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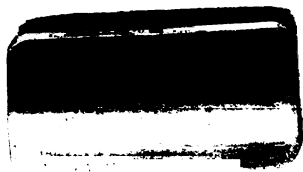
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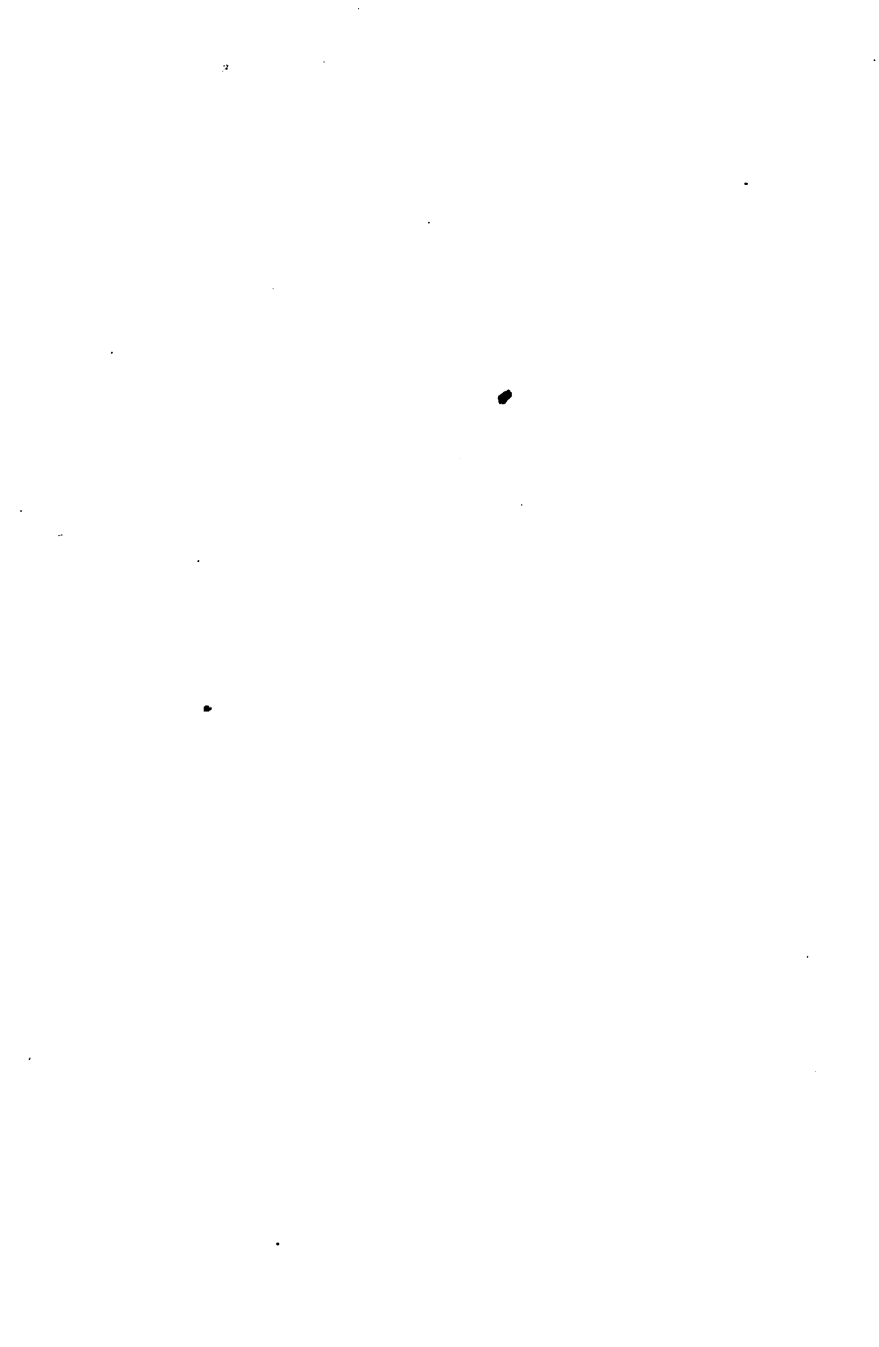
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NEW SOUTH WALES.



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NOTES AND SKETCHES

OF

NEW SOUTH WALES,

DURING

A RESIDENCE IN THAT COLONY FROM 1839 TO 1844.

BY

MRS. CHARLES MEREDITH.

LONDON:

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TO THOSE DEAR ENGLISH FRIENDS FOR WHOSE AMUSEMENT,
AND AT WHOSE REQUEST, THE FOLLOWING PAGES HAVE BEEN
WRITTEN, THEY ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

BY

LOUISA ANNE MEREDITH.



P R E F A C E.

I WOULD fain deprecate the censure of severe critics, which the superficial character of the following pages might otherwise call forth, by a few words of explanation as to my motives and objects in publishing them.

Knowing that very many persons at "Home" are deeply interested in these distant Colonies, as being the residence of dear friends and relatives, and that, as in the case of my own home-connexions, they really understand very little of the general aspect of things here, I believed that a few simple sketches from nature, however devoid of scientific lore, would be a welcome addition to the present small fund of information on common every-day topics relating to these antipodean climes; and of such belief, this little work is the result.

My aim has been simply to give my own impressions of whatever appeared worthy observation. I cannot for a moment ~~flatter myself~~ with the idea of conveying information to those skilled in scientific detail; my desire was to give true and general descriptions of scenery, people, and the various objects which strike a new-comer as novel or remarkable; just, in fact, as they appeared to myself. I have

sketched every-day things with a faithful and homely pencil ; and if the learned find nothing new in my unvarnished narrative, let them not condemn the unambitious attempt to amuse and interest the general, and more especially the young reader. Books of reference I have none, nor can I here obtain the use of any. My own observation, aided by my husband's long experience in these Colonies, is my sole resource ; therefore, however defective may be the finish of my picture in detail, the outline is at least original.

As it is necessarily impossible that I can correct the press myself, numerous typographical errors are almost unavoidable, and for which I can only entreat the kind indulgence of my readers.

*Spring Vale,
Great Swanport, Van Diemen's Land,
December, 1843.*

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Embarkation—Indisposition—Pleasures of a Sea Voyage—Fellow-passengers
—Observance of Character—Devonshire Coast—Pilots—Land Luxuries—
H.M.S. *Hercules*—Eddystone Lighthouse—Last Land.

EARLY in the month of June, 1839, we left England for New South Wales; and although at the time the voyage seemed to me very monotonous and devoid of incident, yet, in writing any account of the interesting objects these colonies present, I cannot pass altogether silently over the events, however few or trifling, that served in some measure to vary the tedium of a four months' passage hither, which I can assure my readers is far more irksome than any one would imagine who has not endured that unpleasant captivity.

It is now more than three years since that time, but I remember most vividly my feelings of disgust on stepping from the chair in which I was hoisted on board the *Letitia*, amidst the strange mêlée on deck. I was too ignorant of nautical matters to make proper allowance for the slovenly aspect of things in their then incomplete state of arrangement.

Dirt and confusion seemed to share the sovereignty between them, and the heterogeneous assemblage of trunks, chests, cases, bags, hampers, hen-coops, pigs, dogs, coils of rope, sailors and passengers on deck, made me gladly retreat to our own cabin, where the final disposal of our various goods and chattels occupied us the remainder of the evening.

I was greatly amused and puzzled by Mr. Meredith's extreme caution in lashing every article with ropes to the sides of the cabin, as well as by having deep cleats of wood nailed to the floor to keep our chest of drawers, &c. in place. Even my dressing-case and work-box were tied fast, like a couple of terrible wild animals, lest they should make a sudden rush at us, and the candlestick was securely confined in their company. A convenient shelf, with a strong rail in front, formed an excellent bookcase; and by the time our various little arrangements were completed, our apartment, which was considered a most spacious one, being eight or nine feet square, began to look more snug and habitable than I had believed possible.

Having a stern-cabin, we had the advantage of half the skylight and two stern-windows, which enabled us to enjoy more air and light, and be less annoyed by unpleasant odours, than in any other part of the vessel.

Contrary winds rendered our progress very slow for some days, and that miserable visitation, sea-sickness, kept me almost wholly in my berth, where I lay wearily listening to the novel and strange noises all around me, and hearing with some impatience of our repeated approaches to the French coast, as we slowly beat down the Channel.

To a novice at sea, every hour, nay, every moment, brings some greater or less misery. Even in comparatively still weather, the motion of the vessel, however slight, seems almost intolerable, and you helplessly roll from side to side of your narrow berth, with many a thump and bruise—the best preventive of the latter being a pretty tight wedge, consisting of a desk or box, and pillows. You watch the swing; tray, cloaks, towels, or whatever else is hung up in the cabin, performing various extraordinary gyrations, that make you most unpleasantly giddy as you contemplate the extempore waltzing party, enlivened perhaps by the gentle melody of a couple of sailors holy-stoning the deck overhead, and you are fain to believe your discomfort at its height; but be not too sanguine; skylights *will* sometimes have broken panes, and "bull's-eyes"* are notoriously apt to be leaky, in either of which

* Thick glasses inserted in a ship's deck to light the cabins, and favourite spots for people to stand upon when you are reading below.

cases your toilet, such as it is, or your bed, becomes saturated with dirty salt-water. Perhaps a cup of some inexplicable sea-compound, called, by a stretch of courtesy, tea or coffee, is brought to you, and, with the most laudable intention of conveying it to your lips, you feel a sudden jerk, and perceive an empty cup fast grasped in your trembling hands, and find that its former contents are communicating an agreeable warmth and moisture to your feet, not much to the improvement of the white counterpane, but greatly to the diversion of your more experienced companion, who, with provoking coolness, inquires, "Why do you pour your breakfast down there?"

At length, with a heroism not to be lightly appreciated, you resolve to have done playing the invalid, and to go on deck; in an agony of fear, and great dubiousness respecting the relative positions of horizontal and perpendicular, you perform a painful toilet, and may be considered fortunate in escaping any serious hurt. The extraordinary activity of all inanimate articles is a great annoyance and puzzle for a while; nothing can stand still where you put it. Every comb and brush seems possessed, going jumping about in the most inconvenient manner the moment you require them, and are nearly certain to hop into some impossible corner, as though on purpose to perplex their distressed and unsteady owner in the recovery. When, after all these trials, you cautiously open the door, prepared to make a resolute sally to the "companion" stairs, ten to one but some unlucky bucket, lantern, or other obstacle, lies in wait to embarrass your wavering steps; or a sudden lurch of the ship plunges you headlong into that singular combination of unpleasantnesses, the steward's pantry! At length, faint and bewildered, you gain the deck, and sink down on the first resting-place you see, glad to feel the fresh invigorating breeze, and enjoy the clear cheering sunshine. Such at least were my own feelings on this my first voyage, and I doubt not that most novices have a like ordeal of the uncomfortable to pass through.

As soon as I began to recover, and take a glance around, there were the faces and aspects of our fellow-passengers to be perused with something of anxiety, as it is a point of no trivial importance on such a voyage, that the few persons with whom you can associate, and with whom you cannot avoid coming in daily con-

tact for four months, should at least be companionable. I cannot conceive any situation in life more favourable to the exposure of real characters and dispositions than a long voyage. Assumed manners of refinement, counterfeit blandness and courtesy, and, in fact, every species and form of affectation, are insensibly forgotten. Those who are really ill-tempered, find so much for their humour to feed on, that the surly countenance remains uncontradicted by the soft and obsequious manner; the truly vulgar are too much engrossed by dear self to seek the favour of others by pretended refinement; and the harmless little arts of "pretty virginites," finding how vain is the hope of stimulating to admiration beings whose every faculty and thought are engrossed by their own petty distresses, are fain to reserve their efforts for a more favourable season. But when all the counterfeits have lost their gilding, the true metal is the precious coin still; and how valuable in so narrow a circle is unfeigned good-temper, and that only true politeness which springs from kindness of heart, none will perfectly understand who have not had specimens of both kinds in their "compagnons de voyage."

We were fortunate in being able to select a very pleasant circle from the small community on board, as one by one they shook off the prevalent indisposition, and reduced their unhappy, pale, elongated faces to their wonted fair proportions.

When I came on deck on the 8th day of our voyage, I found we were running along the Devonshire coast before a light breeze, under as bright a blue sky as ever made England look thrice lovely in the eyes of those who were leaving her, perhaps for ever. Many vessels which, like ourselves, had been detained by the adverse winds, were now in sight, their white wing-like sails fairly spread, and taking all advantage of the welcome change. Sea-gulls swept majestically by, their arched and outspread wings glancing brightly in the sunlight, and their easy, graceful motion seeming a scornful reproach to the unsteady awkward movements of such novices at sea as myself. As we neared Plymouth, where we had to put in for some passengers, a pilot came on board, and the careless yet secure activity with which he sprang from his boat up the ship's side and on deck seemed worthy of Ducrow himself, unable as *I* was to go three steps without holding on by something.

I felt quite a respect for that bronzed weather-beaten seaman, as I thought of the inestimable services he and his fellows, the Channel pilots, render both to our own and foreign shipping. In rough or foggy weather, when vessels ignorant of the difficult navigation of the Channel would, but for their guidance, be inevitably lost, they are out in their boats braving such seas, that it does seem almost miraculous such mere boats can live in them. But however stormy the weather or dark the night, there are the pilots ready at the known signal to run alongside and leap upon the stranger's deck. They are most brave and gallant fellows, and many a good ship owes to them the lives of her crew and the safety of her rich freight.

We entered Plymouth Sound in the evening, and for the last time watched the sun set on English hills and woods. I felt as if to set foot on land only for a few minutes would be the greatest imaginable treat ; but we cast anchor so late, that I was compelled to forego the pleasure, and sat on deck watching the boats as they went ashore, thinking their passengers must be almost too happy. A late repast of fresh bread, clean, land-made bread, fresh butter, strawberries, and clouted cream, however, almost consoled me for my previous disappointment. A lucky mortal, permitted to taste the ambrosia of the Gods, would not find it half so delicious as would a poor sea-sick creature, a victim to the unknown atrocious compounds of a dirty black sea-steward, think such a feast as mine !

We were up and on deck early the following morning, unwilling to lose a minute's view of the beautiful scenery around. A man-of-war, the *Hercules*, lying in the harbour, sent a boat to reconnoitre our crew, greatly to the discomfort and apprehension of our captain, but fortunately without depriving him of any "hands." I listened to the morning music on board the *Hercules*, and thought that our grand national air, "Rule Britannia," much as I ever admired it, never sounded so beautiful as then ; and I wept to think I should perhaps never more hear it in my own beloved native land.

We weighed anchor between six and seven o'clock, and in passing the *Hercules* made a polite nautical salutation, by lowering our royals (an obeisance always expected by ships of war from the humbler body of merchantmen) ; and the officer on duty

ordered the band aft to give us a cheering and melodious farewell as we left the harbour.

We had a fine view for some time of the lovely shores of Devon, and of that noble effort of human science and perseverance; the Eddystone Lighthouse. How mean and contemptible, beside such a fabric, erected for so great and good a purpose, seem by comparison the mere gewgaw palaces of luxury and ostentation, so profusely scattered over our fair country! and yet how few, how very few erections of a like kind are there, inestimable as is their value in the saving of human *life*, to say nothing of less precious matters!*

A short time before sunset I went below, intending to return on deck and watch the *last land* fade on the horizon, but on my coming to look for it, an envious bank of clouds hung over the spot, and totally hid it. Some one began singing, "Isle of Beauty, fare thee well!"—had they *felt* half as much as I did, they could not have uttered a single note.

* Why was not the "Nelson Monument" a Lighthouse? I can conceive no fabric of more grandeur and costliness half so acceptable to the spirit it is designed to honour, as the humblest erection devoted to such a service.

CHAPTER II.

Bay of Biscay—Spanish Coast—Employment the best preventive of Ennui—Phosphorescence of the Sea—Portuguese Men-of-War—Swallows—Teneriffe—Speaking the *Cherub*—Fear of Pirates—Porpoises—Flying-Fish—Capture of a Boneto—Dolphins.

WE were now fairly "at sea," with no chance of any *pleasant* variety of scene, as, unluckily for us, our "good ship *Argo*" was to make a direct passage to Sydney, without touching at any intermediate port. Like true philosophers, we consoled ourselves by the reflection that, as some compensation for the disappointment, our voyage would be the more speedy from having no interruption; though to sail half round the world, and be *near* so many interesting and beautiful spots, of which I had heard and read so much, and not to see even one of them—not Madeira, with its vine-clad hills—nor Teneriffe, nor even the Cape, that general "half-way house" for poor exiles like ourselves—certainly appeared rather hard, and, as I considered it, great waste of time and travelling.

