera que no se como an de llegar a Ynglaterra. / Entre la gente deven de ser ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes delo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos segun se echa de ver enellos. No se ofrece otra cosa: nuestro se[n]or guarde a. V. m. como puede y yo desseo.

Dela Havana. 30. de Março; de 1596. A[ñ]nos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Juan Bermudes e Figueroa, Tenientemayor de Assistente desta ciudad de Sevilla y su tierra, que hago oficio de Assistente della por ausencia, de su Se[ñ]oria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrerade, / para que pueda imprimir la Relacio[n] dela muerte de Francisco Draque. I a qual haga por dos meses, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. Sopena de diez mil maravedis para la camara de su Magestad.

Fecha en Sevilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y noventa y seys a[ñ]os.

El Licenciado Don Juan Bermudez e Figueroa. Por su mandado Gregoria Gutierrez. Escriptano. /

THE SPANISH Letter Englished.

The Coppye of a letter, which *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda*, General of the king of Spaine his Armie, sent unto Doctor *Peter Flores*, President of the contraction house for the *Indies*, wherein hee maketh mention of the successe of the English Armie, after they departed from *Pannama*, wherof was General *Frances Drake*, and of his death.

FROM *Cartagena*, I gave relation unto you, how I departed / from the Cittie of *Lisbone*, in the pursuite of the English Armie: although for the great hast the Gallions could not be so wel repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was lost, and a Fly-boate was burnt, and having sayled many daies in pursuite of the enemy, untill I arrived at *Carthagen*, whereas having taken the advise of *Don Pedro de Acunia*, Governour of the Cittie, and Captaine generall; for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our Shippes, we stayed in that port, whereas I had intelligence by an *Indian*, that *Frances Drake* dyed in *Nombre de Dios*,⁴ for verie grieve that hee had lost so many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifestlye / knowne: And having given you a relation of all that happened hitherto: Now I let you understand, that I left this Port the second of March, and toke our course towards the *Havana*, where I thought to have founde the English fleete, & also used all the diligence possible: upon Munday the eleaventh of the said Month, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the issue of the Isle of *Pinos*,⁵ in the entrance of *Guaniguanico*,⁶ I met with the English fleete, being fourteene verie good Shippes, I drew towards them although they had the winde of us, & our Admirall who bore up towards the winde, with other two Shippes began to draw neere them, and although we set thus upon them, three times / with all their Shippes, yet would they not set againe upon us, and those of our men which were farthest off cryed to them amaine, being both within shot of Artillerie, Muskats and Calivers, whereby they received evident hurt by us: They shot off now & then at us, and especially their Admirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towards them, they with all

expedition and speede possible prepared to flie awaie, hoysing Sayles and leaving their Oares for hast in the Sea: but I followed them, with nine Shippes all the night following, and with fower more the next daye, till I made them double *Saint Antonies* point,⁷ and so I tooke the course towards *La Canet de Bahamet*,⁸ according / to the instructions from his Majestie: It little availed us to bee seene, with lesse number of Shippes, neither yet all the diligence we could use, could cause them to staye or come neere us, nor to shoote off one Hargabush⁹ or peece of Artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their Shippes were wel diminished, and that the best parte of them, the rest they repaired in the port *Bella*,¹⁰ whereas they were about fourtie daies before, and so by that meanes they were all well repaired, and our Shippes verie foule, because the time would not permit us to trimme them: I have sailed two Monethes and a halfe in the Shippe called the *Capitana*, sithence we departed from *Carthagena*, we have not repaired their Pumps / nor clenched them: And the same daie I departed thence, my Shippes were all foule with Barnacles, our Admirall and the rest of our Shippes have the like impediment, but no great hinderance unto us for ought I could perceive by our enemies: It is manifest what advantage they had of us, and by no meanes was it possible for us to take them, unlesse wee could have come to deale with them with fire and sword. Neverthelesse they left us one good ship behind for our share, wel manned, which tolde me that the *Drake* dyed in *Nombre de Dios*, and that they have made for Generall of the English fleete, the *Colonell Quebraran*, and also by meanes of the small time being streightly followed by us, they/ had no opportunitie to take either water, woode or flesh, and they are also in such bad case, that I know not how they will bee able to arrive in *England*, the number of men we have taken are about 140. and 15. Noble Captaines of their best sort, and some of them rich, as well may appeare by their behaviour: I have no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who best can, & as I desire.

From the *Havana* the 30. of March. 1596

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda.

THE *Licenciat Don John Bermudes* of *Figueroa*¹¹ Leiuetenant of the Assistantes of the Cittie of *Cywill*,¹² and the province thereof, who doth supplie the Office of the Assistaunt / in the absence of the Right Honourable the *Earle of Priego*. Give license to *Roderigo de Cabrierae* to Imprint the Relation of the death of *Fraunces Drake*, which onely he may doe for two Monthes, and no other to Imprint the same within the saide terme, upon paine of ten thousand Marauedis for his Majesties Chamber.

Given in *Cywill* the 15. of May. 1596.

The *Licenciat Don John Bermudes* of *Figueroa*. By his Assigne *Gregorie Gutierrez* Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall *Don Bernaldino* sent into *Spaine* declaring the death of *Sir Fraunces Drake* and their supposed victorie; was altogether received for an undoubted truth, and so / pleasing was this newes unto the Spaniard, that there was present co[m]mandement given to publish the letter in Print, that all the people of *Spaine* might be partakers of this common joy: The which letter Printed in *Cywill*, bearing date the xv. of May, 1596. came to the hands of *Henrie Savile* Esquire who being employed in that service for the west *Indies*, and Captaine of her Majesties good Shippe the *Adventure*, under the conduct of *Sir Fraunces Drake*, and *Sir John Hawkins*, Hath caused the said Printed letter to bee translated into English. And that the impudencie of the Spanish Generall may the more plainly appeare, the said *Henrie Savile* doth answere particularly to everie untruth in the same letter contained, as heereafter followeth. /

THE ANSWERE TO The Spanish letter.

First whereas the Generall doth say, that *Fraunces Drake* dyed at *Nombre de Dios*, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

THE Generall sente this newes into his Country co[n]firmed with his hand and seale of Armes: It is the first newes in his letter, and it was the best newes that he could send into *Spaine*. For it did ease the stomackes of the timerous / Spaniardes greatly to heare of the death of him, whose life was a scourge & continuall plague unto them: But it was a pointe of great simplicitie, & scarcely beseeeming a Generall, to tie the credite of his reporte locally to any place uppon the report of a silly *Indian* slave. For it had beene sufficient to have said, that *Fraunces Drake* was certainly dead, without publishing the lye in Print, by naming *Nombre de Dios*: for it is most certaine *Sir Fraunces Drake* dyed twixt the Island of *Scouda*,¹³ and *Porte-bella*: But the Generall being ravished with the suddaine joy of this report as a man that hath escaped a great daunger of the enemy, doeth breake out into an insolent kind of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lye upon another, doth not cease untill he hath drawne them into sequences, and so doth commend them unto *Peter* the Doctor, as censour of his learned worke. /

Secondly, The general doth write unto the doctor, that *Frances Drake* dyed for verie griefe that hee had lost so many Barks and men.

A Thing verie strange that the General or the *Indian*, who[m] hee doth vouch for his lye, should have such speculation in the bodye of him whome they never saw, as to deliver for truth unto his Countrie, the verie cause or disease whereof hee dyed: And this second report of his is more grosse then the first. For admit the mistaking of the place might bee tollerable; notwithstanding, this precise affirming the cause of his / death, doth manifestly proove that the Generall doth make no conscience to lye. And as concerning the losse of any Barks or men in our Navie, by the valour of the Spaniard before *Sir Fraunces Drake* his death, wee had none (one small Pinnesse¹⁴ excepted) which we assuredly know was taken

by chaunce falling single into a fleete of five Frigots¹⁵ (of which was Generall, *Don Pedro Telio*) neere unto the Island of *Dominico*,¹⁶ and not by the valour of *Don Bernaldino*: the which five Frigots of the Kings afterwards had but ill successe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of *S. John Portrico*, and one other was sunck in the same harbour, and the other three were burnt amongst many other Shippes at the taking of *Cales*: This I thinke in wise mens judgements, will seeme a seely cause to moove a man sorrowe to death. For true it is, *Sir Fraunces Drake* dyed of the Flixe¹⁷ which hee had growne upon him eight daies before his death, and yeelded up his spirite like a Christian to / his creatour quietly in his Cabbin. And when the Generall shall survey his losses, he shall finde it more then the losse of the English, and the most of his destroyed by the Bullet: But the death of *Sir Fraunces Drake* was of so great comfort unto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a sufficient amendes, although their whole fleete had beene utterly lost.

Thirdly, The generall doth say of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleaventh of March last hee met the English fleete at the Isle of Pinas, being fourteene good Shippes, who although they / had the winde of him, yet hee set upon them three times with all their Shippes, but the English fleete fled, and refused to fight shooting now and then a shot, but especially the Admirall.