The Bay of Biscay, so renowned in song and story for its stormy winds and waves, was happily in a most pacific mood when we crossed it with a fair light breeze and sunny weather; and though the fine old song was often quoted at the time, *we* had no disastrous consequences to remind us

"Of the day
When we lay
In the Bay of Biscay O!"

We "sighted" the Spanish and Portuguese coasts, and with glasses could discern trees and white houses or cottages; and as wishful imagination converted every green thing into an orangery or a vineyard, our distant gazes made us still more anxious for a nearer investigation of the good things we fancied there. But the inexorable ship sailed on, and hills, vineyards, and cottages faded into mist again.

I passed every day on deck, busy with that most pleasant of all "fancy-work," wool embroidery; and to it I owe my exemption from much of the overpowering ennui so general on a long voyage. To *study* is, I think, impossible, and I very soon disposed of all the light reading to be found on board, when compelled by illness or bad weather to remain below. But my work-basket and frame were my daily companions, and I was often told how enviable was my happiness in having something to employ me.

Many evenings we spent in watching the beautiful phosphoric appearance of the sea after dark, and trying to reconcile the various theories advanced by naturalists respecting it. That it is caused by floating animalcula is the general opinion; but if so, they must be as innumerable as motes in the sunshine, or as grains of sand upon the sea-shore, else how are the myriad millions of glittering lights to be accounted for that sparkle in a single wave? Some are much larger and brighter than the rest, bearing about the same proportion to each other as do stars of the first and sixth magnitude, and these larger points may, by close watching, be traced for several seconds, whilst the smaller ones flash and disappear simultaneously. I know of nothing to which I can compare this most beautiful and wonderful appearance, unless I have recourse to Sindbad's Diamond Valley, and beg you to fancy millions of millions of jewel-sparks, and a few thousands of larger brilliants, all rapidly whirling and glancing in one vivid glittering mass: but even diamonds would not shine alone in a dark night, so *that* simile will not do. The bright creatures—if creatures they are—do not seem to extend far down into the sea, because I have observed, in looking over the stern, that *immediately* following the rudder there always remained a small dark space beyond which the separated waves full of lights united again, and formed a long bright pathway on the water in the wake of the ship. The phosphoric lights seemed roused to life by the passage of the vessel through them; a fish swimming past produced the same effect on a smaller scale; a bucket of water from the brightest part lost all the glittering appearance almost instantly when hoisted on deck. The colour of the lights was bluish, or just what a purely white light would be, seen through the blue water. Perhaps the spray of a "jet d'eau," seen in a strong moonlight, would give the best idea of this most

indescribable phenomenon. I was never weary of watching it, and often, after leaving my usual evening-seat by the taffrail, could not help returning again and again for one more dazzled, earnest gaze.

I first saw those curious and beautiful little animals the Portuguese men-of-war, *Physalus pelagicus* of naturalists, in about 36° N. lat., and for many days they were very numerous, robbing my work of nearly all my attention in gazing at their elegant forms and colours. I had a few caught, to examine them more closely. They consist of a flat, thin, transparent membrane, from one and a half to two inches long, of an oval shape; and on the upper side of this, down the centre, runs a similar membrane standing erect, at right angles with the flat one. A whole wafer laid on the table, and the half of another placed edgewise upon it (the straight side downwards, of course), will give some idea of the form of the animal, or rather of the tiny ship's deck and sail. The under part is furnished with several rows of tentacula spreading out like a beautiful flower, varying in colour in different specimens, and sometimes even in one, through many shades of blue, pink, and soft purple. A slight coloured film also envelops the transparent membrane above described, giving it a beautiful iridescent appearance when sailing along in the sunshine. By putting them in a basin of sea-water, I was enabled to keep and observe them for some time; but when taken out of their natural element, the delicate tentacula shrink and dissolve away very soon; though with care the thin glassy membrane with its fragile sail may be permanently preserved by drying.

Their method of navigation is not the least interesting point to notice in these fairy-mariners. I have frequently observed one sailing complacently along, his arms, like the many oars of an ancient galley, spread around him, and his delicate glassy sail set full to the breeze; when a sudden puff of wind has overset him altogether, and plunged the whole fabric under water: the next instant he is up again as gay as before, but at first only presents his sail *edgewise* to the wind, and then seems to tack about very cautiously, as if to try how much canvas he can carry in safety. This *may* not be really the case, but I have watched many do exactly as I describe, and must therefore believe in their nautical skill. Like other creatures of their class,

they no doubt feed on minute mollusca and animalcula, which they entrap in their numerous tentacula, or arms. Their lower side very much resembles some of the beautiful sea anemones* so common on rocks covered at high-water on this coast,† and, from what I remember, there are similar ones on those of England.‡

Some poor little swallows, apparently worn out with fatigue, alighted on the rigging one day, and hovered about the ship. The sailors caught and tried to feed some of them; and one that flew into our cabin through the stern-window, I endeavoured to tempt with soaked biscuit, crumbs, and water, but could not prevail on my poor little patient to eat anything. I left him alone, hoping he would grow more assured, but he escaped, and was found lying dead on the deck a day or two after. I imagine the poor birds had either been blown off the land, or, having been baffled by contrary winds in their migratory voyage, had become too much exhausted to fly any farther: no doubt many thousands of them must perish at sea from similar causes. I have heard Mr. Meredith mention that on his voyage home (to England) in 1838, a beautiful little bird, of a species he was quite unacquainted with, flew on board the ship, and fed greedily on soaked biscuit; so greedily indeed, forgetting the needful precautions to be observed by starving people, that he literally died from repletion.

Finding we should pass tolerably near Teneriffe, I became extremely anxious for a good day-view of the Peak, and only feared sailing by in the night and losing it. We certainly passed by day, about midway between Teneriffe and the "Great Canary," but the mountain was thickly veiled in clouds, nearly to the

* *Actinia anemone*, or *Actinia calendula*, probably.

† Oyster Bay, Van Diemen's Land.

‡ I believe De Blainville mentions six species of *Physalus*; and from having seen descriptions of *P. pelagicus* differing in many points from my own observation of the animal, I am induced to believe that various species are described as the same by different persons. In the 'Tasmanian Journal of Science,' a paper (by A. Sinclair, Esq., Surgeon, R. N.) descriptive of a *Physalus pelagicus*, mentions, among other features I did not observe in it, the property of stinging severely, possessed by the tentacula, and retained even after the animal has been dried; also that the water in which it had floated had caused violent pain and inflammation in the hands and arms of two boys employed to wash out the tub. As I repeatedly handled the specimens I had caught, both before and after death, and received no injury, there must be an essential difference in the species.

water's edge, so that a mere shoal or sandbank had been as fine an object. If I could only have seen the merest point of the summit, I had not cared; I sat "like (im-)patience on a monument," wailing for one clear loophole in those gloomy morose clouds, but in vain—and I still have to take on credit all the grand and inflated descriptions of other more fortunate travellers.

As I did not at the time think I should ever require any memoranda of our monotonous voyage, I kept no regular "log-book," or journal, which now I much regret, as I am without exact data for many occurrences. About the beginning of July we spoke a homeward-bound vessel, the *Cherub*, and gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity to send letters home. The prudent ones had all letters ready written, but I confess I was not one of that number, and a few hurried words of love and greeting were all the homeward-bound *Cherub* bore from me.

There is something peculiarly grand, and withal touching, in that meeting of ships on the wide ocean. People who never heard of each other before, who might live in the same street of the same city for years without knowing each other's face, thus meeting on that trackless highway of the world, the sea, look on one another as if some mysterious communion between them were at once established. I do not mean individually, but generally, for, although I might not accurately observe the face of any one human being on board that vessel, yet I felt as if they were *friends* whom we had met; and as she afterwards went on *her* way, and we on ours, I looked after her lessening sails with real regret.

After being for days and weeks at sea without any object to break the line of the horizon, that seems to shut in the same eternal circle of water, it is absolutely a treat, an indescribable delight to the eye, to see so beautiful an object as a vessel in full sail gradually nearing, and so occupying a greater portion of the wearisome sea-view. Everything about her is busily discussed, and not unfrequently the inexperienced are gravely informed that she is an "ill-looking craft," "a rakish-looking brig," "very much the cut of a privateer," &c., and mysterious hints are given about muskets, cutlasses, and ammunition, till the well-known ensign with its union-jack is seen spreading to the breeze as they hoist it on board the stranger, and in reply to "Ship ahoy!

What ship's that?" a gruff English accent, made thrice gruffer and rougher by bawling into a speaking-trumpet, informs you that the suspicious craft is the *Mary* or *Betsey*, or some other good old household name, of London or Liverpool, bound from ———; whereupon the captain of our ship returns a like series of explanations, latitudes and longitudes are compared, and the interview closes.

As we neared the line, I confess I used to pay most especial attention to the various conjectures raised on the approach of a strange sail, especially if those learned in such matters seemed suspicious of her aspect or manœuvres; but I am most happy to say I have no thrilling narratives of fearful engagements or providential escapes to relate, as we were never molested by any of the piratical fraternity. This was fortunate, as our ship, like most merchantmen, carried her guns snugly and securely stowed away in the hold along with her cargo; which arrangement, though doubtless originating in a praiseworthy care of her means of defence, was not exactly calculated to facilitate the use of them, had it been needed. A few rusty muskets, and some pistols of most pacific temperaments, were ostentatiously ranged round the mizen-mast in the mess-cabin; but, like the broken teacups on the alehouse chimney-piece, were, I fear, only "kept for show."

Porpoises were a frequent source of amusement to me; for I exceedingly enjoy watching their ponderous gaiety as they leap and flounce about, and the agility with which they bound out of the water is most astonishing. We often saw them leap as high as the fore-yard, and I used to think they would fairly alight on the fore-castle; but I fancy they knew better than to trust their lives and oleaginous bodies to the tender mercies of the sailors, who would infallibly have despatched and eaten them very speedily. Prodigious shoals of them often crossed our track, and might be seen in thousands gambolling as far as their black bodies were visible above the water. My admiration of their elephantine frolics became so well known, that if I chanced to be below when a shoal was seen, I immediately received a message informing me of the event, and lost no time in hastening to see the sport.

What a contrast to the unwieldy monsters I have just mentioned are the elegant little flying-fish (*Exocetus volitans*)!

I had no idea they were so beautiful, having been misled by bad engravings, which represented them as thin, shrivelled, starved-looking things, while in reality they are beautifully proportioned, and quite plump, with shining bluish silvery scales, that flash brightly as they glance in the sun. They are about nine or ten inches long, the pectoral fins, or wings, about six inches, and capable of expanding to about three inches and a half at the broadest part; and from tip to tip, when spread, must measure above twelve inches. The eyes are remarkably large and fine, giving an expression to the head more like the glance of a bird than a fish; "fishy eyes" being proverbially dull and lustreless. Only one fell on board, which was brought to me, and, in justice to the memory of the poor defunct, I must confess that, after preserving his wings and tail, I found his remains very delicate eating.

So many arguments have been held with respect to these curious creatures, as to whether they really *fly*, that is, flutter and turn in the air, or merely leap from the top of one wave to fall on the top of another, that nothing but positive proof could induce me to say a word on the subject. I have attentively observed them rise from the water, flutter their fins rapidly, not unlike a lark when first rising; then sail along a short time, *turn*, at various angles from their course, whether in a breeze or calm; and, after being many seconds in the air, dip again into the sea, preparatory to another flight. I have continually mistaken them for birds, being quite deceived by their fluttering motion, so different from what I should have supposed any fish capable of. Some very eminent naturalists affirm that they can neither turn nor flutter; having *seen* them do both repeatedly, I am greatly inclined to differ from them in opinion, and to suppose that they must have observed these beautiful little creatures under some circumstances which prevented or disguised their real movements.

With all their beauty and accomplishments, the poor little flying-fish seem to lead a most restless and unhappy life. As they swim through the sea, the swift and hungry bonito pursues them with a keen and deadly purpose, seeming quite as well aware as myself of their delicate flavour; the dolphin also wages war against them; and the moment they quit the water to

escape these ravenous foes, a voracious sea-bird is nearly sure to pounce upon some of the quivering fugitives.

We were sailing for three days through shoals of boneto, and all kinds of murderous devices were adopted for the capture of some, but to no purpose. Fish-hooks, harpoons, &c., were all in request, and the excitement became extreme, to see shoals of fish all around, darting hither and thither in hundreds, all "fit to eat," as the sailors declared, and none to be got! It was terribly exciting, and figures might be seen in every direction, attired in all imaginable variety of costume, and in more than every imaginable attitude, most perseveringly hurling among and hauling in again their innocent weapons. At last, Mr. Meredith, who had constantly told them it was of no use, that the fish were scarcely ever taken, &c., went out on the lower studding-sail boom with a grains (a large strong fork of five barbed points) and a long line attached; he had scarcely sat five minutes, when he struck and hauled up a fine boneto, to the exceeding great delight of the spectators, whose mania for the sport was tenfold increased by the seeming ease of the achievement. But it was a lucky accident that was not repeated by any one, and Mr. Meredith, being quite satisfied with having caught one, did not make another attempt.

It was a large handsome fish, very much the shape of a salmon, and presenting a succession of rich iridescent colours, such as are described in the dolphin when dying. It was cooked, and served, at least part of it, at our table; but being fried, and rather dry and hard, it was not much admired.

I was extremely curious to see a real live dolphin, for my ideas of the creature were such a singular medley of classical-picture dolphins as big as calves, with fat tritons astride upon them; and spouting-fountain dolphins, much of the same character, with heads bored like the rose of a watering-pot; and public-house sign-board dolphins, something between St. George's dragon, and a legless, curly-tailed pig—that I wished to have my wavering notions somewhat settled: and one bright day in the tropics, as we lay becalmed or nearly so, I was leaning over the vessel's side, looking deep, deep into the bluest of all blue water, clear and bright as crystal, when three fish, of a kind quite new to me, came close to the ship, swimming to and fro, as

if examining the state of our coppering; some one said very quietly, "Hush! those are dolphins," and so I guessed, but not from any resemblance they bore to my ancient friends of the name. These were really very beautiful; their size I cannot accurately tell, for I found myself so often deceived in the relative proportion of things seen in a similar manner. The boneto, as it swam past, only seemed to me the size of a large mackerel, and when brought on deck I found it exceeded that of a salmon. The dolphins might be four feet long, or more, of a slender shape, with a head rather blunt than pointed, but not in the least heavy or clumsy-looking: on the contrary, I never saw anything more elegant than their form and motion; their long bodies, as they swam, making a perfect "line of beauty" of several curves, and their large fins and tails waving like fans in the water.

Their colour appeared a delicate silvery blue, deepening by parts into purple; and as they partially turned up their bright sides to the sun, a gleam of prismatic colours gave evidence of there being at least some truth in the story of their rainbow hues when dying.

Much to my satisfaction, no attempt was made to capture any of these; I noticed them for some time sporting round the vessel, and then they passed on, having most permanently established my faith in the beauty of the dolphin and the ignorance of his carvers and limners.

CHAPTER III.

Calm in the Tropics—Sharks—Turtle—Ianthina—Shovel-board—"Crossing the Line"—Loss of the North Star—Southern Constellations—Moonlight in the Tropics—Sunsets—Waterspouts—"Sundogs."

A CALM at sea in the tropics, though by no means desirable for a continuance, is yet very beautiful for a short time; one may well endure a few hours' delay, even in such a climate, for the sake of observing the novel expression of the face of nature. The usually restless sea, the very emblem of life and vigour, seems in a deep slumber; not a ripple nor the tiniest wave that ever broke ruffles its glassy smoothness; it might now serve to typify death rather than life, but for a slow, long, heavy swell, that seems to lift up the drowsy waters as it rolls along; now and then the peculiar dorsal fin of a shark cuts through the still, sluggish mass, or a turtle, fast asleep, floats by, basking in the fervid sunshine.

On such a day as this, when every one felt particularly disposed to envy the fishes, and the life of a frog in a cool brook seemed the height of luxury, a boat was lowered, and a party of five, including Mr. Meredith, put off a considerable distance for the purpose of bathing, though the ostensible reason was "merely to see how the ship looked." I sat at work under the awning, looking from time to time at the boat, until it was so far away that the swell hid it from my view, and then heard those who could still see it from the shrouds say that the five were bathing, and some of them far away from the boat, among whom I very justly supposed was my husband, from his being an excellent swimmer.

The next instant one of the men aloft screamed out, "Oh God! there are two large sharks close to them!" *My feelings may* perhaps be imagined—certainly not expressed. The probability was that the swell would hide the monsters from their victims

until too late for escape. I could see the sharks, which were on the top of a swell, but not the boat, which lay in the hollow beyond; and, almost wild with terror, joined my weak voice to the shouts of warning sent from the ship, till I heard the welcome cry, "They are all safe." The bathers had not seen the sharks till after they returned to the boat, when immediately the huge monsters rose alongside and followed for some distance, doubtless in the hope of another chance, in which, I scarcely need say, they were disappointed.

Several turtle were seen that day: the boating party nearly captured a large one, but it escaped; with a smaller one they were more adroit, finding it soundly

"Sleeping on the water,
And by good fortune, gliding softly, caught her,"

much to the satisfaction of the "gastronomes;" but either the cook or the turtle was deficient in good qualities, for it was greatly inferior to the same article as dressed on shore.

During the morning's excursion many of those beautiful and delicate shells the *Ianthina fragilis* were observed floating about. Mr. Meredith brought me two fine ones with the animal in, and I put them in a basin of sea-water to observe them. The head of the creature, instead of being close to the aperture of the shell, seemed some distance within, half a whorl at least, and the intervening space filled by a quantity of bubbly membrane, which likewise protruded from the aperture, of a deep violet colour; the shell was a lighter shade of the same lovely hue, and on removing the animal from it after death, my hands were so deeply stained with purple that it was some days before they lost the marks. The bubbles, which occupied the mouth of the shell, appeared only filled with air, and I supposed them to be employed by the creature as a float; most probably he has the power of discharging the air from them (in the same way that the nautilus is supposed to do, from the inner chambers of his shell) when he wishes to sink, although I did not observe any effort of the kind; but very possibly some of the delicate organs might have been injured, and their power destroyed, before the fragile things reached me.

Every one remembers the wise and cogent reason which worthy "Master Slender" assigns for his "not abiding the smell

of roast meat," namely, that he once "broke his shins when playing at *shovel-board* with a master of fence for a dish of stewed prunes;" but perhaps many, like myself, have been long in ignorance of the nature of this renowned game. One of our friends on board having proposed it as a good amusement in calm days, and when the ship was tolerably steady, it became very popular among the gentlemen, and proved a source of much diversion to me as a looker-on.

A square of about three feet diameter, divided into nine small squares, is chalked on the deck, forward, and a figure marked in each square, from 1 up to 9. The players have each two or three "boards," being circular pieces of inch-thick wood, about four inches wide; these are thrown slidingly along the deck, and of course aimed at the highest numbers; if they are lucky enough to rest there, the next player endeavours to *shovel* them out, and leave his own in; those counting most at the end winning the game. Any one standing in the way of a well-thrown shovel-board, and feeling the keenness of the blow, will fully commiserate poor Master Slender's mischance.

As we neared the "line," many grave discussions were held as to the degree of licence to be allowed the sailors in their usual commemorative sports on the occasion of crossing it; and poor Neptune's humble and complimentary petition lay so long unanswered at head-quarters, that few or no preparations were made among the crew. Unfortunately the harmony and good feeling which uninterruptedly pervaded our own especial "coterie" was far from universal in the small community on board; and any general participation in the mummery and somewhat rough usage of the sea-king's visit was therefore refused, the maskers being forbidden to come on the quarter-deck.

This being understood, the usual ceremony of Neptune's hailing the ship was effectively performed overnight, the god taking his departure in a fiery chariot, which matter-of-fact people will persist in explaining to be only a tar-barrel lighted and set afloat. The next day his Majesty, gorgeously attired in a painted canvas crown, and robes to correspond, with a magnificent display of oakum in the shape of hair and beard, accompanied by his secretary, chaplain, coachman, and other general officers of state similarly accoutred, approached the quarter-deck, on which we

were all assembled, and made a very clever speech. Mr. Meredith, as spokesman of our party, replied with due form and etiquette, and begged to offer, as a token of our allegiance and duty, a tribute of certain monies, which his Majesty most graciously ordered his secretary to receive with all due acknowledgments. Mr. Meredith then ventured a supposition that his Majesty was fond of sporting, and expressed a hope that he was not much annoyed by poachers in his kingdom.—“Why, no, sir,” replied the god, “not much; but *you* know, sir, there are *some* daring rascals who don’t care whose fish they catch;” and in the laugh that followed this attack on the captor of the boneto, his Majesty and suite, which included a nondescript dragon-like monster, with a very extensive canvas tail, whom Neptune termed his dog, turned towards their allotted scene of action; and the uproar and riot that followed, caused by the determined resistance of the “intermediate” passengers to his godship’s baptismal ceremonies of shaving and washing, soon drove me to my own cabin, where I remained till order was restored.

Our Neptune on the occasion was a fine tall fellow, usually known as “Long Bill,” who had served some years in a man-of-war, and was a general favourite on board; and being rather a genius in his way, would no doubt have “got up” the “masque” much more effectively, had he known it would be permitted.

We happened to cross the line on my birth-day, July 20th, so that I began my new year in a new hemisphere.

Among the many strange changes which a passage from one side of the world to the other has shown me, I do not know one thing that I *felt* so much as the loss of the North Star. Night after night I watched it, sinking lower—lower; and the well-known “Great Bear” that I had so gazed at even from a child, that it seemed like the face of an old friend, was fast going too; it was like parting from my own loved home-faces over again. I thought of so many times and places associated in my mind with those bright stars; of those who had gazed on them beside me, some of whom had for ever passed from earth,—and of the rest, who might say that we should ever meet again? Those stars seemed a last link uniting us, but it was soon broken—they sunk beneath the horizon, and the new constellations of the southern hemisphere seemed to my partial eyes far less splendid.

The Magellanic clouds made me constantly wish for a view of their starry hosts through a good astronomical telescope, as I believe they are among the "resolvable" nebulae. The southern portion of the galaxy, too, is very beautiful, tracing its double path of glory over the heavens, and showing so much brighter in the clear atmosphere of the tropics. The Southern Cross scarcely satisfied my expectations: I hardly knew myself what those were, but it seemed less clearly defined than the celestial maps had represented it. I think many other groups of stars form quite as perfect crosses. But the crowning glory of tropical nights is the moon. I remember an enthusiastic friend, on his return from the shores of the Mediterranean, telling me I had never seen *moonlight*—that there never was such a thing in England; and I now began to believe him. There is certainly as much difference between moonlight in England and in the tropics, as between twilight and sunshine. The full flood of radiance that is shed on every object renders all as plainly visible as in broad noon-day, but the soft colour of the light is delightfully refreshing to the eye wearied by the insupportable glare of a tropical sun. It almost seemed as if we ought to follow the moon's bright example, and "turn night into day," for it was by far the pleasantest time to be awake.

Having an excellent common telescope, we enjoyed tracing out the well-known map of the moon's disc, much more clearly than I ever saw it before. The same glass enabled us to observe well the belts and satellites of Jupiter, the moon-like form of Venus, and, more indistinctly, Saturn and his ring. We frequently saw beautiful meteors and "shooting stars;" and the bright silent lightning, flashing in the horizon, beguiled many a weary half-hour.

The sunsets too! the indescribably glorious sunsets, so swiftly changing, and so splendid in every change, were among my constant enjoyments. Pen and ink are vain to tell their wondrous beauty; nothing but the pencils of Turner or Danby, in their most inspired moods, could give a shadow of it. I remember one evening a most singular appearance; a dense bank of dark clouds had totally obscured the sun whilst yet high in the heavens, and behind which he sunk, leaving, as a record of his past glory, golden lines traced on the higher ridges of the thick vapoury screen.

Some minutes afterwards a strange light gleamed redly forth ; and on looking towards the sunset clouds, we saw, as through small windows in the dark wall, close to the water's edge, the sun's fiery eye, glaring along the sea in a track of molten flame. The effect was as strange as it was new to me ; and we never after saw a similar appearance.

Frequently the sunset sky seemed a celestial "Field of the Cloth of Gold," with regal banners of purple streaming across it. At other times bright landscapes of fairy cloud-realms spread forth, where

"Hills above hills, and Alps on Alps arose,"

glowing in gem-like hues, as fleeting as they were fair. How often have I exclaimed, "*This* is the loveliest sunset we have had !" for all were so beautiful, the present one seemed ever the brightest.

We had comparatively few of the heavy falls of rain common in the tropics, but one day they visited us pretty liberally, in sudden squalls, between which the sun blazed out with double intensity. On that day several waterspouts appeared, traversing the sea with great velocity, but fortunately they only permitted us a distant view of their dangerous performances. One seemed to travel a considerable way in the wake of the ship, and we almost feared would overtake us. We could clearly see the column of whirling water, ending in a cloud above, and the churning foam at its base, as it rapidly advanced, but it apparently dispersed in a sudden squall that crossed its path.

Many of the appearances called by sailors "sun dogs" occurred during the showery weather. They exhibit the prismatic colours, and I used to think them portions of rainbows, which they exactly resemble, but are broad and short, and always rest on the water. A lunar rainbow was seen one evening, but it was fast fading before I observed it, and had then but little more colour than a halo.

It is curious to notice how much more we observe the aspects and objects of the sea and sky when our own especial element, the *earth*, is absent from our view ; how much more desirous we feel to cultivate our acquaintance with the sun, moon, and stars ; the clouds, rainbows, meteors ; the ocean and its

mighty mysteries, when thus severed from accustomed scenes, pursuits, and speculations. In the monotony of all days at sea, any variation is an event; a new fish seen swimming by, or an oddly shaped cloud, makes a white day in one's calendar; and the remembrance of their comparative greatness at the time has perhaps caused me to invest with undue importance many trivial matters scarcely worth the recital.

CHAPTER IV.

Whales and "jets-d'eau" — Birds—Boatswain—Boobies—Cape Pigeon—Mischief of Idleness—"Mr. Winkles" at Sea—Great Albatross—Nelly—Stormy Petrel—Blue Petrel—Sailors' Delicacies—Stormy Weather.

VERY different from the doubtful notions I held about dolphins were my ideas of a whale as seen at sea, for in the representation of these huge monsters of the deep, all painters and gravers are unanimous in opinion, and alike in their mode of portraiture. Accordingly I knew perfectly well, when summoned from my cabin by the report of a whale being in sight, that I should behold an enormous black mass standing far out of the water, with a huge semicircular mouth surmounted by two trumpet-like apertures, from which a double stream of clear water was perpetually flung some forty or fifty feet into the air, falling again in a graceful curve, precisely like the "jets-d'eau" in ancient gardens. With such a foregone conclusion as to what was to be seen, I came on deck, and gazed round in search of the living fountain I describe; my inability to discover it being rendered tenfold more vexatious by hearing the sailors and others exclaim, "There she spouts!" "She spouts again!" till Mr. Meredith, seeing me vacantly scanning the whole horizon, drew my attention to one particular spot, where, after looking intently for about a minute, I observed something like a puff of steam rise gently from the water; and this was the *spouting* of a whale! Many a time since have I laughed at the recollection, but the shock my faith then received it will never recover, nor shall I ever forget the useful lesson I then learned, not to take too much on credit.

This absurd habit which people have got into, of depicting the whale as spouting distinct streams of water to such a height, though it may have originated in ignorance, cannot in these days of universal knowledge be permitted that apology for its continuance. But having once created so charming a fiction, I imagine these good folks are loth to rob the poor whales of the

childish admiration our school-book pictures receive, and so doubtless they will spout steeple high till the whole real race is extinct—a palpable proof of the triumph of romance over reality.

The spout-holes are simply the nostrils of the animal, and when, as he swims along, these chance to be below the surface of the water at the moment he breathes, the act of respiration blows the water from within and above the nostrils into the air in the form of vapour or steam.

The only time when anything like a stream proceeds from the blow-holes is when the creature is severely wounded; then he sometimes spouts blood. Frequently a thin haze is observed by whalers blowing along the sea, like the foamy crest of a wave scudding before the wind; and following back the course of this with the eye, the "blow" of a whale is often observed, sending off these whiffs of vapour. If seen between the boats and the shore, an inexperienced person would often mistake it for smoke on land.

A parasitical polype, peculiar to the whale, is generally found firmly attached to the skin of the animal when full-grown, especially about the head and lips; but it is a curious fact, and one which I do not remember ever to have seen noticed, that at the time of birth (and even previously) the young whales are marked with exact impressions or scars, of the precisé form of the polytypes, in those parts where afterwards the real parasites invariably appear.

We had hitherto seen very few birds; one day a beautiful white one, with two very long tail-feathers, flew over and round the ship, and many murderous proposals were made by the idlers to shoot it; but my entreaties for its life, strengthened by the superstitious warnings of the sailors, who seemed to regard it as a good omen of something or other, preserved the poor thing, and I had the happiness of seeing it fly away unharmed. It was the boatswain, or frigate-bird. We only saw that one bird of the kind during the passage, and certainly it was the most beautiful as well as the rarest of our feathered visitants.

Soon afterwards two or three boobies paid us a flying call, very possibly to see some relatives on board; of course the ties of affinity preserved them from molestation. Lord Byron, in his inimitable description of Juan's shipwreck, very aptly associates

the *noddy* with the boobies, but no noddy accompanied ours, that I am aware of.

We fell in with numbers more of the feathered people, as we increased our distance from the equator; most abundant were the Cape pigeons, or "passenger's friend" (*Procellaria Capensis*). Had the *sobriquet* been "passenger's victim," it had been far more appropriate, for it appears the universal custom—shame on those who make it so!—to massacre these poor harmless and really beautiful birds for the mere wanton love of destruction. Every one possessed of a gun, powder, and shot aids in the slaughter, or at least does his worst; and besides the killed, I have watched many and many a poor wounded bird, disabled from flying or procuring food, float helplessly away to perish in pain and starvation, because some heartless blockhead had no other resource to kill time than breaking its leg or wing. Often did I think of the line in the good old nursery hymn,

"For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do;"

and never was its truth more fully exemplified.

Hooks, baited with pork, were also used to *fish* for them; but as very few were caught in this manner, it proved a far more harmless amusement, and the exhibition of their natural voracity, which it occasioned, somewhat dulled one's sympathy with them. The moment a freshly-baited hook was flung astern, a crowd of pigeons would assemble round it, flying, swimming, scuffling through the water, as the tempting morsel skipped along the surface, scolding and driving each other away with most expressive cries. Very probably a great albatross is watching the result, as he hovers with a still, solemn aspect above the bustling, squabbling crowd. The pigeons succeed in pulling the pork from the hook, and the tumult is redoubled when, in the heat of the battle, the booty is dropped, and the wary albatross, with a sudden and sure plunge, relieves them from all further contention by appropriating the dainty morsel to his own use. Such a scene is acted twenty times a day; sometimes the bird greedily swallows the bait and hook together, and flies high into the air, whence the fisher gradually winds him down; but this is no warning to the survivors, who are as eager for the next throw of the treacherous bait as if none of their number had suffered by its deception.

The Cape pigeon is a small kind of albatross, much larger in the body than a pigeon, and with a great span of wing for its size. The plumage is white, beautifully marked with black on the back and wings, and their black eyes have a very peculiar, but soft and pleasing expression. The various attitudes of a group of these pretty birds, as they are seen closely following the ship—some swimming, others sitting on the water, or running along it with outspread wings, or just lighting down—are really very graceful and beautiful, and were a constant source of amusement to me, whenever their valorous enemies allowed them a truce.

A sportsman of the "Winkles" school is quite dangerous enough on shore, but when to all the awkwardness of such characters is added their utter helplessness at sea, and their invariable rule of stumbling along, with a loaded gun on full cock aimed directly at the nearest person's head, it may easily be conceived what perilous chances occur. Of this class were several violent specimens on board our vessel, all most determined, but most innocent foes of the unfortunate pigeons, as it most frequently happened that they hit a rope or a sail, instead of the bird, having no idea of allowing for the motion of the vessel. The appearance of these gentry on the quarter-deck, weapon in hand, soon became my signal of retreat.