THis third lye of the Generall *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda*, (whose name for the prolixitie thereof maye be drawne somewhat neere the length of a Cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a iust proportion in measure to the lyes of olde *Barnardino de Mendoza*¹⁸ his Countrieman, concerning the overthrow of her Majesties Navie in the yeare 1588. for except *Don Barnaldino* the Generall, did purpose to winne the whetstone from *Don Barnardino de Mendoza* the olde Spanish lyer: I cannot conjecture why hee should write / to his Countrie for a truth, that hee chased the English Navye with nine Shippes, and did three severall times give the onset to the English fleete, who being fourteene good Shippes (as he saith) did flye and refuse to fight, being that the Spanish Viceadmiral (if he be living) and manye other, can wnesse the contrarie, who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered Shippe to save her from sinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spanish fleete (*Don Bernaldino* excepted) that will saye they were lesse then twentie sayle of Shipps when they met the English fleet: And the Spanish Navy can wnesse that they received such store of Bullets from the English fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in despight of them the English Navie did holde their determined course: And taking a view of the Spanish fleete the next day, their number was not above thirteene Shippes, which did argue / that they were either sunke, or fled to harbour to save themselves.

Fourthly, The generall saith, that the English fleete fled awaye, and left their Oares for haste behind them in the Sea.

IT was strange that they shoulde leave behinde them Oares in the Sea, being there was not in the English fleete either Gally or gallyasse, which required the use of Oares, as for the Oares of their ship-boates and other such small vessels, they had stoad them aboarde their Shippes, and were no impediment / unto them, but most necessarie for them to use, and therfore not likely they would cast them overboard: But it is most likely, that the Generall fell into some pleasant dreame at Sea, wherein hee did see a false apparition of victorie against the English, & for lacke of matter did set this downe in his letter for newes to his countrie: It is sinne to belye the Devill, and therefore the Generall shal have his right, the letter is so well contrived, (and yet with no great eloquence) but with such art, that ther are not many more lines, then there are lyes, which sheweth that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: But I am perswaded if *Don Bernaldino* had thought that his letter should have beene Printed, hee woulde have omitted many things contained in the letter, for the Doctor did use him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to be Printed: for friends may like good fellowes send lyes one to the other for recreation, and / feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incurre the tytle of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now handled through the simplicities of the Doctor, I cannot see but the General *Don Bernaldino*, is like to carrie the tytle equally twixt both his shoulders.

Fifly, The generall doth say in his Printed letter, that notwithstanding all the diligence he could use, hee coulde not cause the English fleete to staie nor come neere them, nor discharge one Hargebush or peece of Artillerie, but fled away as fast as they could. /

AND this lie also he doth not receive by intelligence from any other, but himselfe was an eye-witnesse in the action, which made him bold to send this with the rest into his Countrie for currant newes: But herein *Don Bernaldino* was more bolde then wise, for the torne and battered sides of his Gallyons, being compared with her Majestes Shippes, and others that served in that fight, doe declare, that his Ships received at least two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne Countriemen (if any do favour truth) may easily see the losse, and late reparations, done unto the Kings fleete sithence they did encounter with the English Navie, whensoever they that remaine shall arrive in *Spaine*: But the Generall seemeth to bee a verye good proficient in his profession, and / waxeth somewhat bolde, treading the true steppes of old *Barnardino de Mendoza*, and yet *Mendoza* was somewhat more warie in his lyes, for he had sometime the colour of intelligence to shadow them, but the Generall growing from boldnes to impudencie, maketh no scruple to say, that the English Navie fled as fast as they could without discharging any Hargebush or peece of Artillerie, when as the battered sides of his ships do returne the lye to his face: For in this conflict *Don Bernaldino* did behave himselfe so valiantly, that he was alwaies farthest of

in the fight, & had so great care of his owne person that he stooode cleare from the danger of Muskat or any smal shot, & durst not approach, whereas our generall was the foremost, & so held his place, untill by order of fight other ships were to have their turnes, according to his former direction, who wisely & pollitickly had so ordered his vantgard, & reregarde, that as the maner of it was altogether strange to the Spaniard, so might they have bene / without all hope of victorie, if their General had beene a man of any judgement in Sea fights: I know no reason why the English Navie should flye from him, for the Spaniard may put all the gaine in his eye that ever he did winne from the English: Peradventure some siely novice¹⁹ of our country meeting the general in *Spaine*, and hearing a repetition of so many sillables in one name, as *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda*, might thinke them to be words of Conjuraton, & for feare of raysing a Spirit, might flie from him as from the Devill, or some simple *Indian* slave hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might suppose it to be an Armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: But the commaunders and Captaines of the English Navie, were men of such resolution, that no Spanish bragges coulede dismaye them, for they have often met them with their Pikes in their Spanish beardes. Nor the countenance of *Don Bernaldino* quailed / them, although he were acowntred in his gilt Leather buskins, and his Toledo Rapyer.

Sixtly, The generall saith in his letter, that notwithstanding their flying away so fast, the English left them one good Shippe well manned, who told him that the Drake dyed in *Nombre de Dios*, in which Shippe were one hundred and fourtie men, and fifteene noble Captaines of the best sorte.

THE Generall *Don Bernaldino*, like a resolute Spaniarde having alreadye gonne over his shoes, maketh no daunger / to wade over his Boates also:²⁰ and as hee hath begun so he doth conclude, I marvaile that hee did not in writing his discourse remember this olde saying; that is, A lyar ought to have a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to revoke the testimonie which hee saith he had from the English men, concerning *Sir Fraunces Drake* his death at *Nombre de Dios*, and stande to the intelligence received from the siely *Indian* slave, as it appeareth in his first lye, for without al doubt, there is no English man that wil say (if he have his right sences) that he dyed at *Nombre de Dios*, for they all knowe the contrarie: Neither can the Generall avouch that he received intelligence from any English man, that after the death of *Sir Frances Drake* they did elect for Generall *Colonell Quebraran*, as he doth most falsly affirme in the latter end of his vaine and frivolous letter, being that the name was straunge, and unknowne to any in the English Navie. Neither doe I imagine / that any of those which the General saith he hath taken were so forgetfull as not to remember their generals name. But without all doubt this addition of so new, and straunge a name to the English Generall, doth prove that *Don Bernaldino* is not unfurnished of a forge & storehouse of lyes, from whence as from

an everflowing fountaine, he sendeth forth lyes of al sorts sufficient for his owne store, and greate plentie to furnish his friends: The General was much beholding to his godfathers who gave him the name *Barnaldino*, which we in English do take to be plaine *Barnard*, which name hath as it were a kind of priveledge from being sharply reprehended when the party is thought to erre: for it is a common saying amongst the Schoolemen that *Barnardus non videt omnia*, viz. *Barnard* seeth not all thinges, (when he doth dissent from their opinions) the which favour wee could bee content to yelde to *Bernaldino* for the name sake, if he were not taken with so / many manifest and impudent lies, neither doe I thinke that *Signior Bernaldinowill* say that he saw all that he hath written, be it spoken in councell for shaming the General, for is there any man so voide of reason as to thinke? That any Englishman being demaunded of his Generals name, would write or speake *Quebraran* for *Baskerville*, so much difference there is in the sound of the sillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihoode of truth: But such are the Generals rare gifts, (be it spoken to his small praise) that we Englishmen must of force confesse that the Generall hath given a proude onset to carrie the whetstone²¹ from *Signior Barnardino de Mendozza*: Neither will the 140. men & 15. noble Captaines (which hee saith hee did take, of whome he might have beene rightly informed of their generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giving the name of *Quebraran* to the English Generall: as for the good Shippe well manned, which he saith the English left them / after the fight, I am perswaded hee hath no man to witnesse that lye, for the ship was seperated by weather from the English fleete in the night thirteene daies before the fight, with the Spanish Navie, & never to anye mans knowledge came more in sight of the English fleete, if the Spanish Shippes by chaunce did take the said wel manned Shippe (as they cal her) I doubt not but they have the Shippe, the 140. men, and the 15. noble Captaines to shew: But evermore I gesse the Spanish reckoning will fall short when it is examined, for the fiteene noble Captaines will prove (as I take it) but three, whose losse I grieve to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we loose or leave them for cowardise, as most untruely this bragging lyer hath certified. But the Generall like a provident man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and country, doth take upon him (amongst other his miracles perfourmed before the English fleet) / by way of amplification to make small matters seeme great, as a little shoe to serve a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to passe, he doth stretch the Leather with his teeth that it is ready to breake, and notwithstanding, all this will not serve his purpose, for the Printing of the letter doth marr the play, and bringeth such matter in question, as the Generall doth wish might be concealed, and were he not of so dry and cholericke complexion,²² as commonly Spaniards are, he would blush for very shame in publishing so impudently such manifest untruthes. For sithence his meeting with the English fleet at the

Isle of *Pinas*, there hath beene by the worthie English Generals, an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongst other exploits having taken the Cittie of *Cales*, in the sacke thereof was found some of *Don Bernaldino* his Printed letters: & comming to the hands of a Captaine that served in the voyage to / the west *Indies*, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the slaunders to the English Navie contained in the saide letter) to quote the errors, that the truth onely may appeare, to all such as have a desire to bee rightly informed of such accidents, as befell them in this late voyage to the west *Indies*: and this may suffice to shew *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda* his greate judgement in amplyfying small matters, or of nothing to make in shewe seeme somewhat. And now having thus farre informed you of the truth in reproofe of the slaunderous, false, and untrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true disproofe to some of the grossest of his lyes, I will leave him with the rest of his lying letter, and the circumstances therein contained to your censures: who in discretion may easily discern the same. And have heere following plainly and truely set downe the course and order of our whole fight after we met. /

THE MEETING OF our English Navie and the Spanish fleete, and the order of our encounter.