The Cape pigeons are very rarely met with beyond their peculiar track, which extends from 35° to 55° south latitude, within which boundaries they encircle the globe as with a living zone.

The great white albatross (*Diomedea exulans*) fully realized all my ideas of its grandeur and solemnity. I never saw it without thinking of Coleridge's wild and wondrous tale of the "Ancient Mariner," nor can there possibly be any creature more fitted to take part in such a dread and ghostly narrative than this melancholy, grave, and most majestic bird. It soars along with widely-expanded wings that often measure fifteen or eighteen feet between the tips, with an even, solemn flight, rarely seeming to stir, but as if merely floating along. Now and then a slow flapping motion serves to raise him higher in the air, but the swift movement and busy flutter of other birds seem beneath his dignity. He sails almost close to you, like a silent spectre. Nothing of life appears in his still, motionless form, but his keen

piercing eye, except that occasionally his head turns slightly, and betrays a sharp, prying expression, that somewhat shakes your belief in the lordly indifference he would fain assume; and if you fling overboard a piece of rusty pork, the disenchantment is complete, and you see that long curiously-crooked beak exercising its enormous strength in an employment so spectral a personage could scarcely be suspected of indulging. There is another kind of albatross, nearly as large as the "great" one, with a small portion of black on its wings, that appears exactly similar in habits to its more renowned relative; but these pied ones are more numerous.

Another kind, that the sailors called "Nelly" (*Diomedea fuliginosa*?), of a dusky, smoky hue, was very abundant, and, I am sorry to say, very frequently destroyed, although, by the great thickness of the plumage or some other protecting cause, their lives were often most strangely preserved. After falling plump into the water, to all appearance shet *dead*, many would float away a short distance, and then, turning over to their proper position, perting up the head, and giving their wings an experimental flutter, as if to ascertain that no damage was done, away they flew unharmed, greatly to my delight and the confusion of their enemies. These surprising resuscitations gained for them with us the name of "immortals."

All the various species of albatross have the same kind of expressive eye I mentioned in describing the Cape pigeon; a gentle, yet withal shrewd glance, and in some a few darker feathers round the eye, add to the soft expression, just as long dark eyelashes do in a human face.

What the flying-fish is, compared with the porpoise, such is the light, swift little petrel beside the slow, solemn albatross. Glancing, dipping, skimming about, or running along the water with half-spread wings, they are all life and activity:

"Up and down, up and down,

"From the base of the waves to the billow's crown;"

they appear mere happy little birds; whilst those awful, funereal creatures give one the idea of unhappy disembodied spirits, condemned to sail about these inhospitable seas till their penance is done.

There are two species of petrel in the vicinity of the Cape: one,

the common kind, is nearly black, and, I believe, is the same which frequents the northern British islands; the other, far more beautiful, is a very delicate blue, and more slight in form than the dark one. The two kinds keep in separate flocks, and I could only obtain a good view of the blue ones with a glass, as they are very shy, and never ventured near the ship—a very wise precaution.

Nothing comes amiss to sailors in the way of eatables; nor, when we consider the wretched fare on which they usually subsist in merchant vessels, can their ready adoption of anything that promises a variety create surprise. The rank, oily, disgustingly high-scented sea-birds that were caught by the passengers, were all begged and eaten by the crew. One day a very large gull or albatross was handed over to them, and duly demolished; and on some one's inquiring how it tasted, a steerage passenger very gravely declared it to be "very like partridge!" When the bird came on deck, quantities of pure oil poured from its beak,—and then to hear of its eating "*like partridge!*"

Very soon after passing the Cape, wet, cold, stormy weather set in, and banished me from my accustomed place on deck to my cabin, where, with dead-lights securely stopping the stern-windows and the skylight closely shut, I slept away as much of the weary day as I could, and sat shivering in cloaks and furs the remainder, for there was not a stove on board. That *was* a weary time; tremendous gales blowing, seas being constantly shipped, and streaming into the mess-cabin, though rarely into ours; the galley-fire continually being put out; and, worst of all, the ship rolling and pitching so violently that one would think each plunge must be her last. Often in the night, when the roaring din around drove away all chance of sleep, I have had a light struck to lie awake by, the darkness seemed so terrible amid those horrid noises. The howling and screaming of the wind, the roaring and dashing water sounding close in one's ears, and every part of the vessel complaining, in its own particular tone of creaking, cracking, or groaning, made up such a frightful uproar, that it seemed sometimes as if a whole legion of fiends were aboard.

Frequent terrific crashes among the crockery and glass ware produced crashes of words, not "writ in choice Italian," but

spoken in a rough and wrathful tone, from captain and steward; the result being a sad diminution of cups and wine-glasses. Such was our dilapidated condition, that two or three old powder-canisters and preserve-jars formed the entire drinking equipage of the cabin table, when the last wine-glass, long the innocent cause of direst jealousy, was lamentably broken. Being rich in the possession of two small white respectable-looking marmalade jars, we took especial care of our valuable "breakfast service," and, until one of our treasures went to pieces in a squall, were the envy of our less fortunate fellow-voyagers; but this general poverty in conveniences was productive of so much merriment, that I doubt if the finest services of china and cut-glass would have served half as well to while away the slowly passing time. A little wit, as of any other good thing, must go a great way at sea, where any change of the too-often grumbling tone of conversation is acceptable.

It is very common for people to talk and write of waves running "*mountains* high," but I confess I always used to make a very liberal allowance for exaggeration and imagery in these cases; and I well remember once joining in the laugh of incredulity, when a gentleman told myself and other young people that he had seen waves of which two would fill the breadth of the Menai Strait, where we then were. I had not then been a long voyage myself; I had not looked and trembled at the scene I witnessed one Sunday morning after a two days' gale, during which I had remained below. The wind had abated considerably, but we could only carry a close-reefed mainsail, and were "scudding" along. Any attempt to describe the vast, awful grandeur of the scene seems absurd—it is so impossible for anything but the eye itself to represent it to the mind; I feel dizzy with the mere remembrance.

When I came on deck, the ship lay as in an immense valley of waters, with huge waves, *mountain* waves, indeed (one of which would have flooded both shores of the Menai), circling us all around: then slowly we seemed to climb the ascent, and, poised on the summit of the rolling height, could look along the dark and dreary waste of ocean heaving with giant billows far and wide; then, plunging down into the next frightful abyss, the labouring vessel seemed doomed;—I fancied already the rush of water in

my ears, when, with a violent pitch and shudder, the ship bounded along again, over another mountain, and down another valley, in long and slow succession again and again, till I grew accustomed to the scene, and could gaze without thinking I looked upon our vast and miserable grave.

There were the ghost-like albatrosses sailing solemnly above the tops of the towering billows, or diving beside us into the yawning gulf,—sailing about with the same unruffled plumes, the same quiet, wary eye, and majestic demeanour, that they wore in the brightest calm. Who could doubt their supernatural attributes? Certainly not a spirit-chilled landswoman, with Coleridge's magic legend perpetually repeating itself to her. I wish some of its good and beautiful lines were as familiar and impressive in the minds and thoughts of others as they are in mine:—

“Farewell, farewell—but this I tell
To thee, thou wedding guest!
He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.

He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things, both great and small;
For the dear God, who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.”

CHAPTER V.

Island of St. Paul's—Islands in Bass's Straits—Mutton-birds—Botany Bay Heads—General Excitement—Heads of Port Jackson—Scenery—New Zealanders—First sight of Sydney—Pull ashore—Comforts of Land Life—George Street, Sydney—The Domain—Eucalyptus, &c.—Woolloomooloo—Government Gardens.

A VIEW of the little volcanic island of St. Paul's was the only thing that served to vary the tedium of our stormy passage across the Indian Ocean ; and our view being rather a distant one, the only benefit we derived from it was the introduction of a new topic of conversation.—I believe excellent fish are very abundant there ; and, as the story goes, you may stand and pull your dinner out of the cold salt-water with one hand, and drop it into a hot fresh spring to cook with the other ! I know not if the renowned Baron Munchausen ever visited St. Paul's, but this savours something of his quality. A few wild pigs are there now likewise ; but the island is a mere volcanic rock, or rather the crater of an extinct volcano, with no trees or bushes, and but very scanty vegetation of any kind. The hot springs show that volcanic agency is still busy there.

Violent gales, cold and rainy weather, were long our portion, but a favourable change occurred in time to decide our route to be through Bass's Straits, which would not have been prudent in the more boisterous weather ; and the longer passage round Van Diemen's Land seemed an intolerable prolongation of our most irksome captivity.

Never shall I forget the feeling of intense pleasure with which I greeted the sight of land again, as we passed among the numerous islands in the Straits. Bare, barren as they were, I thought them lovely as the Elysian fields, for they were *land*, solid, firm, dry land. How we leaned over the vessel's side, *smelling* the shore!—enjoying the fine earthy, fragrant smell that our sea-seasoned noses were so quick to detect in every puff of wind that

came over the islands. We passed several very singular rocks* early in the morning of this most happy day, and went sailing on, with a fair breeze, a bright sunny blue sky, and an ever-changing, ever-new prospect around. We passed so near the islands of "Kent's Group," and another called the "Judgment," as to discern flocks of seal sleeping on the rocks; thousands of sea-birds, named by sailors "mutton-birds," were flying or floating around us, and often diving for a considerable distance; and, most beautiful of all in this bright picture, numerous vessels were in sight, all bound for the same port as ourselves; and after each traversing a different path, were here, as it were, falling into the common high road for the Australian metropolis.

Those "mutton-birds" I have just mentioned form a most curious and interesting community. I know not if their habits have been observed by naturalists, being myself totally out of the reach of books of reference on all similar subjects; but the particulars I have heard from my husband, whose early wanderings familiarised him with many of the native creatures of the Australian islands, struck me as being very curious. The birds are about the size of a wild-duck, with handsome black plumage, shot with metallic shades of green or brown, accordingly as the light falls on it; they are web-footed, and the beak is similar in form to that of the albatross family. They live wholly at sea the chief part of the year, but on one particular day in spring—November 1st, never varying many hours in the time—they come in from sea in countless myriads, filling the air with clouds of their dark wings as they hurry ashore on some of the islands in Bass's Straits, where their "rookeries," as the sealers term them, are made. These are burrows in the earth, covering many of the islands; and the first care of the birds on returning is to scratch them out clean from any rubbish that has accumulated, and put them in order for habitation, and often to make new ones. This preparatory business occupies about a fortnight, and then the swarming squadrons put to sea again for another fortnight or three weeks, not a bird remaining behind. At the end of this time they return in a body as before, and with much noise and bustle take up their abode in the rookeries, and

* Called, I think, the Judge and Clerks.

there lay their eggs and sit. The parent birds share between them the "domestic duties," taking it in turns to remain on the nest or go out to seek their food, which chiefly consists of a green slimy matter like sea-weed. They remain on shore until the young ones are a third part grown, and immensely fat, like masses of blubber, when the old birds leave them and go off to sea. The young ones, unable to leave the rookeries, are sustained meanwhile by their own fat; and by the time that is tolerably reduced, their wings are grown strong enough for flight, and they also quit the rookery and go to sea.

The men employed in sealing on these islands derive their chief sustenance from the mutton-birds, which they take in various ways. One very successful method of snaring them is thus practised:—A high pen of stakes wattled together is made on a low part of the coast, into which the poor mutton-birds, who always run down to the water to take wing, are driven with dogs and shouting, and there, as they cannot rise off the land, they can be killed at leisure. An extensive trade in their feathers is also carried on, but these have generally a strong and unpleasant smell; so that a "mutton-bird pillow" is spoken of as something proverbially disagreeable. Great quantities of the birds are cured by the sealers for sale, and I am told that their flavour is similar to that of a red-herring.

Very early on the morning of September 27th, Mr. Meredith was requested to go on deck and identify the land we were then passing, cloudy weather for two days having prevented any observation being taken, and our exact whereabouts being therefore doubtful. The unknown cliffs were immediately pronounced to be the headlands of Botany Bay!—Our weary way-faring was nearly done, the next break in the iron-bound coast that rose dark and threateningly before us would be our welcome haven, Sydney Cove!

In an absolute whirl of delight and excitement, with bright looks and quick eager voices all around, I hastened to put up a few packages ready to take ashore, continually interrupting myself to go on deck and mark our progress. The agitation on board was universal, and the transformations little short of miraculous; passenger-chrysalids were turning into butterflies every instant. Gentlemen, whose whole outer vestments for the past

month would have scarcely brought half-a-crown in Rag-Fair, suddenly emerged from their cabins exquisites of the first water ; and ladies, whose bronzed and scorched straw-bonnets would have been discarded long before by a match-girl, now appeared in delicate silks or satins of the latest London fashion. Gala dresses and holiday faces were the order of the day ; perhaps a child going home from school may feel as happy as I did, but the degree of delight could scarcely be excelled.

The entrance to Port Jackson is grand in the extreme. The high, dark cliffs we had been coasting along all morning, suddenly terminate in an abrupt precipice, called the South Head, on which stand the lighthouse and signal-station. The North Head is a similar cliff, a bare bluff promontory of dark horizontal rocks ; and between these grand stupendous pillars, as through a colossal gate, we entered Port Jackson.

The countless bays and inlets of this noble estuary render it extremely beautiful ; every minute, as we sailed on, a fresh vista opened on the view, each, as it seemed, more lovely than the last ; the pretty shrubs, growing thickly amid the rocks, and down to the water's edge, added infinitely to the effect, especially as they were really green, a thing I had not dared to expect ; but it was spring, and everything looked fresh and verdant.

Here and there, on some fine lawny promontory or rocky mount, white villas and handsome cottages appeared, encircled with gardens and shrubberies, looking like the pretty "cottages ornées" near some fashionable English watering-place ; and perched amid as picturesque, but less cultivated scenery, were the cottages of pilots, fishermen, &c., making, to my ocean-wearied eyes, an Arcadia of beauty. Near the North Head is the quarantine-ground, off which one unlucky vessel was moored when we passed ; and on the brow of the cliff a few tombstones indicate the burial-place of those unhappy exiles who die during the time of ordeal, and whose golden dreams of the far-sought land of promise lead but to a lone and desolate grave on its storm-beaten shore.

We very narrowly escaped a serious accident even in the port. A large vessel was moored in mid-channel, and our pilot could not decide on which side he would pass her, until we were so near that a collision seemed inevitable, but we for-

tunately cleared her, with not two feet to spare, and pursued our course.

During a light shower which fell shortly after, amid the bright sunshine, a most beautiful rainbow appeared, seeming like a smile of welcome to my new country. It spanned over one of the many lovely little bays, and was very broad, so that, although the centre had a considerable elevation, it wholly rested on the water, which, with the rocks, trees, and hills beyond, and the snow-white sands of the bay, shone in all the graduated shades of the bright prismatic colours. It was beautiful beyond description.

The pure white silvery sand which forms the beach in several of these picturesque coves, gives them a peculiarly bright appearance; it is much valued, I believe, by glass-makers at home, and often taken as ship's ballast, for that purpose.

As we neared Sydney, several rocky islets appeared, some rising like ruined forts and castles, and richly adorned with verdant shrubs down to the edge of the bright, clear, deep blue water, that reflected them so perfectly, one could scarcely tell where substance and shadow joined. One of them is named Shark Island; another larger one, Garden Island; and a little one, bearing the unmeaning and not very refined name of "Pinch-gut," is now the site of a small fort or battery.

The remarkable clearness of the atmosphere particularly struck me, in looking at distant houses or other objects, everything, however remote, seeming to have such a *clean*, distinct outline, so different to the diffused effect of an English landscape; not that I should like it in a *picture* so well as our softer and more rounded perspective, but in a new place, where one likes to see everything plainly, it is very pleasant. The bright white villas seemed almost to cut into their surrounding trees, so sharp the corners appeared; and the universal adjunct of a veranda or piazza in front, served to remind us that we were in a more sunny clime than dear, dull Old England, where such permanent sun-shades would be as intolerable as they are here necessary.

The harbour-master's boat was soon alongside, and he, with the physician, came on board, to perform their respective duties of inquiry and examination, and to hear the last news from *home*. No vessel had arrived from thence for a month, an unusually long interval, and intelligence was anxiously expected;

but during the day of our arrival and the following one, above a dozen English vessels poured in.

The pilot had informed us that wheat was at an enormous price in Sydney then, but his statement was not credited; it was, however, only too correct, *twenty-seven shillings per bushel* being the average price, in consequence of the severe droughts, which had for two successive seasons destroyed the crops.