Munday the first of *March*, according to our computation, wee scryed the Iland of *Pinas*, wher haling in for the westerne parte thereof, thinking there to have watered, being within fower leagues of it Southerly, we sent in three of our Pinnasses to discover the harbour, and to sounde afore us, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the same day we discovered a fleete of twentie sayles, and deeming them to bee the Spanish fleete, / wee kept our loofe to get the winde but their Viceadmiral with divers other ships went about to cut off our Pinnasses, so that our Generall with some other of our Shippes, was forced to tacke about upon the larbour tacke, and so ranne in towards the land keeping the winde, so as we recovered our Pinnasses, which [f]orced the enemies Shippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere unto them they shot at us, wee still approched, having our close fights up, our flagges, ensignes and streamers displayed, our men orderly placed [o]n each quarter, but forbare our fight untill our Generall began, and gave us warning to come in and fight, by shooting off a great peece, according to his former directions, so being within Muskat shot, the Viceadmirall of the Spanish fleete came nearest unto us, to whom our Viceadmirall *John Traughton* Captaine of the *Elizabeth Bonadventure* gave fight, betwixt whome there was the greatest vollee of / small shot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which co[n]tinued a long halfe hower. In which time the Spanish fleete came into fight, our Generall *Sir Thomas Baskerville* being in the *Garland*, whereof *Humphrey Reignolds* was Captaine, being the next Shippe unto the *Elizabeth Bonadventure*, bare up to the enemye, playing with her great Ordinance hotly untill she came within Muskat

shot: *Jonas Bodenham* Captaine of the *Defiance*, and *Henrie Savile* Captaine of the *Adventure*, came likewise into fight with the[m]: After the *Garland* (being within Muskat shot) played her part and made good fight for the space of an hower. The *Defiance* bare up likewise and had her turne, after came the *Adventure* again within Muskat shot, who having chaunged many a great Bullet, with them before, renewed his fight, and continued it an hower with small shot. Then came *Thomas Drake* Captaine of the *Hope*, who last of all had his turne. Thus had all the *Queenes* Shippes their / course: The Marchants Shippes with other small vessels being without the *Queenes* Shippes shot when they saw opportunitie: After the enemye finding no good to be done, (being well beaten) fell from us, the *Adventure*, playing uppon them with her great Ordinaunce, made three of the last shot at them: Their Viceadmiral with divers others of their Ships, were so beaten, that they left off the fight, and were forced to lye in the winde, for that they durst not lye of either board by reason of their many and great Leakes, which they had received by our greates shot. The Generall with the rest of their fleete, tacking about fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning we sought to hinder. But our General seeing that in holding the winde we should shoote our selves into the Bay, gave them the winde. All that night they kept themselves uppon our broad side, notwithstanding our Admirall carried his Cresset light all night: having greates / care of our smallest Shippes: This fight continued about fower howers til it was neere night, in the which fight, thanks be to God, there was slaine so fewe persons of our English fleete as I thinke the like conflict hath not beene performed with so little losse of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leave to your judgements. Yet our eyes can wnesse their Shippes were sore beaten and raked thorough, whereby there was such falling backe and lying by the Lee to stoppe their leakes, as some of them were driven to haste away, and rather to runne on shore to save themselves then sincke in the Sea: Besides within two howers after our fight with them, wee saw one of their great Shippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the Sterne of another of their Shippes blown up: And in the morning a Shippe of our fleete was runne so neere the land, that to double the Cape current hee must of necessitie tacke about & fall in the wake of the enemye, which / caused our Generall in the *Garland* and the *Defiance* to tacke about, which two ships forced the three Shippes of the enemies which were put forth to take our Shipp, or else to cause her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to save themselves, hoysing all their sayles for haste: This morning they were faire by us having the winde of us, being but thirteene sayle of their twentie to be scene, then we stroke our toppe sayles thinking to have fought with them again, which they perceiving tacked about from us, & after that never durst nor would come neere us: What became of the rest of their fleet we know not, but true it was that they were in great distresse mightily beaten and torne, by having received many

Bullets from us. All this day wee had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come neere us, so we keeping our course west, and by North, about sixe of the clocke at night lost the sight of them. And this is a true discourse of our fight with the / Spanish fleete. The which the Author heereof will justifie with the adventure of his life, against any Spaniard serving in that action, that shal contradict the same.

FINIS.

Henrie Savile. /

THOMAS BASKERVILE KNIGHT, His approbation to this Booke.

I Thomas Baskerville Knight, Generall of her Majesties late Indian armado in the late conflict had betweene the Spanish fleete and us, having perused the Spanish letter written by *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda*, General of the King of Spaines / Navie, and also having perused Captaine *Henry Savile* his answeres unto the six exceptions in the Generals letter with his discourse of the manner of our fight with the Spanish fleete, do say, that the said *Henrie Savile* hath answered the letter, and set downe the order of the fight sincerely according to truth, for testimonie of which I have hereunto set my hand.

And if *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda* the General shal take any exceptions to this my approbation, or stand in the justification of his lying letter written to Doctor *Peter Flores*, President of the Contraction house for the *Indies*, and by him for *Bernaldinoes* glorie lately put in Printe: I then saye that hee / falsely lyed, and that I will maintaine against him with whatsoever Armes he shall make choyce of. And because the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies, by reason of which there is no meanes in either of them, to maintaine that I have written. Let him make choice of any indifferent kingdome, of equall distance from either Realme, and I will there be ready to maintaine as much as I have written: But if by my imployments into Fraunce, I be so stayed by her Majesties Commaundementes, that I cannot out of that Realme meete him in anye other, I cannot see why hee shoulde take anye exception to that, considering the equalitie of the place, and that the / Armies of both our Princes be there resident.

FINIS.

Tho. B.

THOMAS SCOTT, *AN EXPERIMENTALL DISCOVERIE OF SPANISH PRACTISES* (1623)

Thomas Scott, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practices or the Counsell of a Well-wishing Souldier, for the Good of his Prince and State. Wherein is Manifested from Known Experience, Both the Cruelty, and Policy of the Spaniard, to Effect His Own Ends. Chiefly Swelling with Multiplicity of Glorious Titles, as One of the Greatest Monarchs of the Earth, that Being Admired of All, His Greatness Might Amaze All, and so by Degrees Seeking Covertly to Tyrannize Over All, When as in Deed and Truth, the Greatest Part of His Pretended Greatnesse is but a Windy Crack of an Ambitious Mind* ([London], 1623).

In the 1620s, anti-Spanish sentiment rose as James I and IV pursued an increasingly unpopular policy of accommodation. Advocates of a militant Protestant foreign policy fulminated against the king's efforts to attain peace, and longed for the days of Elizabeth's antagonistic relationship with Spain. James's policy proceeded so far as to pursue a possible marriage between his son Charles and the Infanta, Maria Anna, a proposal thwarted by late 1623. At that time, English foreign policy shifted in a direction that pleased the anti-Spanish faction in English politics.

Thomas Scott's document presents a passionate plea against a 'mischievous and poysonous peace with *Spain*.' After two decades of peace, the author describes the Spanish as a treacherous people. Scott uses broad rhetorical strokes and religious invective. He also discounts the justifications for Spanish empire and rejects the authority of the Catholic Church. The preface, reproduced here, states the author's political position; late in the tract Scott considers the Caribbean context for Spanish treachery, in a second excerpt given below. Scott raises the favoured theme of Spanish cruelty, drawing upon the publication of Bartolomé de las Casas.¹

Scott (d. 1626), a highly successful polemicist on behalf of the Protestant cause, previously published *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne* (1620), which purported to present the Spanish ambassador's reports of his efforts to undermine the English government. It was the first of a series of such polemical publications by Scott. In 1623, he produced this tract, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish*

Practices. He continued to warn against the dangers posed by an over-mighty and predatory Spain, including in this text. This work would be reissued under a different title in the 1650s: *The Spaniards Cruelty and Treachery to the English in the Time of Peace and War* (London, 1656). Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell's attack on the Spanish West Indies would prompt the posthumous republication of this anti-Spanish tract.²

Notes

1. *Bartolomé de las Casas*: famed sixteenth-century Spanish bishop who chronicled the initial years of the colonization of the West Indies. His most famous works were his account written for King Charles I of Spain in 1542, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, and a larger three-volume, *History of the Indies*. Las Casas was a cleric in New Spain and produced a scathing critique of the Spanish atrocities against indigenous peoples in the Americas.
2. See Scott's *The Spaniards Cruelty and Treachery to the English in the time of Peace and War* in this volume, pp. 101–4.

Thomas Scott, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practises* (1623)

The Publisher to the Reader.