The crew of the harbour-master's boat were New Zealanders, fine intelligent-looking, copper-coloured fellows, clad in an odd composite style, their national dress and some British articles of apparel being blended somewhat grotesquely. The New Zealanders are much the noblest specimens of "savages" that I have ever met with. During our residence in Sydney I saw a chief walking along one of the principal streets, with his wife following him. I had often heard of and seen what is called majestic demeanour, but this untutored being, with his tattooed face and arms, and long shaggy mantle, fairly outdid even my imaginings of the majestic, as he paced deliberately along, planting his foot at every step as if he had an emperor's neck beneath it, and gazing with most royal indifference around him. There was the concentrated grandeur of a hundred regal mantles of velvet, gold, and ermine in the very sway of his flax-fringed cloak; I never beheld anything so truly stately. I cannot say so much for his lady, a black-haired, brown-faced body, in a gaudy cotton-print gown, and (so far as I could judge) nothing else. She trotted after her lordly better-half, staring with unsophisticated curiosity at everything, apparently quite a novice in the busy scene; but I verily believe, had you placed the man amidst the coronation splendours of Westminster Abbey, that he would not have been so "vulgar" as to betray surprise. Nor is their courtesy of manner in any degree inferior to their magnificent demeanour. I have heard my husband say, that when at New Zealand, he was treated by the chiefs with such kind, anxious hospitality, and true gentlemanly bearing, as might put to shame many an educated but less civilized European.

About noon we cast anchor opposite Fort Macquarie, a neat stone building, with a few cannon planted around it. Close alongside of us lay a Scotch emigrant ship, her deck thronged with crowds of both sexes and all ages, enlivened by the fearful din of

some half-dozen bagpipers, who were all puffing, squeezing, and elbowing away with incomparable energy and perseverance, though, as they all seemed to be playing different airs, the melody produced was rather of a complex character.

Behind, or rather to the right of Fort Macquarie, was Government House, a long low building with a spacious veranda, in which sentinels were pacing to and fro; before it lay a fine green lawn, sloping towards, though not to, the water's edge, (quays intervening,) and around it grew noble trees, both European and Colonial, the English oak in its early spring garb of yellow green being here and there overtopped by the grand and more sombre Norfolk Island pine. A few other good houses were in view, but the chief of the town, or, as it must now be called, city, is built on the sides and at the head of a cove running at right angles with the stream in which we lay, which prevented the best parts from being observed, and the main portion of what was visible had an air of "Wapping" about it, by no means engaging.

The opposite or north shore of Port Jackson, here about two miles across, is of rather a monotonous character. Hills of no great elevation and very tame outline rise from the beach, dotted here and there with villas and cottages, their adjoining gardens making a pleasant green contrast with the uniform brown hue of the scrub. Numberless boats were pulling and sailing about, giving animation to the scene, and several of the vessels we had passed in Bass's Straits were working up the port; the life and bustle all around making a delightful change after our long solitary voyage; and when the boat came to take us ashore, my joy was complete. Once more seated in the slung chair, wrapped in the British flag, I gladly bade adieu to the good ship that had so long seemed to me a weary "prison-house," and soon, with a delight that must be felt to be understood, stepped again on *land*.

And how happy a time it is—the first few days on shore after such a voyage! Every action of life is an enjoyment. I could walk, without the floor jumping about and pitching me over; could use *both* hands to brush my hair, instead of keeping one to hold on by; could absolutely set my wine-glass on the table without fear of its upsetting into my plate, though, by the bye,

I often caught myself carefully propping it up against something, or looking above for the swing-tray to put it out of danger. Then the abundant supply of water for ablutionary purposes is a priceless luxury when first enjoyed after the limited allowance on board ship; and I often made the chambermaid smile by asking if she could *spare* me another ewer-full. It is *fresh, clean* water too, not flavoured either by a vinegar or rum cask, and can be used without being "left to settle!" Perhaps few ship-stewards are *very* clean, but all are not *extremely* dirty, and therefore our exquisite enjoyment of clean cups, glasses, plates, and forks, may not be imagined by the generality of voyagers. Vegetables too, after a long diet of pork and rice, were most acceptable. Fruit was not in season, except loquats, a pleasant acid berry; the size and shape of a gooseberry, with large kernel-like pippins. The tree is a very handsome one, bearing large long leaves, and drooping clusters of white, deliciously fragrant blossoms; which are succeeded by the golden-coloured fruit.

When we remember that Sydney has risen within little more than fifty years from the first settlement of the colony, its size, appearance, and population are truly wonderful. It is a large busy town, reminding me of portions of Liverpool or Bristol, with many good buildings, though few have any pretension to architectural beauty. The newer portions of the town are laid out with regularity and advantage. One long street traverses its whole length, about a mile and a half, full of good shops exhibiting every variety of merchandise; and in the afternoon, when the ladies of the place drive out, whole strings of carriages may be seen rolling about or waiting near the more "fashionable emporiums," that being the term in which Australian shopkeepers especially delight. The vehicles are sometimes motley enough in their equipment. Here and there appears a real London-built chariot, brilliant in paint and varnish, and complete in every luxury; with a coachman, attired something like worthy Sam Weller, "as a compo of footman, gardener, and groom," sitting on a box innocent of hammercloth, and driving a pair of mean-looking, under-sized horses terribly out of proportion with the handsome, aristocratic-looking carriage behind them. Sometimes, but very rarely, you see a consistent, well-appointed equipage; I think the tandem is more frequently turned out in good

style than any other kind: and as no "lady" in Sydney (your grocers' and butchers' wives included) believes in the possibility of walking, the various machines upon wheels, of all descriptions, are very numerous; from the close carriage and showy barouche or britzka, to the more humble four-wheeled chaise and useful gig. Few ladies venture to risk their complexions to the exposure of an equestrian costume, and accordingly few appear on horseback.

George Street seems to be by common consent considered as the Pall-Mall, or rather as the "Park" of Sydney, and up and down its hot, dusty, glaring, weary length go the fair wives and daughters of the "citizens," enjoying their daily airing; whilst close to the town is the beautiful Domain, a most picturesque rocky promontory, thickly wooded and laid out in fine smooth drives and walks, all commanding most exquisite views of Sydney and its environs, the opposite shore, and the untiring ever-beautiful estuary of Port Jackson. It was our favourite spot; even after driving elsewhere out of town (for alas! the splendour of George Street had no charms for me) we generally made one circuit round the Domain, and as generally found ourselves the only visitors. It was unfashionable, in fact, not the proper thing at all, either to walk or drive in the Domain. It was a notorious fact, that maid-servants and their sweethearts resorted thither on Sundays, and of course that shocking circumstance ruined its character as a place for their mistresses to visit; the public streets being so much more select.

Lady Macquarie had this Domain laid out after her own plans; walks and drives were cut through the rocks and shrubs, but no other trees destroyed; seats placed at intervals, and lodges built at the entrances. On the high point of the promontory some large horizontal rocks have been slightly assisted by art into the form of a great seat or throne, called Lady Macquarie's Chair, above which an inscription informs the visitor to whose excellent taste and benevolent feeling he is indebted for the improvement of this lovely spot. It always reminded me of Piercefield in Monmouthshire, but is far more beautiful, inasmuch as, instead of the black-banked Wye, here the bright blue waves of the bay wash the lower crags, and in place of looking only at one opposite bank, here is a noble estuary with countless bays

and inlets, pretty villas and cottages, and dainty little islands, all bright and clear and sunny, with a cloudless sky above them. The trees are chiefly different species of Eucalyptus, or "gum-tree," some of which bear large and handsome flowers, having a remarkably sweet and luscious scent, like honey, with which they abound. The name Eucalyptus is admirably descriptive of the flower, meaning covered well with a lid; and each closed blossom is shaped like a goblet, with a pyramidal cover, which in due time falls, or is thrust off, by the crowd of squeezed-up stamens within, that quickly expand into a starry circle when released from their verdant prison. The leaves are mostly of a dull green, with a dry sapless look about them, more like old specimens in a herbarium than fresh living and growing things, and, being but thinly scattered on the branches, have a meagre appearance. They are, however, "evergreens," and in their peculiarity of habit strongly remind the observer that he is at the antipodes of England, or very near it, where everything seems topsy-turvy, for instead of the "fall of the leaf," here we have the stripping of the bark, which peels off at certain seasons in long pendent ragged ribands, leaving the disrobed tree almost as white and smooth as the paper I am now writing on. At first I did not like this at all, but now the clean stems of a young handsome gum-tree seem a pleasing variety amidst the sombre hues of an Australian forest.

Several species of tea-tree (*Leptospermum*) form the chief portion of the shrubbery here, producing their small pretty blossoms very abundantly, whilst various other shrubs and many species of acacia (generally called Mimosa or Wattle here) display innumerable novelties of leaf and flower to the admiring eyes of an English visitor. One beautiful shrub grows on some of the low rocks, which I have not observed elsewhere: the leaves are large, and not unlike those of a Camellia; the flower, in form, size, and colour, resembles a fine single yellow rose.

Opposite the south shore of the Domain, and forming the other boundary of a beautiful cove, is another similar point or promontory, called still by the native name of Woolloomooloo (the accent being on the first and last syllables), on which a number of elegant villas have been erected by the more wealthy residents in Sydney, being to that place what the Regent's Park

is to London. The views from many of these are beautiful in the extreme, looking down into two bays, one on either side, and beyond these to the town and port, with the magnificent heads of the harbour closing the seaward prospect. Vines flourish here luxuriantly, and many tropical plants and trees mingle with those of European growth. Hedges are often formed of geraniums, and sometimes of the fruit-bearing cactus, called the prickly pear (*C. opuntia*, or *C. nana*?), a detestable thing, which if touched, even with strong leathern gloves, so penetrates them with its fine long spines, that the hands of the unlucky meddler are most annoyingly hurt by them. Some of our rarest greenhouse passion-flowers grow here unsheltered, and flower profusely; and the Brugmansia often forms the centre of a grass plot, with its graceful tent-like white bells hanging on it in hundreds. Geraniums thrive and grow very rapidly, but I did not see any good ones; none that I should have thought worth cultivating in England. A Horticultural Society has now been established some years, and will doubtless be the means of much improvement.

The Government Gardens are tastefully laid out round the sloping head of a small bay between the Domain and Government House, and contain (besides abundant vineries, and all other productive matters) a strange and beautiful assemblage of dwellers in all lands, from the tall bamboo of India to the lowly English violet. A group of graceful weeping-willows overhang a pretty shady pool, where a statue, by an English sculptor (Westmacott, I think), is now erected to General Bourke, formerly governor of New South Wales. It had not arrived when we left Sydney, or I should have much rejoiced to see the first specimen of high art which the colony has obtained, placed in so lovely and, with us, so favourite a spot. The grand Norfolk Island pine, the fig, orange, mulberry, and countless trees, shrubs, and flowers new to me, add to the gay beauty of these gardens; and when tired of roaming about the sunny and fragrant walks, there are grassy lawns and shaded seats—and such a lovely prospect around, that, much as I should dislike to dwell in Sydney, I left its beautiful gardens with great regret. Yet, will it be believed, that even these are very little frequented by the inhabitants? They are evidently, from some cause unknown

to me (but doubtless nearly allied to the cause of the Domain's desertion), not considered correctly fashionable by the fancied "exclusives" of the place, though constantly frequented by all new-comers; at all events, the former prefer the hot, glaring, dusty pavement of a town street for their promenade, to these delicious gardens.*

* Since writing the above, I have seen some remarks in a Sydney newspaper which imply a more general resort to the "Domain" than was the case at the time of which I speak. I rejoice to find that the beauties of so delightful a spot are becoming more properly estimated.

CHAPTER VI.

Sydney Market—Fish, &c.—Dust; Flies—Mosquitoes—Drive to the Light-house—Flowers—Parrots—Black Cockatoos—Hyde Park—Churches—Libraries—“Currency” population—Houses—Balls, &c.—Inns—Colonial Newspapers.

THE market in Sydney is well supplied, and is held in a large commodious building, superior to most provincial market-houses at home. The display of fruit in the grape season is very beautiful. Peaches also are most abundant, and very cheap; apples very dear, being chiefly imported from Van Diemen's Land, and frequently selling at sixpence each. The smaller English fruits, such as strawberries, &c., only succeed in a few situations in the colony, and are far from plentiful. Cucumbers and all descriptions of melon abound. The large green water-melon, rose-coloured within, is a very favourite fruit, but I thought it insipid. One approved method of eating it is, after cutting a sufficiently large hole, to pour in a bottle of Madeira or sherry, and mix it with the cold watery pulp. These melons grow to an enormous size (an ordinary one is from twelve to eighteen inches in diameter), and may be seen piled up like huge cannon-balls at all the fruit-shop doors, being universally admired in this hot, thirsty climate.

There are some excellent fish to be procured here, but I know them only by the common Colonial names, which are frequently misnomers. The snapper, or schnapper, is the largest with which I am acquainted, and is very nice, though not esteemed a proper dish for a dinner-party—why, I am at a loss to guess; but I never saw any native fish at a Sydney dinner-table—the preserved or cured cod and salmon from England being served instead, at a considerable expense, and, to my taste, it is not comparable with the cheap fresh fish, but being expensive, it has become “fashionable,” and that circumstance reconciles all things. The guard-fish is long and narrow, about the size of a herring, with a very

singular head, the mouth opening at the top, as it were, and the lower jaw, or nose, projecting two-thirds of an inch beyond it. I imagine it must live chiefly at the bottom, and this formation enables it more readily to seize the food above it. They are most delicate little fish. The bream, a handsome fish, not unlike a perch in shape (but much larger, often weighing four or five pounds), and the mullet, but especially the latter, are excellent. The whiting, much larger than its English namesake, is perhaps the best of all; but I pretend to no great judgment as a gastronome. I thought the rock-oysters particularly nice, and they are plentiful and cheap; so are the crayfish, which are very similar to lobsters, when small, but the large ones rather coarse. I must not end my list of fish that we eat without mentioning one that is always ready to return the compliment when an opportunity offers, namely, the shark, many of whom are inhabitants of the bright tempting waters of Port Jackson. Provisions vary much in price from many circumstances. Everything was very dear when we landed in New South Wales, and at the present time prices are much too low to pay the producers.

The dust is one main source of annoyance in Sydney. Unless after very heavy rain, it is *always* dusty; and sometimes, when the wind is in one particular point, the whirlwinds of thick fine powder that fill every street and house are positive miseries. These dust-winds are locally named "brick-fielders," from the direction in which they come; and no sooner is the approach of one perceived than the streets are instantly deserted, windows and doors closely shut, and every one who can remains within till the plague has passed over, when you ring for the servant with a duster, and collect enough fine earth for a small garden off your chairs and tables.

Flies are another nuisance; they swarm in every room in tens of thousands, and blacken the breakfast or dinner table as soon as the viands appear, tumbling into the cream, tea, wine, and gravy with the most disgusting familiarity. But worse than these are the mosquitoes, nearly as numerous, and infinitely more detestable to those for whose luckless bodies they form an attachment, as they do to most new comers; a kind of initiatory compliment which I would gladly dispense with, for most intolerable is the torment they cause in the violent irritation of their moun-

tainous bites. All houses are furnished with a due attention to these indefatigable gentry, and the beds have consequently a curious aspect to an English eye accustomed to solid four-posters, with voluminous hangings of chintz or damask, and a pile of feather-beds which would annihilate a sleeper in this climate. Here you have usually a neat thin skeleton-looking frame of brass or iron, over which is thrown a gauze garment, consisting of curtains, head, and tester, all sewn together; the former full, and resting on the floor when let down, but during the day tied up in festoons. Some of these materials are very pretty, being silk, with satin stripes of white or other delicate tints on the green gauze ground. At night, after the curtains are lowered, a grand hunt takes place, to kill or drive out the mosquitoes from within; having effected which somewhat wearisome task, you tuck the net in all round, leaving one small bit which you carefully raise, and nimbly pop through the aperture into bed, closing the curtain after you. This certainly postpones the ingress of the enemy, but no precaution that my often-tasked ingenuity could invent will prevent it effectually. They are terrible pests, and very frequently aided in their nocturnal invasions of one's rest by the still worse and thrice-disgusting creatures familiar to most dwellers in London lodgings or seaport inns, to say nothing of fleas, which seem to pervade this colony in one universal swarm. The thickest part of a town, or the most secluded spot in the wild bush, is alike replete with these small but active annoyances.