GEntle Reader, although in respect of the Authours absence, the Copie now presented be not so compleat throughout as it should; yet because (as we say in the proverb) Delayes are dangerous, specially in matters of moment, and hoping it is not materially defective in any thing, from the perfectest Copie or Authors minde, I have presumed to publish it as it is, wishing no lesse good successe, then the Author himselfe intended; and so desiring my upright meaning may be accepted in good part by the Courteous Reader, I bid thee Farewell. /

A DISCOVERSE TENDRED TO HIS MAJESTIE King of Great Brittain
&c. touching some *Spanish practises to serve their own ends*

THE motive of this Discourse, most renowned Sovereign,¹ which at this time I intend to handle, for that it hath relation to two ends or periods, to wit, peace and warre, the one much to be preferred before the other, as well by divine as human Arguments; yet for that the time agreeing with the necessity, we are in regard of the feare of the Spanish greatnesse hereafter, which undoubtedly he will attaine unto by the innumerable masses of his Indian treasure, which are the nerves and sinewes of all martial intendments, by which faire opportunities offered unto the greatnesse of his desire, for the enlargement of his state, glory and renoume, and that there may be no object that may impediment the let thereof, but onely a determination in himselfe not to offend his neighbours, I shall hardly beleeve that he will so much differ from his Progenitors, I meane *Ferdinand, Charles and Phillip*, who raised not the fame of the Spanish Monarchie, by just, noble and laudible warres, but by cruell, bloody and treacherous invasions, especially against Princes of their owne blood; who under pretence of relieving / or giving them aide against the oppression of others, have made these passages of unmoveable assurance, for the obtaining of the lands, Crownes and lives of their neerest Allies, which giveth mee no cause of hope of his good dealing towards your Highnesse, and the States, who are neither allied unto him by blood, as these former Princes were, nor tyed unto him by the offices of Confederacie, whereby for former good turnes received, hee might let you live in

peace: but contrarily, wee being onely the stop of the Spanish fury of this part of the world; and a Nation who have not onely given him infinite disgraces, as well by open battell, as sundry invasions and incursions, made upon his frontier Townes and Territories, to the irrecoverable dishonor of the Spanish people, and unmasking his former forces to all men; which indeede are but a meere shew, and frightening them only; knowing their Greatnesse depends with filling the world with an imagination of their Mightinesse. For the Spaniard may well be compared to a drumme, or emptie vessell, that being beaten upon, makes a great and terrible noise; but come nearer them, breake them and looke into them, and there is nothing within can hurt you. Or rather like the Asse, that wrapt himselfe in the Lyons skinne, and marched a farre off, to strike terrour into the hearts of the beasts; but when the Fox drew neare, hee not onely perceived his long eares, but likewise discovered him and made him a jest to all the beasts of the Forrest. So that I inferre (most gracious Sovereigne) that unlesse hee now prevaile with you, and by that meanes gaine a peace to make himselfe more strong for a fitter / time to hunt you and your neighbours; his forces at this time, in respect of you and your Confederates, are so weake and resistable, as it may well appeare unto your Highnesse, that his Monarchie is rather maintained by Opinion then Might; as it hath ever stood since the losse of the low Countries² (if it had beene with judgement exquisitely looked into) rather by giving out greater rumours of power, and by secrecie, then by the greatnesse of their owne forces. So as to make this Shadow a Substance, whereby not onely his Indies should be sure, but all the world tremble at his greatnesse. What oath is it that hee would keepe? What condition that hee would not breake? Or, what opportunitie that hee would let slip for the accomplishment thereof, if thereby he might assure himselfe of the Ile? And therefore, though I commend peace before warre; yet if the Countrey cannot obtaine a good peace without a warre, I thinke it consequently followes, that it is necessarie for you to make a warre with your enemie, whilst you have the advantage in your hands, whereby you may lay a foundation of a sure peace for your Selfe, Posteritie and State for after ages; rather then to dreame of a peace which shall no longer hold, then hee is able by breaking to revenge. For doubtlesse in the preservation of Kingdomes, it is no iniurie to do that to your enemie, which he would doe unto you, if hee could. And therefore those Princes, States or people whoso-ever, that shall build so firmly upon the condition of peace to be kept by the enemie, the breach whereof may turn to his or their great danger or destruction; that Prince, State or people, in my opinion have either little / judgement of themselves, or are ill advised of the Councell: Securitie of their owne estates, or too much fidelity to others, have not onely been the destruction of many families, but likewise of great and potent Kingdoms, Provinces and Townes. And therefore to this day, there could never be found so great safetie to private men or publique States, as mistrust; as appeareth by *Demostheness* in

his second to the Athenians against *Phillip of Macedon*. “There are (quoth he) devised many strengths and defences for the maintenance of Cities and Townes, as Trenches, Walls, Ramparts, Dikes, Bulwarkes, and such like, the which are made by mens hands, with great cost and charge: but nature (saith he) hath given to all wise men a common defence and safegard; the which as it is profitable to all men particularly, so it is a most wholesome and sure holde and fortresse, to all Countries and Cities, against all manner of tyrannie, and what fortes to mistrust, that which if it be well and surely kept, it will preserve and keepe you all.” And therefore to prevent danger in a convenient season, and to provide in time against the worst, is a thing most wholesome, necessarie, and worthy of greatest commendations. For as foresight makes men warie, so confident suspicion helpeth judgement, and bringeth to light many hidden practises: and those that doe not feare the complots of their enemies, nor regard of forces preparations against them, are doubtlesse neere some disastrous fortune, or extreame ruine of their estates and fortunes.

[...]³

For (saith he) whosoever would behold the lively protrature of them, without troubling himselfe with the overturning of *Martial* or *Terence*, let him but behold the grim speech of a stately *Spaniard*.” By whom, most mightie Prince, I may well say, and according to truth, that the world of *America* was not so much unknowne to the former ages, as their monstrous outrageous, and new devised cruelties, which these divelish and tyrannous Spaniards have unhumanely practised amongst the simple and innocent people, as appeareth by *Don Bartholmew de la Casas* Bishop of . . .⁴ and other of their own Historiographers. And although my selfe, being a stranger, which have some time served against them, both in the Indies and else where, could say / much of their cruelties, by relation of such their slaves as I have take, yet for that my eyes have not seene them, I will forbear in modesty to charge them; onely I will relate, from the mouth a true reporter, a worthy Gentleman of this land, Sir *Francis Drake*, one truth; that by that, your Majestie might be induced to beleieve the rest. He once talking with me “of the *Indies*, told me, That he being in the South Sea, after he had taken his prize, he had thought to have ventured to have come home by the Northward, and stood his course to the Ile of *Canes*,⁵ being 12 degrees of the North latitude, and from thence to *Aqua Palce*,⁶ upon the maine, being 16 degrees, at one of the Poort townes of the Citie of *Mixico*; where going a shore, he found an old *Negro*, tyed in a chaine of 20 yards long, which had been condemned by the justice of the place; for that sometimes being oppressed with too much labour, the poor old man would runne into the woods, and absent himselfe from his Majesties worke; his sentence was, that he should be whipped, with whips, til he was all raw and bloody; and afterwards being tyed in a chain to be eaten with flies; which poore soule hee released from that miserable death, and took him away with him: And

therefore oh *Turke*, oh *Scythians*, and *Tartarians*, rejoyce yee now all, since now, there is to be found at this day a Nation in Christendome, which by the unhappy and cursed behaviour, doe increase the hatred that men have borne to the barbarous and ungracious cruelties. And therefore, most renowned Sovereign, I should be sorry, in regard of the premises, that you / should commit so great a fault in the government of the great and mighty Kingdoms, which is not sufferable to private Captaine over a few souldiers, to say, *I doe not thinke it*: so when hee hath by his owne temerity, or fool-hardinesse, committed an action for want of due respect, to the subjects, undertaken that hath made him disastrous, and unfortunate in his honour, and the times of his people, (which desire rather to give them received Lawes ... For the desire of honour to advance States, and enlarge Kingdomes, is naturally grafted in the hearts of all Princes of noble spirits; and there was never any King, of a worthy and high courage, but desired to leave to his posterity the memorie of some noble and worthy action (as the *Armerican* world) by doing whereof, you shall not onely procure safety to your self, and these that shall succeed you in your Royall Seate, but generall happinesse to so many millions of people, which at this day sit in darknesse and the shadow of death; and is a thing so farre from discommendation or reproach, as you shall be so qualified in all succeeding ages, with the most happy, most gracious, and most fortunate Princes of the world. But yet I doe not deny, but Princes may have such grounds and reasons to trust some private men, or forraigne Princes, as being deceived by them, and they should say, *I never would have thought it*, yet are not worthy of reprehension: as for example; That Prince ought not to bee blamed, that hath put in a Fortresse some one Captaine; or place, in a Countrey som one Prince, either of which have received goods or honours from him, and yet in the end is betrayed / by them, and heereupon the knowledge thereof should say, I would never have thought it, that such a man should have betrayed me, that Prince is not to be blamed; as it happened to *Lewis Morre Duke of Millaine*⁷ who having committed the Castle of the Citie to one *Damerdine Covet*, whom he had so absolutely raised, and made obliged to him by infinite graces and benefits; yet notwithstanding was by the said *Covet* betrayed to his perpetuall dishonour and infamie. This Duke was no way to bee blamed. As also your Majestie ought not to be reproved, who providing for every mischief, is assailed by some strange accidents, that was not possible for your Majestie, in judgement or councill to foresee, or prevent: as being not possible with reason to foresee a thing, which of it selfe is a thing without reason. As for example, was that most grievous accident of the powder, and other munition, prepared to be sent to diverse places before the Castle gate of the said Citie, which tooke fire, and was burnt by lightning from heaven when the weather was faire and cleere, whereby afterwards ensued to the State so many losses and commodities: upon this occasion, if the Captaine of the Castle should have said,