One day we drove out to the lighthouse on the South Head, about eight miles from Sydney. Soon after leaving the town the road passes the new court-house and gaol, and its handsome front, in the Doric or Ionic style (I forget which), is the only architectural building the "city" could boast when I was there, though I suppose that ere this the new Government House, a mansion in the Elizabethan-Gothic style, is completed. We began shortly to ascend a hill, the road being all sea-sand apparently, and nothing but sand was visible all around. Great green mat-like plats of the pretty *Mesembryanthemum æquilaterale*, or fig-marigold, adorned the hot sandy banks by the road-side. It bears a bright purple flower, and a five-sided fruit, called by children "pig-faces." A very prickly species of solanum also grew here, with large green spiky leaves, more difficult to gather even

than holly, and pretty bluish potato-like blossoms. The universal tea-tree, and numberless shrubs which I knew not, adorned the sandy wastes in all directions. As we continued to ascend, the road became very rough, huge masses of rock protruding like gigantic steps, over which the wheels scraped and grated and jumped in a way that made me draw rather strong comparisons between the character of roads at home and abroad. As we approached the summit, the hollow formed by the road was suddenly filled by a background (forgive the paradox) of deep blue water; it was the open sea that gradually rose before us, seen over the rocks, and spreading out bright and blue, with small waves sparkling in the fervid sunshine, and the white diamond-crested spray dashing high against the iron-bound coast, here broken into a low craggy amphitheatre, into which the rolling waves came surging on, breaking over the groups of rocks, and forming bright little basins among them. On either side the rocks rose again in large masses, presenting a precipitous face to the sea, being part of the dark formidable cliffs we had seen in approaching the Heads by sea. The road, after descending the hill, turned to the left, through some sandy scrub, crowded with such exquisite flowers that to me it appeared one continued garden, and I walked for some distance, gathering handfuls of them—of the same plants that I had cherished in pots at home, or begged small sprays of in conservatories or greenhouses! I had whole boughs of the splendid metrosideros, a tall handsome shrub, bearing flowers of the richest crimson, like a large bottle-brush; several varieties of the delicate epacris; different species of acacia, tea-tree, and correa, the brilliant “Botany-Bay lily,” and very many yet more lovely denizens of this interesting country, of which I know not even the name. One, most beautiful, was something like a small iris, of a pure ultra-marine blue, with smaller petals in the centre, most delicately pencilled; but ere I had gathered it five minutes, it had withered away, and I never could bring one home to make a drawing from. Surely it must have been some sensitive little fay, who, charmed into the form of a flower, might not bear the touch of a mortal hand!

Numbers of parrots, those

“Strange bright birds, that on starry wings
Bear the rich hues of all glorious things,”

were flying from tree to tree, or crossing the road in chattering, screaming parties, all as gay and happy as splendid colours and glad freedom could make them. Often they rose close before us from the road, like living gems and gold, so vividly bright they shone in the sun; and then a party of them would assemble in a tree, with such fluttering, and flying in and out, and under and over; such genteel-looking flirtations going on, as they sidled up and down the branches, with their droll sly-looking faces peering about, and inspecting us first with one eye, then with the other, that they seemed quite the monkeys of the feathered tribes.

On nearing the lighthouse, after ascending one or two slight hills, we passed several small houses, and others were building; the views from thence are doubtlessly very grand, but it must be a most exposed situation, with nothing to break the force of the strong sea-breezes, and but little vegetation to moderate the glare of the sun.

The view from the cliffs is indeed grand,

“O'er the glad waters of the dark-blue sea;”

and looking down over the dizzy height, the eye glances from crag to crag, till it catches the snowy puffs of foam flung up from the breakers that roar and dash in the cavernous chasms below, booming among them like subterranean thunder. As I fearfully gazed down, something leaped between me and the dark water—it was a goat, and there were some half-dozen of the agile creatures far down the slippery precipitous crags, leaping, jumping, and frolicking about, with scarcely an inch of foot-room, and only the boiling surf below.

Opposite to us rose the corresponding cliff, called the North Head, bluff and bare, and wearing on its hoary front the hues with which thousands of storms have dyed it. Myriads of sea-fowl were soaring and screaming around, and several vessels in the offing, and nearer shore, were apparently shaping their course to the port, but too distant for us to wait their entrance through these most grand and stupendous gates. The lighthouse itself is not in any way remarkable; close by is the signal-staff, by means of which the intelligence of vessels arriving is speedily transmitted to Sydney and Paramatta.

We drove back by a different road, nearer to the port, and less hilly, but equally beautiful with that by which we came. It

led us through a moister-looking region, with more large trees, greener shrubs, and more luxuriant herbage, and commanding most lovely views, that appeared in succession like pictures seen through a natural framework of high white-stemmed gum-trees and tall acacias. Here and there peeped forth a prettily situated residence, with its shady garden and cool piazza, looking down into one of the small bays I have before mentioned, and beyond that to the estuary.

On one large dead gum-tree a whole council of black cockatoos was assembled in animated debate, sidling up and down the branches, erecting and lowering their handsome gold-tipped top-knots, as if bowing to each other with the politest gestures imaginable; and accompanying the dumb show with such varied intonations of voice as made it impossible to doubt that a most interesting discussion was going on, all conducted in the most courteous manner: perhaps a reform of the grub laws was in agitation, for the business was evidently one of grave importance, and we respectfully remained attentive spectators of the ceremony until "the House" adjourned, and the honourable members flew away. These birds are by no means common in the neighbourhood of Sydney, nor did I see any more during my stay in the colony.

The same deep sandy road continued: it appeared to me that this part of the country must have been gradually elevated from the sea, and a long succession of beaches consequently formed, and left inland by the retreating waters; for the prodigious accumulation of true sea-sand here seems difficult to account for in any other way. In the Domain, too, and many other situations, are raised beaches, consisting wholly of sea-sand and shells (recent ones, so far as I examined them), above which, in a thin stratum of soil, great trees are growing; so that, although these beaches have formed part of the dry land long enough for a body of soil to be deposited upon them, and for aged trees to have grown in that, they are still of modern elevation.

Sydney boasts her "Hyde Park;" but a *park* utterly destitute of trees seems rather an anomaly. It is merely a large piece of brown ground fenced in, where is a well of good water, from which most of the houses are supplied by means of water-carts. There is also a racecourse between the town and Botany Bay,

racing being a favourite amusement among the gentlemen of the colony, and sometimes among the ladies, for I was told of a race somewhere "up the country," in which two "young ladies" were the riders, the prize being a new side-saddle and bridle, which was won in good style by one of the fair damsels; the horse of the other receiving a severe castigation from his gentle mistress, for having swerved and lost the race.

Most of the country gentlemen near Sydney, and for many miles round, are members of the "Cumberland Hunt;" they have a tolerable pack of hounds, and the destructive native dog, or dingo, serves them for a fox. So long as they hunt the really wild ones, the sport is certainly useful; but when, as frequently happens, a *bagged dog* furnishes the day's amusement, I cannot but think the field of mounted red-coats as something less than children. Dinners and balls of course form a part of the arrangements for the races and hunts, and everything is conducted in as English a manner as can be attained by a young country imitating an old one.

There are several large churches in Sydney, plainly, but substantially built; and one was in progress when we were there, which promised a more architectural appearance. The Bishop of Australia is a resident in Sydney. The Roman Catholics, and various dissenting congregations, have also neat and commodious chapels.

I heard that there was a Museum of Natural History; and the "Australian Library" contains an excellent selection of books for so young an institution. The circulating libraries are very poor affairs, but, I fear, quite sufficient for the demand, reading not being a favourite pursuit. The gentlemen are too busy, or find a cigar more agreeable than a book; and the ladies, to quote the remark of a witty friend, "pay more attention to the adornment of their heads *without* than *within*." That there are many most happy exceptions to this rule, I gladly acknowledge; but in the majority of instances, a comparison between the intellect and conversation of Englishwomen, and those of an equal grade here, would be highly unfavourable to the latter. An apathetic indifference seems the besetting fault; an utter absence of interest or inquiry beyond the merest gossip,—the cut of a new sleeve, or

the guests at a late party. "Do you play?" and "Do you draw?" are invariable queries to a new lady-arrival. "Do you *dance*?" is thought superfluous, for everybody dances; but not a question is heard relative to English literature or art; far less a remark on any political event, of however important a nature:—not a syllable that betrays *thought*, unless some very inquiring belle ask, "if you have seen the Queen, and whether she is *pretty*?" But all are dressed in the latest known fashion, and in the best materials, though not always with that tasteful attention to the accordance or contrast of colour which an elegant Englishwoman would observe.

The natives (not the aborigines, but the "currency," as they are termed, in distinction from the "sterling," or British-born residents) are often very good-looking when young; but precocity of growth and premature decay are unfortunately characteristic of the greater portion. The children are mostly pale and slight, though healthy, with very light hair and eyes—at least such is their general appearance, with of course many exceptions. They grow up tall; the girls often very pretty and delicate-looking whilst young (although very often disfigured by bad teeth); but I have seen women of twenty-five or thirty, whose age I should have guessed to be fifty at least. They marry very young, and the consequent "olive branches" are extremely numerous. The boys grow up long, and often lanky, seldom showing the strong athletic build so common at home, or, if they do, it is spoiled by round shoulders and a narrow chest, and, what puzzles me exceedingly to account for, a very large proportion of both male and female natives *snuffle* dreadfully; just the same nasal twang as many Americans have. In some cases English parents have come out here with English-born children; these all speak clearly and well, and continue to do so, whilst those born after the parents arrive in the colony have the detestable snuffle. This is an enigma which passes my sagacity to solve.

Of course a large proportion of the population are emancipists (convicts who have served their allotted years of transportation), and their families or descendants; and a strong line of demarcation is in most instances observed between them and the free emigrants and settlers. Wealth, all-powerful though it be,—

and many of these emancipists are the richest men in the colony,—cannot wholly overcome the prejudice against them, though policy, in some instances, greatly modifies it. Their want of education is an effectual barrier to many, and these so wrap themselves in the love of wealth, and the palpable, though misplaced importance it gives, that their descendants will probably improve but little on the parental model. You may often see a man of immense property, whose wife and daughters dress in the extreme of fashion and finery, rolling home in his gay carriage from his daily avocations, with face, hands, and apparel as dirty and slovenly as any common mechanic. And the son of a similar character has been seen, with a dozen costly rings on his coarse fingers, and chains, and shirt-pins, glistening with gems, buying yet more expensive jewellery, yet without sock or stocking to his feet; the *shoes*, to which his *spurs* were attached, leaving a debatable ground between them and his trowsers! Spurs and shoes are, I imagine, a fashion peculiar to this stamp of exquisites, but among them very popular.

Many instances occur of individuals of this class returning to, or perhaps for the first time visiting England, with the purpose of remaining there to enjoy their accumulated wealth, and after a short trial, coming back to the colony, heartily disgusted with the result of their experiment. Here, as “small tritons of the minnows,” they are noted *by* their riches, and courted *for* them; but at home, shorn of their beams by the thousands of greater lights than their own, and always subject to unpleasant prejudices and reflections touching “Botany Bay,” and other like associations, they find their dreams of grandeur and importance wofully disappointed, and gladly hasten with all speed from the scenes of mortified vanity. One of these adventurous worthies made the voyage to England, landed, and remained in London a very brief space,—not more, I believe, than one or two weeks,—when, fully satisfied, he took ship and set forth back again. On arriving in Sydney, his friends inquired his opinions of England;—Did he not admire the magnificent buildings and streets in London? “Oh! very well; but nothing like George-street!” At all events, the extraordinary perfection and beauty of the English horses *must* have delighted

him?—"No, not at all; nothing to be compared with Mr. Cox's breed."

The good people of Sydney have yet many wise things to learn, and many silly ones to unlearn, before they can attain that resemblance to the higher middle classes at home which is their anxious aim; and the shallow petty pride, or rather vanity, which causes so many heart-burnings and such eager rivalry among those who can often but ill afford its cost, is the main-spring of their follies. The existence of such feeling in a colony, where all, with very rare exceptions, have sprung from needy emigrants or transported criminals, is too absurd to require a comment. Yet pride, of a right kind, *might* be the best agent a new country could possess; but it must be a generous, not selfish pride; it must strive for renown in a general good, not an individual aggrandisement; it must show a wise and liberal, not (as is too much the case at present) an ignorant and sordid spirit; its effort must be, not to rise above its neighbours, and, if possible, thrust them lower still, in contrast to its own exaltation, but aid, by an example of strict integrity and honour, careful industry, increasing knowledge, and true morality, the interests of the community at large.

The distinctions in society here remind me of the "Dock-yard people," described by Dickens, that keen and kindly satirist of modern follies. Thus—Government officers don't know merchants; merchants with "stores" don't know other merchants who keep "shops;" and the shopkeepers have, I doubt not, a little code of their own, prescribing the proper distances to be observed between drapers and haberdashers, butchers and pastry-cooks. The general character of the invitations to the entertainments at Government House has caused much discussion and animadversion; the citizens who drive chariots not liking to be mingled in company with their tradespeople who only keep gigs. But all this pride of place is so very ridiculous and unbecoming in such a community, that were not its tendency so mischievous, it could only provoke a smile.

English customs and fashions are carefully followed, and frequently outdone by the more wealthy and (if I may be allowed the phrase, in speaking of commoners) *aristocratic* of the colo-

nists. Their extravagant mode of living, combined with the mania for speculation, has greatly contributed to the late and still existing embarrassments of the colony. Many of their houses are elegant villas, with rooms of noble dimensions, expensively furnished with almost every luxury to be found in a gentleman's residence in England, and environed by beautiful gardens, where every description of fruit, both European and tropical, is cultivated. The numerous servants too are a great and universal expense. The smaller houses of merchants, and various professional and official men, have much the style of those in suburban streets in England, standing alone or in pairs, all protected from the sun by verandas from six to twelve feet wide, with pretty gardens in front, often fenced by high hedges of gay geraniums. Several of these villa-streets are very pretty, and a most refreshing contrast to the dust, dirt, noise, and closeness of the lower part of the town, which is, from the climate and other causes, some shades more unpleasant than any place I ever was in before.

These rambling "Sketches" of mine are fortunately not required to be a complete "Guide" to all the lions, wonders, and beauties of Sydney and its vicinity, for of many I am totally ignorant. I know it possesses a pretty theatre, and that frequent concerts and public balls are given at all seasons; but as my health did not allow of my partaking in any amusement which demanded attendance in close and heated assemblies, I cannot speak of them from experience. Three annual "national" balls were given whilst I was in the colony, which those present described as very gay affairs; the tutelary saints of the three kingdoms being made patrons extraordinary on the occasion—St. George presiding over the English ball, St. Andrew over the Scotch, and St. Patrick, that "gentlemanly" saint, over the Irish entertainment. A fourth ball was then arranged, being a combination of the forces, and at this fancy dresses were very generally worn, and some well supported. All these balls were very numerous attended, it being quite a matter of course for families to come above two hundred miles, even in that climate, and over *such* roads, to attend a ball. How any one at home would laugh at the idea of journeying an equal distance on a

like errand! even with all the aids of rail and turnpike-roads, stage-coaches and post-chaises! But young ladies are so numerous, and balls so comparatively rare, that it seems an act of policy not to lose these occasional opportunities for the display of charms that might otherwise "waste their sweetness on the desert air."

There are several good inns in Sydney, much frequented by bachelor settlers, and one, to which the married ones take their families, at about double the expense of accommodation in a first-rate English hotel; and whilst you are served with "King's pattern" plate, and by half a dozen waiters, you miss many of the commonest comforts to be found in every wayside hostel at home. These and similar inconsistencies are perpetually striking a new-comer, in every circumstance of life and every grade of society.

A stranger cannot fail to notice the prodigious number of public-houses in this place, and, judging from general appearances, I fear they are only too well supported, and receive the greater part of the earnings of the lower classes, among whom habits of intemperance are unhappily very prevalent. The advocates of the temperance and tee-total societies have, I believe, effected considerable good, but much more remains to be done.