I had never thought that this weather would have brought so great and unfortunate a chance to me, hee had deserved no reproofe at all. But if before your Majesties eyes, it be apparant, that a manifest knowne enemy to the State, who as Demosthenes said, hates the verie Religion of Athens, who hath not onely long thirsted after the Seigniorie of your Kingdome, in his secret designs; / but likewise by open force of fire and sword hath assailed them; If you will trust such an one, and after upon his breaking say, You would not have beleevied that the king of Spaine would have dealt so with you: Doubtlesse (renowned Sovereigne) the world will not faile to taxe you with such carelesnesse and improvidence, as I hope shall never have any affinity with your most Excellent Majestie, or any other of your Royall off-spring that shall sway the Scepter of this noble Ile. And therefore (my gracious Lord) in my judgement, you ought to doe in this, so great a matter of State, as concluding a peace with so dangerous enemies as the Spanish Nation, as good and wise Carpenters seeme to doe in substantiall buildings; which is, to make a sure foundation, lest by aspiring minde or breach of the enemy you be overthrowne. And whereas he faith in the foregoing project, that hee hath right and good title to the Crowne of England, by vertue of his Grandfather and Predecessours (which I know to be otherwise) yet contrarily can I prove your Majestie, by the vertue of your Grandfather of famous memory Henry the 7, to bee as rightfull Heire to all the firme land of the Indies, as the King of Spaine is to the Ilands of Cuba, Iannura⁸ and Hispaniola, with the rest of the Ilands of Lucaites Grante,⁹ and Antile:¹⁰ and for that it is not inconvenient fully to take notice, and understand how these Kings intitles themselves & their Successors to the right and Signiories of the Indies, I have thought good to set downe my opinion, how many wayes / they doe, or may take their claim: And first by discovery; secondly, by the Popes gift; thirdly, by consent of the people; fourthly, by conquest and consent. So as if neither of these be able to prove or igue a good and sufficient title (or at least such a one as may barre you and other Princes that will, to inhabite in those parts) I know no reason why your Majestie should not doe as he hath done; that is, to possesse as much as you can of those Heathen Countries; especially where the Spaniard is not feared, nor hath no command: whereby you might not onely propagate the Christian faith amongst those Pagans and Infidels, as you are bound to doe, as much as you can; but a golden world to the Crowne of England: wherby you be more enabled, as well to vndertake a forraigne warre against the enemy of the Christian name; as also to make your State the more strong by the Indian treasures,¹¹ against such of your neighbours a shall envie your Highnesse. And therefore to come to this Title: If he claime his interest by possession and first Discovery (which doubtlesse must be the strongest title that he can challenge) then your Majestie hath as much title for all the firme land of the Indies, as he hath for these Ilands before named. As for proofe of this, the Captaines of Henry the 7, being Sebastian Cabot,¹² and his companions, dis-

covered the Iland of the *Indies*, on the north part of the *Indies*, from 60 degrees, coasting the north latitude;¹³ the very yeare before *Christian Columbus* discovered the high land of *Dania*,¹⁴ on the south part of the *Indies*; which was the first day that ever the *Spaniards* saw the maine, and tooke possession of that new Discovery in the behalfe of *Henry* / the 7, and his successors their Lord and Master. So as if first Discovery and Possession be his Title, your Majestie preceding him in that said Title, must necessarily precede him in the right thereof. If he claime it by the gift of Pope *Alexander* the sixth, then it must be argued whether the said Pope had power to give it; yea, or no; if not, then the gift is voide in it selfe; If yea, he must prove it either by Divine or Human Arguments; for Human he cannot, for that no way belonged to him, or any other Christian Prince or Potentate, at that time; nor were so much as ever heard of, before that present Discovery of *Columbus*, upon which the gift was made in the year of grace 1491. All things never known to him, or his Ancestors, can no way of right belong to him, or them; so as not belonging to him, directly or by circumstance, hee had no right to give or dispose thereof either in present or future, and thus for Human. For Divine Arguments; if he say he gave them as Christs Vicar, wherby he may dispose of Kings or Kingdoms, he must prove that authority by the word of God, or else we are not bound to beleue him, or think his gift of any value: As for example, if hee be but Christs servant heer on earth, he must challenge to himselfe no more prerogative then his Master took on him whilst hee was on earth; for if he doe, it a great token of pride and arrogancie: And our Saviour being but requested to make a lawfull division of a certaine inheritance betwixt one and his brother, refused to doe it; saying, *Who made me a Judge over you*: as also he confessed openly to *Pilate*, That his *Kingdome is not of this world*. Why then doth / the Pope, who acknowledgeth himselfe to be no better then his servant, take upon him the giuing of so many Kingdomes of this world. But the Popes say they, gave *Ireland* to *Henry* the 2 and his successors;¹⁵ and indeed they did so in word; but when had he it? when he had fast footing in it, and when *Derniti*us the King of *Ecnaster* had made the king of *England* his Heir. But for all that donation, had not the kings of this land, by the Sharpnesse of the sword more prevailed, then by this gift, the Popes donaton had stood in little stead; neither did the rest of the Irish Kings admit or allow of the Popes Donation; for, if they had, they would never have rebelled so often against this Crown. But to conclude this point; though we confesse, that the Popes have done this, or that; yet is no good argument, in my opinion, to say that they did it, and therefore it was lawfull, unlesse they could shew they did it rightfully. But the Popes gift of the West Indies, may well be compared to the Sermon of Judge *Molineux* his Chaplain in Queen *Maries* daies, who would make it appear, by a lively text out of the Scripture to his Parishioners, what a lying knave the divell was: and for his Text, he took the place where the divell took the place where the divell

took Christ, and carryed him up to the mountain, from whence he shewed him all the Kingdoms of the world; & told him, (if he would fallen down and worship him), he would give them all unto him. "My Masters (quoth he) by this you may well perceive what a lyar he is, for he had no more right to have given him these Kingdoms (if he would have fallen down and workshipt him,) then my selfe, that am now in the Pulpit. If I should say to you all / now; Sirs, if you will all fall down and worship me, before I goe out of the Church, I will give every man his Copie-hold for ever, which if I should doe, I should give you your livings in words: But my Masters (quoth hee) that fit there below to whom they belong, would take them from you again: And therefore (saith he) if he had given all these Kingdoms to Christ, the Kings of the earth, to whom by right they did pertaine, would never have suffered him to have enjoyed them." And so for that. - *For the earth is the Lords, and all that dwell therein, hee founded and prepared it,* as in the Psalmist:¹⁶ and so consequently, neither the Popes, nor the divels, doe dispose to whom they please. The copie of which foolish donation of the Popes, truely translated out of the origionall, hath been delivered to your Majestie long since, and (I hope) perused before this time. To Prone that he hath no generall consent of all the people and Nations of the *Indies*, appeareth most evidently, by this reason; for that no *Spaniard* farther inhabiteth Northward then *Florida*, where they have but two little Forts or Villages, the one called *S. Austine*,¹⁷ the other *S. Helena*:¹⁸ All the rest of that huge tract, whose infinitenesse is such, (as no mortall tongue can expresse, nor eye hath seen,) doe not so much as think there is another world but that they themselves inhabite, except some few of them which dwell upon the edges of the shore, that sometimes see both us, the *French*, the *Dutch*, and the *Spaniard*, when we come a fishing, but are not able to distinguish of us, but think us all one people: then how can we imagine, that these people have freely / given themselves to the Spanish obedience, and acknowledge him for their Lord and King, when they never so much as heard that there was such a man or Nation. Againe, from *Capi culli formia*,¹⁹ all the land that runneth and maketh the strange of *Anian*, and the Netherlands thereof, whose bounds and limits are never discovered; the *Spaniard* hath not so much as once seated himselfe to make himselfe known, whereby there might bee any likelihood that they had acknowledged him for their Sovereign. And for us to belev that the *Spaniard* is Lord of such, whom he hath never seen nor known, nor they him, were a manifest sign of a strong faith in us. And there were no way for any man to make me beleeve Miracles sooner, then by making me beleeve this: for after the believe of this, I should never doubt of any miracle, though he should tell me a thousand in a day: So that if this title come not by consent of all in generall, he neither ought to write himselfe Lord of the whole *Indies*, nor debar other Christians from conquering or trading in those parts where the *Spaniard* hath neither residence nor Seigniory, nor command. If he challenge

right by conquest and consent, then must he claim no more, then he hath by conquest and consent obtained. As for example, all that part of the West Indies, which at this day is scatteringly inhabited by the Spanyards & Portugals, is almost contained in two Tropicks, excepting the two small Villages of Saint *Augustine* and *Helena* in *Florida*, the Province of new *Biscay* Northwards, and five Villages or Townes neere the River of *Plate*,²⁰ called *Sancto Sprinto*,²¹ Saint *Anna*,²² the / Citie of *Ascension*,²³ Saint *Fee* and *Fuvirnan*,²⁴ lyeth halfe way betwixt the mouth of the river of *Plate*, and the Mine of *Polossie*,²⁵ and in the South Sea beyond the Tropick, in the Kingdome of *Chelix*, the Townes or Villages of *Coquenbo Persco*, Saint *Jago la impe: villa del Lago*.²⁶ And therefore, if the *Spanyards* have nothing to doe, any further; either to the Northward or to the Southward; what reason hath he to forbid any Nation to conquer or dwell there? But if hee should admit you, I think it not convenient that your Majestie should be so satisfied, for so should you doe your selfe, and other Christian Princes, great wrong: for his Townes and Castles are so devided, and such masses of land and Kingdome betwixt them, which he hath no right, nor dare to enter as being duely considered by your Majestie, hee ought not to claime no more, then he ought to claime the Kingdome *France*, because his Fort of *Graveling* is of one-side, and South *Arabia* on the other, *France* being in the midst between them; or to claime *France*, because his Frontiers in *Italy* bound it on the one side, and *Spaine*, on the other: or to claime the Iland of the *Venetians* and the *Turkes* in *Levant*; for that *Cicilia* and *Sardinia*, and a few others belong to him, that stands in that sea: Or claime all the Ilands or Shoares in *Barbarie* for that he hath a Castle or two in the *Straits*, and another in *Libia*. These Countries they never lay claime to, because they are in the eye of the Christian world; which would make us rise up in Armes against them for their foolish arrogancy, if they should pretend it: But in the unknowne parts, which have been familiar unto us; whose light by the / iniquity of the time, and troublesome warres in these parts, have to us been hidden, although to the Ancient well known, where they began their foolerie. Betwixt the Castle of *Argive* in *Libia*, and the Iland of *Macoa* in the river of *Canton*, in the Kingdom of *China*, the foolish *Portugals* say all is theirs, when many a hundred Kings (as absolute and powerfull in regard of people, as any King in these parts) dwelleth betwixt, and admit the *Portugals* by way of petition or bribes, to dwell in some place by the Sea side, and trafique with them; neither dare they lay claim to any Kingdome, but onely to such Fortresses, Factories and Villages, on the Sea side, as perforce and favour of the Iland they are permitted to dwell in, as most excellently appeareth by answer of *Charles* the fifth, made unto the Embassadours of *Portugal*, anno 1522, when they came to require and beseech him, that his subjects the *Spanyards*, might not trade nor commerce, as then they did, in the conquest or navigation of the *Portugals*; who after a most preemptory and noble answer of his part, told “them; he knew no