My readers doubtless remember the inimitable passages in 'Pickwick,' descriptive and illustrative of the "Eatanswill Gazette," and "Independent," with their rival editors, Mr. Pott and Mr. Hurk. It is my sincere opinion that some of the colonial editors here have mutually resolved on attempting an exact imitation of the style and manner of these renowned papers, for their leading articles bear a most curious resemblance, fraught with the most deadly hatred of each other, and the same unmeasured powers of abuse and wholesale condemnation. Such terms as "Our base and mendacious contemporary;" "That tissue of ignorance and conceit, the ——;" "That mean-spirited creature, whose vile insinuations we despise;" together with torrents of "rascal, liar, scoundrel, booby, fool, venom, viper, toad," &c. &c., give an indescribable piquancy and interest to their charming productions; their brethren of Port Phillip,

Hobarton, &c., often zealously emulating their spirit and incomparable choice of language; though some are of a very different stamp, and, strange to say, are preferred by many persons who have the curious taste to peruse with more satisfaction European news, and quiet discussions of general topics, than the most fluent and animated harangues of these eloquent opponents.

CHAPTER VII.

Leave Sydney—"Clearings"—Huts of the Working Classes—Chain-Gangs—Parramatta—Creeks and Rivers—Inn—Birds—Road to Penrith—Grasshoppers—Penrith—Nepean—Emu Plains—Ascent of the Blue Mountains—Waratah.

IN the last chapter I have given my general impressions of Sydney; the result of our entire residence in the town and neighbourhood, rather than a mere first view, which could only observe the surface of things, my first sojourn there being only for a fortnight, when, our baggage being landed and stored, and all other arrangements completed, we prepared for a journey "up the country." My husband required to visit his sheep-stations on the Murrumbidgee; but my travels were not to extend farther than Bathurst, about 120 miles.

Our first day's journey was merely an afternoon drive to Parramatta, fifteen miles from Sydney, through alternate cleared land and "bush," but all enclosed. The chief of the way-side houses were those of publicans, round which drays and carts were usually assembled, whilst their drivers refreshed themselves within, and swarms of flies added to the torment and weariness of the miserable horses and oxen, who often wait for hours the return of their brutal and drunken guide.

The system of "clearing" here, by the total destruction of every native tree and shrub, gives a most bare, raw, and ugly appearance to a new place. In England we plant groves and woods, and think our country residences unfinished and incomplete without them; but here the exact contrary is the case, and unless a settler can see an expanse of bare, naked, unvaried, shadeless, dry, dusty land spread all around him, he fancies his dwelling "wild and uncivilized." About some of the older houses in the colony a growth of fruit-trees, and often British forest-trees, has succeeded the despised aboriginal productions, and sometimes a few

of the grand Norfolk Island pines tower above the lower groups. Ungrafted quince and peach trees form hedges in many places; and when not hidden in the thick coat of dust which covers everything near a public road, their greener hue is a pleasing change amidst the brown landscape. Where land is not required for the plough, the trees are frequently only cut down within a yard of the ground, which remains thickly encumbered with the ugly blackened and burned stumps, giving the appearance at a little distance of a large and closely occupied graveyard; grubbing, or taking up the roots, being a far more expensive operation. Many large trees are destroyed by a ring of bark being taken off the trunk, when they die in the course of a year, and their huge leafless skeletons have an indescribably dreary and desolate aspect.

Maize, or Indian corn, which I here saw growing for the first time, is a most ornamental crop, each plant being placed by itself, and its long, broad, green leaves and crowning spire of blossoms having a very graceful appearance. It is generally cultivated here in lieu of other grain, for which the climate is less adapted, and is always understood by the term *corn*, all other corn, such as wheat, barley, &c., being called grain.

The habitations of the working classes, for *poor* there are none, are the least pleasing objects one meets with in this colony. Instead of the neat clean cottage of an English labourer, with its little glazed windows, and tidy though old curtains looped on one side; its small garden-plot of vegetables, pot-herbs, and sweet flowers, and cheerful, though humble aspect,—here you pass a wretched hut or hovel, built of heaped turf, or more frequently of “slabs” (rough pieces of split timber, set on end, like a strong paling), and thatched, and which, if plastered with mud, would be weather-proof and comfortable; but, for the most part, the slabs are all falling asunder, the thatch half torn off, the window, or rather the place for one, stopped with pieces of wood, hides, and old rags; and the door, without hinges, inclining against the wall. A heap of ashes and chips usually lies in front; broken bottles, old casks, old rags, bones, and shoes, and various similar articles are scattered around. Not a herb, not a cabbage is to be seen; no attempt at making a garden, although a fence might be had for the trouble of cutting it, and, by very little

labour, abundant crops of vegetables and fruit produced. Unfortunately, at the time I speak of, wages were so high, that by working only a third or fourth part of his time, a man could gain an ample livelihood, and consequently those disposed to be idle had both time and money to spend in drunkenness; the improvement and comfort of their homes had no share in their thoughts; and the wife in many cases was as bad as her husband; whilst the unfortunate children, growing up without instruction, and under such examples, cannot be expected to adopt any very moral or religious ideas. The rate of wages is no doubt now much lowered by the increased number of emigrants; and this, by compelling many to acquire more industrious habits, will do immense good. I remember the wife of a turnpike-keeper near our house, who was scarcely ever seen sober, and as rarely without a broken head or a black eye. One day Mr. Meredith was driving a friend to the races at Parramatta, and, on reaching the turnpike, this engaging female was discovered seated at a table by the door, with a cup and a half-gallon bottle of rum beside her, the effect of which was already evident; she offered Mr. Meredith a ticket, which he told her was not required, as she knew him so well from his passing constantly—"Oh, sir, you'd better take it, for I shan't know anybody by the time you come back!"

It is amusing enough, in traversing this colony, to come upon a spot in the midst of the wild bush, where a great finger-post stands to inform you that you are in the "township" of Monmouth, or Rutland, or some other old country name, with other posts at certain distances, bearing the names of streets, squares, &c., where not the semblance of a human dwelling is visible, though all arrangements seem made for a large and populous town. These, I imagine, are some of the "town allotments," in which such extensive and fatal speculations have been made in all parts of the colonies.

We passed several "chain-gangs" working on the road; these are convicts, who, from their great and repeated crimes, are sentenced for various periods to work in irons in the service of the government; and the villainous countenances of the greater number, the clank of their chains, and the thought of how awful an amount of crime had led to this disgraceful punishment, made me positively dread passing or meeting a band of the miserable

wretches. Very erroneous opinions relative to the state of convicts in these colonies exist at home as to the degree of hardship they endure. I think I can in the course of these pages relate enough from my own observation, to prove how much very many humane persons are misled in their ideas on the subject. Even the chain-gangs, the lowest grade of this class, do not perform on an average the third part of the labour which any English mechanic or labourer does gladly and cheerfully. Their rations of food are wholesome and abundant, and their huts or barracks provided with every necessary. When sick, they have the best medical care, and whatever additional luxuries their state may require; and when I apply to them the term "miserable wretches," I would be understood as applying it to their crimes and social degradation, not to their corporal sufferings. They work under the superintendence of overseers, and sentinels with loaded muskets, who would shoot any one attempting to escape; but notwithstanding every precaution, they do frequently evade the vigilance of their guards, and, "taking the bush," that is, running away into the forests, they often become formidable in their attacks on travellers in the lonely roads up the country. Not long ago, I saw an account of *eleven* murders having been committed by one of these desperadoes, and accompanied by such horrors of mangling, burning, and otherwise disposing of his victims, as far exceed all the fearful tragedies of a like kind we read of in the English papers. Several parties of bushrangers were out at the time of our journey, but as that is generally the case, it made no difference in our arrangements.

Parramatta is a straggling and extensive place, with good wide streets, containing houses and shops of every size and description, which are most agreeably diversified by the pretty gardens encompassing many of them, shadowed with fine mulberry, orange, and fig trees, and gay with luxuriant shrubs and flowers, among which the large American aloe forms a prominent feature, and frequently one appears in bloom. From its low situation, Parramatta is many degrees warmer than Sydney, and though seated on the shores of Port Jackson (here called the Parramatta river), it feels little if any benefit from the sea-breeze, which in Sydney is so great a relief. I may here add another link to the chain

of antipodean absurdities enumerated by Mr. Baron Field,* by asserting that all the rivers are creeks, and all the creeks rivers; thus you hear people continually talking of the Parramatta river, which is neither more nor less than the higher portion of the estuary of Port Jackson, and perfectly salt: whilst if by chance you meet with a precious little stream of fresh water far inland, rest assured it is nothing but a "creek." I was most amusingly puzzled by hearing of "creeks" far away from the coast, and began to suspect my geography to be in fault, when I soon found them to be what in England we should call a brook or rivulet. Orange-groves and vineyards are numerous in the vicinity of Parramatta, and supply the "metropolis" with the chief of its fruit. Various kinds of oranges are grown, both sweet and bitter; among the latter, a very small one, called the mandarin orange, is a pretty and fragrant fruit, and makes a delicious preserve. The lemons are very different from those used in England, being much the shape of an ill-formed Seville orange, but well-flavoured and juicy.

Some of the houses are covered with vines, and the verandas of others richly tapestried with jasmine, woodbine, roses, and climbing plants of every description. The church is a singular-looking edifice, having two blunt spires, one of which only is surmounted with the usual vane and weathercock. The Court-house has a handsome Grecian portico of cut stone, and the "factory," or house of correction for female prisoners, the hospital, schools, and other public institutions are large establishments;

* "It is New Holland—where it is summer with us, when it is winter in Europe, and *vice versa*; where the barometer rises before bad weather, and falls before good; where the north is the hot wind, and the south the cold; where the humblest house is fitted up with cedar (*Cedrela Toona*); where the fields are fenced with mahogany (*Eucalyptus robusta*); and myrtle-trees (*Myrtaceæ*) are burnt for fuel; where the swans are black, and the eagles are white; where the kangaroo, an animal between the squirrel and the deer, has five claws on its fore-paws, and three talons on its hind-legs, like a bird, and yet hops on its tail [It is almost needless to say that *this* absurd idea has long been exploded.—L.M.]; where the mole (*Ornithorhynchus paradoxus*) lays eggs, and has a duck's bill; where there is a bird (*Melliphaga*) which has a broom in its mouth, instead of a tongue; where there is a fish, one half belonging to the genus *Raia*, and the other to that of *Squalus*; where the pears are made of wood (*Xylomelum pyriforme*), with the stalk at the broader end; and where the cherry (*Exocarpus cupressiformis*) grows with the stone on the outside."

but I never was within any of them, although subsequently residing in the neighbourhood for some time.

After passing a particularly pretty garden, in which stood a long low house, with a spacious piazza in front, I was surprised by Mr. Meredith's driving up to the door, and still more so on finding that this was our inn, where we had engaged rooms. My belief that it was a private residence was natural enough, for the sign of the "Red Cow" on the roof had escaped my notice; but we were most comfortably accommodated in every way. The garden was full of beautiful flowers, particularly the bright scarlet blossoms of the pomegranate, the soft and fragrant oleander, and quantities of pink and crimson china-roses. An enormous prickly-pear (*Cactus opuntia*?) grew near the house (I think it must be twenty feet high), and was full of yellow blossoms and dark red fruit, in picking up some of which to taste, I stuck my gloves so full of the fine penetrating prickles that it was some days before I extracted them all from my hands.

Two beautiful birds were living tame in the garden; they were called curlews, but I doubt if correctly. They were much the shape of the avosetta, with long straight legs, long straight bill, a prettily-marked brown plumage, and the finest eyes I ever saw in any but the eagle or hawk tribe. The female was very shy, having had her nest and eggs repeatedly destroyed by mischievous boys and visitors; but the male was very familiar, following us all about, uttering a plaintive cry, which I afterwards used to hear frequently at night near our own residence, where they were very numerous, though scarcely ever seen.

Several of the native parrots were caged in the veranda, and talked a little; one kind, as large as the grey and green parrots so often seen in England kept as pets, had a most elegant plumage, the back, wings, and upper part of the tail being pale lavender-colour, and the breast and tail-linings the most delicate pink. Beside these hung the prison of a lovely little creature, called the Bathurst parrot or parroquet, or, as I named it then, and have done ever since, the "painted lady," as on each cheek (or whatever ornithologists call the part of a bird's face which corresponds to that human feature) there is a round spot of soft crimson orange-colour; the rest of the fair lady's attire being bluish lavender, with a pale primrose-coloured breast; a long tail, and

pretty sly eyes, make her one of the most beautiful of this numerous and gay tribe of birds. In the streets, too, we met a "native companion," or gigantic crane, walking about perfectly tame and fearless, being a sort of general pet among the inhabitants; he was between three and four feet high, and his enormous bill, keen eyes, and grave demeanor gave him a most sapient and dignified appearance as he stalked along, peering about, and sometimes pausing before one of the shop-doors, to take a more minute survey of matters within. But the chief glory of Parramatta in the bird-line is now, alas! no more. This was a tame magpie at one of the inns, of whose fluent conversation and wonderful ventriloquism I have heard most surprising stories, but I never saw the prodigy myself.

On quitting Parramatta the following day, we passed near Government House, which is beautifully situated in a fine domain, and frequently visited by the governor. Sir Maurice O'Connell, commander of the forces in Australia, now resides there. The road to Penrith passes occasionally through pleasant scenery, though chiefly monotonous enough, and the intense heat made me almost incapable of enjoying anything; added to which, the indescribable chirruping, creaking, and whirring of myriads of grasshoppers (*dust-hoppers* more properly), that seemed to fill all space around us, was almost intolerable; and what was very extraordinary, these unwelcome musicians were wholly invisible, nor could the most rigid observation detect them. They seemed to be a little below the surface of the loose dusty soil, and ceased their noise when I approached them. I afterwards detected some of their kindred at Bathurst, at least the voices were the same, and found them to be insects of the true grasshopper shape, with small wings, and about an inch long; but these colonies swarm with an immense variety of these long-legged insects of all sizes, from a quarter of an inch to two inches in length, and of all colours; brown in every shade (particularly the tints of withered grass and dead gum-leaves), green of the brightest hues, grey, black, reddish, and purple. Many of the large ones are very handsome and curious creatures.

Penrith is a long village, containing a few pretty, and many new, raw-looking houses, profusely adorned with green paint on the windows, shutters, verandas, and railings, and some had

very nice flower-gardens in front. We drove through the town to an inn some distance beyond it, close to the ferry over the Nepean, the first *river* I had seen in the colony, and the only one I did see there. The fine view of the Blue Mountains, rising beyond the level Emu Plains on the other side the river, beguiled me into walking in a garden on the banks till driven away by the clouds of mosquitoes; and as we sat in the veranda after dusk, I observed a single bright fiery spark glancing swiftly about in front of the house, now rising high into the air, and again falling, darting quickly to and fro, and occasionally resting a few seconds. On inquiry, I was told it was a fire-fly; but I was not aware that the bright creatures were found in New South Wales, nor did I ever observe more than this one.

I was told of an amusing incident which occurred to a new arrival during our stay. The traveller in question, putting on a most important aspect, walked into the stable, where the ostler was busy in his various duties, and pointing to a horse, inquired if he had been fed. "Yes, sir." "Give him another feed now directly." It was done. "Now, ostler, let that horse be ready for me at six o'clock to-morrow morning. Do you hear?" "That horse, sir? That isn't your horse, sir!" "No? Then which is my horse?" The steed was pointed out, and the proprietor departed. "Who is that person?" asked Mr. Meredith of the grinning functionary. "Can't say, sir; but I reckon he's a gen'leman wot's newly cotched!"

Early the following morning we resumed our journey, in company with a friend with whom we had arranged to travel the remainder of the way. Ourselves, carriages, and horses were safely ferried over the Nepean in a large punt, or railed raft, and landed on the opposite bank, when we drove merrily along the Emu Plains, so named no doubt from the flocks of emu formerly found there; but as civilized, and therefore doubly destructive, man advances in a new country, he invariably exterminates or scares away the timid creatures that have for ages dwelt there undisturbed; and now these noble birds have become unknown, except in the almost untrodden districts of the interior. I saw two tamed ones in a part of the government domain at Sydney; they are most noble-looking birds, and seemed quite happy in the comparative freedom they enjoyed. Their eggs are of a rich

dark-green colour, with a rough surface, like the rind of a coarse orange, or shagreen, and are about the size of those of an ostrich, which bird the emu resembles in general appearance, though handsomer and less awkward.

We had a fine view of the long range of the Blue Mountains before us, and of the abrupt gorge through which the Nepean flows before reaching Penrith. This pass is described as being extremely grand on a nearer approach, as indeed it must be, from the perpendicular height of the mountains, and the large volume of water pouring through so narrow a channel.