reason, neither would he suffer them, that his subjects should be prohibited freely, to passe into any Country where the hope of gain offereth it selfe; and that if the *Portugals* in the cause of their Trade, should doe any violence to any of his people, either in their persons or goods, he would be revenged neerer home, meaning upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*. With which answer, at that time, the *Lucitans* were forced to depart. Which answer, if it should please your Majestie to returne upon the *Castilians* themselves, at this time, I know no / reason how it can any way be bettered, having so good a president, as their own King against the *Portugals*, upon the same subject. But for the *Portugals*, where all their strength is seated, I mean upon the coast of *Malubor*, where they have more Fortes and Castles then in all *India* besides; the Kings doe so pen and lock them up in their Garrisons and Fortes, as they can have nothing the Countrie yeeldeth, but by their friendship procured by yearly bribes; As for example, to the King of *Cathaie*, they pay an yearly tribute of 256000 Reis: to the King of *Pimenta* . . Reis;²⁷ to the mother of the King of *Pimenta* yearly 36000 Reis; to the King of *Pargnan* yearly 72000; to the King of *Manfata* yearly 72000 Reis. To *Carta Babua*, the proper name of a man of account upon the coast, an yearely tribute of 42000 Reis: to the *Teratates*, which are brethren and Kings, an yearly tribute of 72000 Reis. All which summe or tribute, are imposed upon the King, and Custome of Goods, brought from these parts. As for their credit and reputation amongst these Heathens, it is so small, either for feare they have of them, or love they bear to them; that, when we, and the *Hollanders* pay no custome for goods bought and sold there, they make the *Portugals* pay 30 *per* hundred, we going free before their faces, and they paying before ours.

By this, your Majestie may well perceive, what base account the Princes in those parts make of them there; and yet these vain-glorious Woodcocks, will be very angry with us, if we will not beleeve; when they say, that all the East *Indies* is theirs, and they / have conquered it. In selfe manner (most renowned Sovereign) stand the Kings of the West *Indies*, with the *Spanyards*, both in the South sea, upon the Kingdom of *Cheley*, *Reta*, *Peru*, and others; as at this time is apparant by the Kings of *Cheley*, who hath within this few yeares beaten down the *Spaniard*, and wonne from them the Town of *Impetial*, wherein was wont to be placed and maintayned, one of the greatest Garrisons of the South Sea; and not onely razed it to the ground, but likewise kild and driven the *Castilians* quite from them. Even so, upon the East and North part of the *Indies*, both upon the Coast of *Brazil*, with all the firm land upon the *Indies* from *Parabia*²⁸ to *Cartagene*, the gulfes of *Uraba*, the gulfes of *Mexico*, and all alongst the Coast of *Bahana*, even to their Forts in *Florida*, they are in continuall warres, with the Kings and peoples of those lands. And surely under your Highness pardon, I am confident of this opinion, that it hath been a main policy of the Kings of *Spain*, for these many yeares, to keep us in continual warres one with another in these parts; or

if not, to encourage us himselfe; whereby being forced to looke to our home defences, wee might not have meanes to discover these his invasions abroad, whereby lie puts a mask before all the Princes eyes of Europe. And therefore since he is now laid open, and by no Nation so much as by your Majesties subjects of this land; I hope, for the prevention of future mischief against this State, as for other honourable respects, and prevalent Reasons, in challenging of that which is your own; or at least as much yours as his; you will not bee unmindfull; / which doubtlesse will not tend onely to the enlightning of many soules, which to this day have sate in the shadow of death, but likewise lay a ground (as before said) for the safety and preservation of your States, Glorie, Person and Posterity, in despite of the Spanish treacheries in the time to come, which otherwise by no meanes, by the wit of mortall man can be prevented, as upon my life, by circumstances I will make apparant.

But least this field of reasoning whereinto I have walked bee too tedious unto your Highnesse, I will briefly end; referring my selfe to Argument with any one; against this mischievous and poysonous peace with *Spain*, which I doe see, cannot but prone very fatall to your Majestie and Common-wealth. And though I bee not called, yet considering I am your subject, I cannot forbear, in respect of my great and loyall affection to your Majestie, the Prince with the rest of the noble Issue, and my native Country, I cannot but presume to speake of such things, which I think now fit to be considered: especially at this time; even as *Mercarie Gataner*, Chancellour of *Spain*,²⁹ did against the peace that was concluded betwixt *Francis* the first, and *Charles* the Emperour his Master; for he seeing, that the Emperour was disposed to make peace with the said King, and to set him at liberty, and that the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, and all other the Lords of the Councell tended to the same, and although he knew, as I doe now, that his counsell would not be accepted, yet failed he not to speak what he thought, but likewise refused, being great Lord Chancellour of *Spain*, to signe the Articles, / which he defended with most excellent reasons, which reasons are well delivered, and with much gravity of speech by *Quiccardine* in the oration of the said *Grataner*. But this event made it known, that the counsell of *Grataner* was most noble, most just, and grounded as well upon the high wisdom, as great zeale to the love and good of his Country. For as soon as the King was at liberty, all the *Spaniards* wonderfull hopes that they expected of this peace, and all the *French* Kings great promises to them vanished into smoke, according to the opinion of the that worthy Gentleman. And I know no reason (most noble Sovereign) that I being your subject, as hee was the King of *Spaines*, and loving you and my Country, as much as ever he did his, and having a subject of the same quality, to fear, as he did them, although I may well say, as much more danger to us by the *Spaniards*, if our peace be not built upon a sure foundation, then it could any way be unto them by the French. But to speak my opinion, make what Articles

you will, and let them bee guilded over with the fairest shew, either they, or those of their Faction (if you have any about you) can devise; unlesse these foure be granted on their part to you, you can never make any sure peace with them: or at least such a peace, as if he have the minde to breake he will have the advantage of you. And *Phillip Comines* saith, “That for the many conclusions that hee hath seen in his time in the affaires of State, that it were inexcusable folly for a Prince, if he were able for to prevent it, to put himselfe under the power of another. 1. That your subjects may / have free accesse to the *Indies*, either to traffique or plant, where the *Spaniards* have neither conquest, Signiorie, nor tribute. 2. That he doe pull downe all Inquisition wheresoever you people shall resort in all his Dominions, and that the Customes be reduced to an ancient order. 3. That he shall never come with a main Army of Ships into these Seas, under colour of chasticing the *Hollanders*. 4. That it shall be as lawfull for your Subjects to serve the States in warres against them, as it shall be to serve them against the States; these things accorded, your peace may be safe, otherwise not.”



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ANON., *TWO FAMOUS SEA-FIGHTS* (1639)

Anon., *Two Famous Sea-Fights. Lately made, betwixt the Fleetes of the King of Spaine, and the Fleetes of the Hollanders the one, in the West-Indyes: The other, the Eight of this Present Moneth of February, betwixt Callis and Gravelin. In the Former, the Hollander Suffered. In the Latter, the Spaniard Lost. Two Relations Not Unfit for These Times, to Animate Noble Spirits to Attempt and Accomplish Brave Actions* (London: Printed for Nath: Butter and Nic: Bourne, with Priviledge, 1639).

In 1639 England was at war with Scotland, over Charles I's policy of altering the religious settlement of his northern kingdom. The king would shortly be forced to call the first parliament in over a decade, so desperate was he for funds to finance his war with Scotland. Despite these local events, which would ultimately lead to civil war within England itself, some English people remained focused on the wider geopolitics of Europe and beyond.

That concern prompted the publication of a brief pamphlet conveying news of two battles in the on-going war between the Hapsburg monarchy and the Dutch Republic. The Dutch independence movement, dating from the late 1570s, brought intermittent conflict throughout the Spanish global empire. After a Twelve Years' Truce, war resumed in 1621, and it would continue until the northern provinces of the Netherlands won their independence in 1648. A pair of these altercations occurred in 1638 and accounts of them first published in Spanish¹ were picked up for English publication as news stories of interest to local readers. The publishers, partners Nathaniel Butter² and Nicholas Bourne,³ had a history of producing controversial publications. Butter had innovated in the 1620s in publishing news, a project that increasingly landed him in trouble with the authorities. This tract, reporting on the Thirty Years' War, fit nicely into his oeuvre.

Of the two sea battles reported in the pamphlet, only that which occurred in the West Indies is reproduced here. For the English men who brought this story before the public, reprinting only the account of a Spanish victory would have seemed counter-productive. From their perspective, the ultimate success of the Dutch rebels (who as Protestant enemies of Spain earned applause in the English circles that advocated an anti-Spanish foreign policy).

This document was produced during a period when some English were trying to get their country more involved in the quest for overseas conquest. Look, says this author, even the Dutch are successful, so we should become involved in the contest for empire as well. That an English version was issued suggests how important some viewed this message to be for an English audience.

Notes

1. See *Relacion verdadera, de la gran Vitoria ... en el Brasil* (Seville, 1638).
2. The son of a bookseller, Butter (bap. 1583, d. 1664) became free of the Stationers Company as a result of his late father's membership. In the 1620s he pioneered news publishing, first reprinting Continental news, then offered reporting in English. In partnership with Nicholas Bourne, he dominated the publication of news throughout the 1620s and 1630s. *ODNB*.
3. *Nicholas Bourne*: (c. 1584–1660) was apprenticed to a printer; later he pursued a career as a bookseller, in partnership with Nathaniel Butter. The two supported the Protestant cause during the Thirty Years' War early in their career, to which this item contributed. *ODNB*.

Anon., *Two Famous Sea-Fights* (1639)

A TRUE RELATION of the voyage of the *Galleons* and of the two *Battailes* they had with the *Hollanders* above *Pan de Canananas*,¹ this yeare in *September*, 1638.

*Don Carlos de Ibarra*² with the Navie of *Guarde* of the *Indies* which he governeth, set forth from *Cadiz* the 29 of *April* this yeare 1638. with fewer Sea men and men of Warre then hee had done formerly, having remained in *Spaine* with seaven *Galleons* to carry his Majesties Plate in them, and the Plate of particular men.

Hee arrived at *Cartagena*³ the 12 of *June*, and the 21 of the same, he set forth towards *Puerto Belo*,⁴ where he arrived the 29 of the foresaid moneth.

On the 15 of *July* hee set forth from that Port with the said Plate. He arrived at *Cartagena* on the first of *August*, amidst calmes and contrary windes.

There opening his Commission hee found a direction, which his Majesty had sent unto him from / *Spaine*, together with a Letter under his Royall hand, dated the 28 of *May* of the said yeare, and Signed by *Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras*,⁵ in which he advertised him; That there were set forth from *Holland* tenne tall Ships, with direction, that they should leave in *Brasill*, men and Munition, and passe to the coasts of *Terra Firma*⁶ and *Havana*,⁷ to meet with this Navie, and that there would bee joyned with the said Navie of the *Hollanders* 14 Ships, which were already upon those coasts of *Terra Firma* and *Havana*, and these forces being so much superiour to those, which the said *Don Carlos* went withall, his Majesty charged him deeply, that hee should have a care to dispose the matter so, that the Enemy might not meet him, and that if hee did, he might find that resistance and valour, which might be expected: And that considering the small Forces, which *Don Carlos* had on his side, hee had ordained, that foure *Vessels* should bee made ready to come to his ayde; also charging him, to apply convenient meanes to free this Treasure from the Enemy, and that hee should be carefull in like manner, concerning that which came from *New Spaine*, taking care of both businesses according to the hope conceived of his prudence and valour; and that he should consider, how fit it was, hee should returne into *Spaine* this yeare, in regard of the necessity there was of this Treasure.

Don Carlos having seene both the Direction and Letter, commanded all the places of the Souldiers throughout the Army to be setled so farre as might be, for he wanted many men, and to prepare the seaven / Galleons the best he might, giving necessary directions for battaile, assigning withall the standing which each one was to hold.

Hee departed from *Cartagena* on the 7 of *August*, towards the Port of *Havana* (a resolution few would have undertaken) holding it for certaine, that he was to meet with the enemy, who was so strong. It was only the zeale, with which he serveth his Majesty, and the avoyding of winterings, as hee hath done these yeares past, in which hee hath governed this Navie.

On the 23 of *August*, hee arrived at the *Cape de Corrientos*,⁸ where he found Letters of the Governour of *Havana*, written eleven dayes before, in which he affirmed, that there were not above seaven or eight Ships, which sayled in that coast, upon the 26 of *August*, he arrived at *Pan de Cananas*, which is twelve Leagues from *Havana*; and on the 30 of the said Moneth, riding above the said *Pan de Cananas*, by reason the weather was contrary to the going to *Havana*. There were discovered that evening seaventeene sayles, which went towards the Land, & the day following being the 31 of the foresaid month, there was discovered in the morning the Navie of the Enemy, which made towards this of ours. Then *Don Carlos* set up the Royall standard, and discharged a peece, which was a signall of Battaile, that every one might take his place; and that the Pinasse *De la Margarita*, might doe the same, which had met him at the *Cape de Corrientos*; and with top sayle, and foresayle, and with sayle of boltsprite extended at length,⁹ he went towards the Enemy, / who disposed his Navie in forme following.

The Admirall, and three others of the greatest Ships, amongst which one great one bore a streamer came upon our Admirall.¹⁰ The Vice-admirall, and other two Ships came against the Vice-admirall of our Navie, and the other Ships against the rest of our Galleons. The enemies Admirall lay aboard ours, putting his boltsprite through the fore-mast, shee had many men hidden aloft, a thing which hath not beene seene in a *Holland* Ship, shee lay aboard of us two houres having taken the wind, with resolution to put forth men into our Ship. She had three tyres of Artillery, two principall, and those of the fore castle, which in all were 54 Pieces. The weight of the Bullets was fifty, and 25, and 20 pounds: this is notorious by many bullets of these kinds, shot by the Enemy, which are now heaped together in this our Admirall. Shee gave three shots with her Artillery, and many with her Muskets; and in the interim the other three Ships, which came with her, stood discharging their Artillery from their sides, and poope at our Admirall. *Don Carlos* had then given order, that no Musket, nor Artillery should be discharged, till hee should give notice. He gave notice, when the Enemies Admirall came to boord him; the Artillery was discharged thrice, and many times the Musketers, which was disposed in good order. The enemy received so much hurt hereby, that cutting of ropes and other preparations

he disaboorded us, and fled, and *Don Carlos* pursued him, so farre as was sufficient, that this might be understood. The enemy set our Admirall / on fire five times, and still it was quenched; shee received a great number of shot both below, and above, sixe and twenty persons were slaine, and fifty hurt, and amongst the rest *Don Carlos* himselfe, who going about to take a ball of Wild-fire, which they had cast secretly at his feet, it broke and wounded him in the face, arme, and thigh, and yet for all this, he left not his place, giving necessary directions for that which was in hand, the wounds not being of such consideration, as to make him forbear standing on his feet. Amongst those that were wounded, and slaine, there were persons of much esteeme. The Captaine of the Sea, and Warre, and the Gentlemen passengers, and comerades¹¹ of *Don Carlos* deserved much that day, for the valour which they shewed. The Viceadmirall of this our Armada was boorded with the Viceadmirall of the enemy, fighting with her, and other two ships, and in freeing her selfe from her, the Viceadmirall of the Enemy came to our Admirall on the lee-side, and gave her a great shot which was answered with another. The Viceadmirall of this our Nauy, lost the sayle of her bolt sprite, and the yard of her fore-mast, and had a fire kindled in her, which was hard to quench; In all *Don Pedro de Usua*¹² shewed well his valour, who was wounded. From the Galleon in which was *Sancho de Urdanivia*,¹³ and was attacked by rear admiral Jan Mast of the Dutch West India Company navy. who without direction put 2 streamers on his top, whereby he gave occasion to the enemy to shoote at her with greater care, they tooke away the boltsprit¹⁴ at one shot. The other Galleons of this our Armada stood fighting with those of the enemy with such valor, as may be conceived of such Captaines, / as those were, which commanded them?

This fight continued more then eight houres, and in the evening the navy of the enemy united it selfe, the Admirall taking downe the Standard, and discharging a Piece, and having stood crosse to our Armada above the winde more then an houre, they tooke resolution to flye, spreading all their sayles, and we followed them; not being able to goe to *la Havana* because the winde was contrary, wee went making severall bounds, now this, now that way from *Pan de Cananas* to *Las Mesas de Muriel*,¹⁵ untill the third of *September*, when the enemy was discovered in the morning, and came in the same order with 13 ships to fight again with this our Armada, which defended it self with the same resolution, as before, the Admirall of the enemy came to encounter with this our Armada; she had no men above covered over, but they were apparelled in white canvas, shee gave two shots of Artillery, and was answered with other two, and we followed her, untill we were forced to turne to seeke out *Sancho de Urdanivia*, who had stayed longer behind then all the rest, whereby the greater number of the enemies ships passing by him, they stood shooting at him, so that this our Admirall was forced to come up to him, and the other ships of the enemy stood discharging at ours, and ours at theirs without boarding any.

There was wounded in this encounter *Don Pablos. de Contreras*,¹⁶ who was Captaine of one of the seaven Galleons, and Captaine *Facinto Melendos*,¹⁷ who was Commander of another, and hee sent mee word, that in this Shippe there were slayne, / and wounded more than thirty. This encounter continued more than eight houres; there were in this our Admirall 26. persons wounded, and slaine; and amongst them some of speciall note. Comming to speake with *Sancho de Urdanivia*, hee said, that his Galleon had a great leake, and his mastes were torne with shot, and that hee was unfurnished. *Don Carlos* took presently into his Galleon the plate which he carried of his Majesties, & of other particular men, and sent him men, from his Admirall, & gave direction to the Marquese de *Carderonsa*,¹⁸ and to the Admirals Lieuutenant *Ivan de Campos*,¹⁹ that each of them should send him men out of their ships; and presently the day following in the morning, *Sancho de Urdanivia* sent a note to *Don Carlos*, signifying unto him, that his masts and yards were torne with shot, and that by no meanes hee could sayle, and that in the first and second time of his fight, there were slaine and wounded more than thirty persons; and that wee were over against the Port de *Canannas*; and that his Pilot told him, that hee could put him in there, it being a ship of small burthen, and would save the artillery, chests of Indico, and other things which hee carried. Presently there was a peece of Ordinance discharged, and a Flagge of Counsell set up, whereupon all assembled, and hearing the Pilot speake, they agreed that hee should goe to the Port, and there should save all that hee could. And *Sancho de Urdanivia* being departed to performe / that which was determined; the Admirals Lieuutenant *Ivan de Campos*, *Don Gaspar de Caraca* Captaine of sea²⁰ and warre of this our Admirall, and others of the Assembly, said, that it was convenient, that this Armada should goe to Nova Espania,²¹ and the case seeming so farre different from that which *Don Carlos* was charged withall, which was to goe to the *Havana*; opposing this conceit, they answered all with out-cries, that hee should not take upon his shoulders so heavy a burthen; yeelding reasons as afterwards shall bee said, so much in favour of his Majestie, and of the good of the Commerce. *Don Carlos* tooke resolution to goe forth of the Admirall, and take with him the whole Assembly into the Galleon of *Don Pablos de Contreras*, where was, and came embarked *Don Ivan de Caravajal*,²² of the Royall Counsell of his Majesty for the Indies, and Generall Visitor of the Audiences of *Linia*, and of *Los Charcos*,²³ and having heard the one and the other, his vote expressed in writing was, that it was very convenient for the service of his Majestie to goe to Nova Espania; because thereby they should secure his Plate, and the Plate of private persons; that the wind was contrary for *Havana*, and faire for Nova Espania; that the change of the Moone would bee within three dayes, and that those seasons of September had been alwaies evill upon those Costs; that any of the six Galleons which remained, separating herselfe, the enemy would / take her, that our forces were small, those

of the enemy grew greater, seeing besides those, which they had in their Navie, with which they had given battaile twice, they expected foure ships more, which went to joyne with them, and that they were to consider the want of the ship of *Sancho de Urdanivia*: and the rest of the Captaines, who were present, declared, that they had spent halfe their bullets and powder, with which they departed from Spaine; and that they conceived that the Enemy would returne once, yea many times to fight with our said Armada; and that in fighting two or three times, there would bee left neither bullets for the artillerie, nor powder; a damage so well knowne, and unremediable: and that there might bee feared some bad successe to all this Armada, or to a part of it; and that their wintering would be certaine in *Havana*, because they were to enter into it late, and could not departe, by reason they were to repaire the ships, which for the most part had beene ill handled; and that the enemy, would not depart from the mouth of the Port, till the winter were farre gone on; and that it was convenient to make this Winter in Nova Espania, where all was secured, and the Fleet of Nova Espania, was thought for certain not to have departed, because it was conceived that his Majestie had sent thither the same direction, which hee had done to Don *Carlos*; and that there / the ships might bee repaired, and furnished with provision, powder, and bullets. Many other reasons were alledged, which although they seemed very strong, and convenient to Don *Carlos*, & Don *Pedro*, de *Usna*, neverthesse they were of opinion they should incite the enemy on the way to Havana. Yet Don *Pedro* de *Usna* being come to his ship, and having seene the foure ships, which were joyned to the enemy, and other three, which appeared from the top, and went in like manner to joyne themselves with the said Navie, which consisted in all of twenty foure ships; hee sent a message by Don *Diego* de *Gues*²⁴ Captaine of sea and war, and of the Vice-admirall, unto Don *Carlos*, telling him, that accidents did change the condition of businesses, and seeing the forces of the enemy were so great, and ours so small, it seemed good to him to follow the common advise of all; and Don *Carlos* agreed thereunto, and gave necessary directions for each one to hold their course for Nova Espania, the Galleon of *Sancho de Urdanivia* remaining in the said Port de *Canannas* in the sight of this our Armado, unseene by the Navy of the enemy, which remained as it seemed to all with much hurt and losse of men. And the next day being the fifth of this present moneth in the evening, the enemies Navie appeared, consisting of 24. ships, and stood in the wind of this our Armado, and that night the lanternes had lights set up in them in our Admirall, and Vice-admirall, / that the enemy, if he desired to returne to sight, with this our Armado, might know where we were; and the next day following in the morning they appeared not, nor were they seene any more. Our voyage was secure, and on Friday, being the foure and twentieth of September, we arrived at the Port of Saint *Ivan* de *Lua*,²⁵ where wee found the Fleet of Nova Espania, her Generall Don *Martin* de *Urbea*,²⁶

with generall content one of another for having performed so great a service for his Majestie; for both the Armado and and Fleet were joyned together, and the Plate also of both Kingdomes, belonging to his Majesty, and particular men; the enemy likewise sent away with losse. From this place wee indeavour to depart the soonest wee may, making ready the ships, as well those of the Fleet, as the Galleons. His Majesty is informed of all by two advertisements duplicated; to the end he may order and command what shall please him; for from this time unto the setting forth of this Armado, there will bee space to answer to these two advertisements, and in case no other direction come, Don *Carlos* will go on in the pursuit of his voyage, with the Armado and Fleet for Spaine.

With Licence in Sevil by Nicolas Rodriguez, in the Street of Genua, this yeare 1638.

ALONSO DE CARDENAS, *A SPEECH, OR
COMPLAINT, LATELY MADE BY THE SPANISH
EMBASSADOUR TO HIS MAJESTIE AT OXFORD*
(1643)

Alonso de Cardenas, *A Speech or Complaint Lately Made by the Spanish Embassadour to His Majestie at Oxford, upon Occasion of the Taking of a Ship Called Sancta Clara in the Port of Sancto Domingo, Richly Laden with Plate, Cochineal and Other Commodities of Great Value ... Translated out of the Spanish, in Oxford. By Sr Torriano, an Italian* (London: Printed for Nathaniel Butter, Jan. 17. 1643).

This publication, which may seem a straightforward complaint from the Spanish ambassador to the king, appeared in a complicated political context. By 1643, England was wracked by civil war. The king had moved his court to Oxford, and therefore the Spanish ambassador addressed him there. His opponents, organized into a remnant (or Rump) of the Parliament elected in 1640, held London. Hence a protest made to the king in Oxford but picked up for publication in London crossed a political divide when it moved from the place where the protest was lodged to the place where it was reported as a news story.

According to his enemies, Charles I was weak on the Protestant cause and disinclined to stand up to the Spanish. Hence, readers presumably interpreted this protest in the context of a king who was disinclined to support his subjects against the Spanish.

When the English sailed into San Domingo, they took a Spanish ship and then brought their prize to Southampton, England. In this document, the Spanish ambassador, Alonso de Cardenas,¹ complains about this outrageous act and asks that King Charles force the crew to return the Spanish ship. The rival government centred in Parliament utterly ignored this protest and the king's proclamation. In January it ordered the cargo sold and the money turned over to Parliament.²

The assumption that this brief publication was intended to communicate a Spanish threat and the king's weakness may be supported by the involvement of printer Nathaniel Butter. The printer had a history not only of issuing news

but of criticizing royal policy for being insufficiently aggressive against powerful Roman Catholic Hapsburg monarchs. That the parliament would ignore the Spanish king's protests and allow the seizure to stand perfectly suited Butter's view of the relations with Spain.

Notes

1. See *ODNB*.
2. J. F. Larkin and P. L. Hughes (eds), *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 840–1, n. 1.

Alonso de Cardenas, *A Speech, or Complaint, Lately Made by the Spanish Embassadour to His Majestie at Oxford* (1643)

Don Alonso de Cardenas,

The Ambassador Ordinary for the King of *Spaine*,
His Speech unto His Majestie at *Oxford*, *Decemb. the 30. 1642.* occasioned by the taking out of the *Port of Sancto Domingo*¹ one of the King of *Spaine* his Ships called *Sancta Clara*, laden with Plate, and other merchandize of rich value, by Cap. *Bennet Strafford*,² by him brought unto *Southampton*,³ and there made prize; together with the answer of his Majesty sent on New-yeers day unto the said Embassadour, by the Lords *Mowbray*⁴ and *Faulkland*.⁵

SIR,

THE unsufferable wrong the King my Master hath lately sustained by a Subject of your Majesties (where in many of his owne Merchants have likewise borne some share, and what your Majesty for the future may do is not yet known) have in obedience to my Masters commands (who is but too sensible of this affront, and his peoples losses,) constrained mee to make this my repaire unto your Majesty, and to trouble you in these your most serious and important affaires of your Kingdoms, it having not been my unhappinesse since I had first the charge of this honourable imployment,⁶ to provoke discontent by such messages unto your Majesty, especially at such a time wherein my Master perfectly understanding how it fareth with your Majesty, for the cordiall reference he ever bore unto your Majesties owne person, had rather afford your Majesty a cordiall then a corrosive: yet this in briefe must be the sum of my complaint unto your Majesty.

That on the eight of *October Stilo veteri*,⁷ there arrived in the harbour, or rather close port of *Sancto Domingo* of the *West Indies* (the very centre of my Masters Dominions) a Ship of your Majesties, and a Pinnace, under the command of Captain *Bennet Strafford*, an English man, and a member of your Majesties Fleet at Sea, which letting fall anchor under colour of / taking in fresh water, & some other necessary provision, about one or two of the clock the same evening (the Master and other Officers of my Masters faire Ship, called *La Sancta Clara*, lately