After driving for about two miles over the level plains, we reached the foot of Lapstone Hill, the first ascent, up which an excellent road has been made, winding along the side of the mountain, with high overhanging rocks on the left hand and a deep wooded ravine on the right. The wild scenery and the zigzag road reminded me of some of the "passes of the Alps," as drawn by Brockedon, save that our ravine had no foaming torrent roaring down it; and it was only by most intent observation that I could detect something like moisture trickling over the rocks, where an opening in the trees left the far-down stony bed visible.

It was October, and, as I have before remarked, the spring months are by far the *greenest* in this land of ever-browns; so that I saw the country under rather favourable circumstances, although the severe droughts of the two preceding years had destroyed the artificial crops, and even the native grasses, to a deplorable extent. Still, among these lofty mountains and in their shady recesses the trees and shrubs grew in unchecked luxuriance, and yielded me many a new and beautiful flower. As we slowly wound up the steep ascent, and the folding hills narrowed the view behind us, the scene was most picturesque and striking. Far on before us we could see the white-gleaming road still climbing higher and higher; looking back, the plains, reduced to a triangular section by the closing hills, were fast receding from the landscape; gigantic crags, piled high overhead, were mingled with an endless variety of tree, shrub, and flower; and far below, from the depths of the ravine, the opposite side of the pass rose almost perpendicularly, till its upper trees seemed to cut against the bright, unclouded, blue sky. I was quite de-

lighted, and thought that if all our progress over the dreaded Blue Mountains were as pleasant and interesting as the commencement, the journey would be much less wearisome than I anticipated.

I had often been told of the "waratah" (*Telopea speciosissima*), and its grand appearance when growing; and as we drove along, instantly recognised from the description the first of these magnificent flowers we saw, and soon after came more into their especial region, which is about half-way up the height of the mountains, few being seen either far above or below this range. From the temperature, I should think their cultivation at home would be easy, and it would well repay some pains to have such noble flowers added to the treasured wealth of English gardens. The stem is woody, and grows perfectly straight, from three to six feet in height, about the thickness of a walking-cane, and bearing rich green leaves (something like those of the oak, but much larger) all the way up. At the top of this stem is the flower, entirely of the brightest and richest shade of crimson-scarlet. A circle of large spreading petals forms its base, from which rises the cone or pyramid of trumpet-like florets, three, four, or five inches high; the whole flower being much the size and shape of a fine artichoke. Sometimes the stems branch off like a candelabrum, but more generally the flowers grow singly, one on each stalk, and look like bright flambeaux amidst the dark recesses of these wild forests. Unfortunately I had no opportunity of making a drawing of one, having no materials at hand on our journey, and failed to procure a flower during our stay in Sydney. The few plates I have seen give but a very faint idea of this most stately and regal flower.

CHAPTER VIII.

A "Country Inn"—Breakfast—Contrasts—A Bush Ramble and digression about Ants—Mountain Scenery—Cattle-skeletons—"Weather-board" Inn—Supper and Night at "Blind Paddy's"—Mountains and the Surveyor's Roads—Mount Victoria—Convict-gangs and Bush-rangers—Inn at the "Rivulet" and its Inhabitants—The ruling Vice.

AFTER driving for some miles nearly all up-hill, we stayed to breakfast at a small way-side public-house, where the slovenly slipshod women, dirty floors, and a powerful odour of stale tobacco-smoke, gave me no very favourable expectations of cleanliness or comfort. On the smoke-stained walls hung some very highly coloured and showily framed prints, representing young gentlemen with red cheeks and very blue coats trying to look very hard at young ladies in pink gowns with very large sleeves; and severally inscribed, "The Faithful Lovers;" "The Betrothed;" "The False One," &c.; ingenious distinctions of character, which it would have been extremely difficult to discover from the portraits alone.

In many places you find some particular dish more generally in vogue than others, but in New South Wales one universal reply follows the query of "What can you give us to eat?" and this is, "'Am an' eggs, Sir;" "mutton-chops" forming the usual accompaniment, if required. So ham and eggs we had, and mutton-chops too; but from their being fried all together, in the same dark-complexioned fat, the taste of these viands was curiously similar, and both of impenetrable hardness. Unless great care is taken, meat spoils so soon in this climate, that the custom among most persons is to cook it almost as soon as killed, which of course precludes the possibility of its being tender. Tea, with black sugar, but no milk, and bread without butter, completed the repast, with the addition of "damper," a composition respecting which there are divers opinions, some persons preferring it to bread, whilst I think it the worst way of spoiling

ing flour. The etymology is perhaps "Dampier," this indigestible food (an excellent damper of a good appetite) being supposed by some persons to have been invented by the great circumnavigator, and the manufacture is this:—A stiff dough is made of flour, water, and salt, and kneaded into a large flat cake, two or three inches thick, and from twelve to eighteen broad. The wood-ashes are then partially raked from the hot hearth, and the cake being laid on it, is heaped over with the remaining hot ashes, and thus bakes. When cut into, it exceeds in closeness and hard heaviness the worst bread or pudding I ever tasted, and the outside looks dirty, if it is not so: still, I have heard many persons, conversant with every comfort and luxury, praise the "damper;" so I can only consider my dislike a matter of taste. In "the bush," where brewer's yeast cannot be procured, and people are too idle or ignorant to manufacture a substitute for it (which is easily done), this indurated dough is the only kind of bread used, and those who eat it constantly must have an ostrich's digestion to combat its injurious effects.

At the period of which I am writing, wheat in Sydney had reached the exorbitant price of 10*l.* 16*s.* per quarter, to which every mile of distance from thence added cost, and this naturally induced every one to economize flour as much as possible; accordingly ground maize, boiled rice, and other things were added to the bread for this purpose, making it hot, bitter, or unpleasantly moist, as the case might be, but I do not remember seeing one instance of the flour being used unsifted, as it is in so many families at home, from motives of health or preference, although it might have been so used at such a time of dearth with manifest advantage.

Adjoining to this comfortless habitation (called an inn) was a small plot of potato-ground, but no attempt at neatness or improvement was visible; all was slovenly and neglected. The dirt and indescribable combination of ill smells within, was but a type of the state of things without. In the rear of the house one vast undistinguished rubbish-heap spread around, bounded only by some wretchedly dilapidated outhouses and stables, and reeking with foul exhalations, on which, and its more tangible delicacies, a large conversazione of pigs seemed to luxuriate most satisfactorily. Several children were lying or lounging about in

close companionship with the pigs, equally dirty, but apparently less lively. Miserable creatures! I thought of the contrast between them and children in a similar station at home, for this wretched place would rank with the "Lion" or "Traveller's Rest" of a country village in England, with its couple of clean white-draped spare chambers, and its gay best parlour as neat and bright as a new pin. The landlady, a rosy comely dame with a cap of driven snow and smart flowered gown; the landlord, in cords and blue stockings, velveteen coat, and sturdy figure, a *beau ideal* of an English yeoman; and the children—most of them are at school, but the rest, what clean, shiny, red, laughing, frolicsome young rogues they are! Look on this picture and on that! No—not again; so whilst my companions enjoyed their cigars in the cobwebbed veranda, I crossed the road, and was at once in the wild bush, where I rambled for some time, interested by everything around me, though careful to keep tolerably near the house. Strange birds were fluttering and whistling in the trees; thousands of grasshoppers, large and small, leaped up wherever I went, tumbling down again in their helpless way, with all their legs abroad, and taking a few seconds to gather themselves into place again for a fresh jump; myriads of ants, of various sizes and species, were as busy as ants always are, running hither and thither, up and down the smooth-barked gum-trees, in long lines reaching from the ground far beyond my sight into the tall branches; and here and there, near some old or fallen tree, a swift little lizard would dart into his hole, giving me barely time enough to see that he was not a snake, of which fearful creatures I have a just and most intense terror.

In the course of this and the following day's journey we passed many of the gigantic ant-hills common in some parts of New South Wales. They are great conical heaps of finely worked earth cemented into a hard mass, and from six to ten feet high, with no visible orifice outside, nor did I see a single ant about them, though I closely examined several. I have been told they are the work of a white ant, and, from their magnitude, should suppose them the habitation of a species of termite. When cut open, they display numerous small cells, but on our journey I had neither time nor inclination to destroy and investigate their domestic arrangements myself. The earth of which these ant-

hills are formed, is so finely prepared by the little architects that it is used by the settlers in the neighbourhood as plaster, and frequently as cement for floors. Many various kinds of ants inhabit New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; I know about a dozen species myself. One is a very formidable-looking personage, full an inch long, with a shiny coat of mail gleaming purple and blue, and a threatening sting, which I am told inflicts a most painful wound, as severe as that of the hornet. Besides these are several other large kinds, some entirely black, others with red heads, bodies, or legs. One, with black body and yellow forceps, not only acts on the defensive, but openly attacks any one passing too near him, by jumping at them, and stinging or biting severely; I have often been surprised to observe the distance they can spring when irritated or disturbed. Of the smaller kinds the numbers "are as the sands upon the seashore." They swarm in every part of the bush, and infest houses to an intolerable degree. In our house near Sydney, and also our present residence in Van Diemen's Land, I have been excessively annoyed by them; not an atom of anything sweet can be hidden from their attacks: sideboard, pantry, storeroom, cellar, and kitchen, are all alike besieged by the industrious little torments. They bury themselves in sugar, and drown in jam, cream, custards, or tarts; and their odour and taste are so indescribably nauseous, that their repeated visitations become rather expensive. Setting the forbidden viands in vessels of water seemed a perfect remedy, but still the ants gained access to them, and to my amazement I saw whole squadrons of the tiny black army deliberately marching across the water, and climbing the dishes within. Some particles of dust had no doubt fallen on the surface, and enabled them to step over dry. Ants are certainly most interesting creatures (always providing they preserve a respectful distance from one's grocery and sweetmeats), and in the bush I often watch them with great pleasure and without an idea of disturbing them. One day I observed a bright yellow circle on the ground, and on stooping to see what it might be, discovered a quantity of the golden-coloured petals of a small kind of cistus which grew near, neatly cut up into little bits (about the sixteenth of an inch wide), heaped all round an ant-hole, and crowds of my tiny household foes or their relatives busy

in various ways. Some were running about the low branches of the cistus bushes, carrying fragments of the petals towards the heap; others, busy "getting in" the harvest, would come up the hole, seize on a bit of the treasure, and, with the aid of four or five more, pull it down below. Sometimes two parties would bring their burden just to the opening at the same moment, and as the passage was only wide enough for one set at a time, a furious and determined struggle took place as to which should first succeed, which, like many disputes among larger animals, seemed to make up in violence what it wanted in magnitude. I watched the indefatigable little creatures for some time, until I became quite cramped from my crouching position, and still the same routine of business went on with unabated activity.

"Mais revenons à nos moutons!"— We continued our journey through a wild and barren country, utterly destitute of herbage; the inhospitable Blue Mountains were before, behind, and on either side of us, rising in grand and dreary monotony of form and colour. Forests of tall gum-trees covered them from base to peak, but instead of a beauty in the landscape, these were a deformity. All bore the marks of fire far up their branchless, blackened stems, and in many places the burning had been so recent, that for miles the very earth seemed charred, and not even a stunted shrub had sprung up again. The trees, huge masses of charcoal to all appearance, had no branches till very near the summit, and these bore only a few scattered tufts of rusty leaves, scarcely casting a visible shadow, and affording no shade. The steepest ravines had not the semblance of water in their dry dreary depths, and but for the fearful quagmires and deep holes in the road (which made the utmost care in driving requisite to avoid an upset over the precipice), one would not have thought that rain or dew ever visited this desert region.

The main portion of the road is *bad* beyond an English comprehension; sometimes it consists of natural step-like rocks protruding from the dust or sand one, two, or three feet above each other, in huge slabs the width of the track, and over these "*jumpers*," as they are pleasantly termed, we had to jolt and bump along as we best might. How our springs stood such un wonted exercise is an enigma still; but as a vehicle of the ba-

rouche species, crammed in every imaginable corner with live freight and luggage, had passed the inn whilst we were at breakfast, I am inclined to think that springs in colonial use must be made of sterner stuff than I had hitherto given them credit for.

The track we were now traversing usually winds terrace-wise along the side of a steep mountain, and is barely wide enough anywhere to allow of two vehicles passing each other. All the produce of the settlers in the upper country is conveyed to Sydney by this road, and farm supplies taken up from thence: therefore it is no uncommon thing to meet a train of six or eight heavily laden drays (for the continual depredations of bush-rangers render it advisable that several should travel in company), each drawn by eight, ten, or twelve oxen; and to encounter such a caravan on the narrow mountain road is by no means a desirable incident. The patience and docility of the ox are justly proverbial, but unfortunately colonial drivers are less gifted with these virtues, and their violence, ill-temper, and brutal usage often seem to bewilder the poor weary creatures, who, having no harness but bows and yokes, twist round and entangle themselves, much to their own peril and that of any passing horses or carriages. We once narrowly escaped a serious accident from this cause, by driving down the bank, steep as it was, out of the way.

Two years of desolating drought had preceded our arrival in Sydney, and the melancholy proofs of its ravages among the brute creation met us here at every turn, in the remains of unfortunate oxen, that had perished of want in their toilsome journeys over the mountains, where neither food nor water remained for them; and as the dray-journeys from the distant stations to Sydney occupy from three to six weeks, the lingering, protracted misery endured, even by the wretched animals who survived, is horrible to contemplate. In some places by the road side white skeletons alone remained; farther on we saw other carcasses still covered with hide; then bones again; and so on, continually meeting these terrible proofs of the poor brutes' sufferings and death. It recalled to my mind descriptions I have read of the caravan-tracks in the sandy deserts of Africa, where the bleached bones of animals that have perished in the journey serve as guides to future travellers.

The climate changed materially as we gained the higher re-

gions of the mountains, becoming quite cold, and I gladly wrapped up in cloaks and furs; our companion, who usually drove within hail of us, retired into a grotesque cloak-hood-and-coat sort of a garment, made of the thick furry opossum-skins of the Colony, and looked like an exaggerated Esquimaux, as we caught a glimpse of his portly figure now and then through the thick flurries of sleety rain that swept round us, the sudden squalls being too furious for any umbrella to live in them. So, laughing merrily (when the wind did not take our breath away), we drove briskly on, our destination for the night being the "Weather-board" inn (so named from its being built, like many houses in the Colony, wholly of wood, the walls consisting of thin boards lapped one over another, nailed to upright slabs or posts, and lathed and plastered within). What was my dismay, as I was just ready to alight, cold, tired, and hungry, at the door of this mountain refuge for the destitute, on our being informed that the house was full, and not a sleeping-place to be had! A native settler returning from Sydney to Bathurst with his wife and family were in possession of all the accommodation. These were the occupants of the loaded carriage I had seen, who, with more foresight than ourselves, had pushed on as rapidly as possible in advance, and seized upon the whole establishment. After a short debate it was determined to go on six miles farther, to a smaller hostel, known as "Blind Paddy's," though it was nearly dark, and raining fast. However, on we went, "through bush and through brier," to say nothing of holes and rocks in the road; and in process of time, long after dark, reached our little inn, very wet, and colder and hungrier than ever. A couple of decent elderly women appeared to do the honours, and ushered us into a small but clean whitewashed room, gaily adorned with feathers, shells, and the droll little pictures usually found in such houses: a bright wood-fire was soon crackling and blazing merrily on the white hearth; the homely table was quickly spread with a coarse but snowy cloth, and supper most expeditiously prepared, consisting of the never-failing dish "ham and eggs," chops, damper, tea, and—crowning luxury of all—a dish of hot mealy potatoes, smiling most charmingly through their cracked and peeling skins. Wine in such houses as this is rarely drinkable, but excellent English ale (at 3s. 6d. per quart bottle) is generally found

in them, so that our repast was by no means contemptible, and the air of plain homely cleanliness about the arrangements added to all an unwonted relish.

A tolerable night's rest in a room about the size of our ship-cabin, with a clean dimity bed and window-curtains, and no worse nocturnal visitants than a moderate party of the universal "light infantry," left me quite recruited and ready for setting forth again on our onward journey, after a breakfast very similar to our supper, or rather dinner, of the preceding evening.

Our route still lay through the same wild, monotonous scenery as the day before. The sight of vast mountain-ranges spread all around, folding in and behind each other as if they filled all space, could not be otherwise than *grand* in the extreme, but it was most dreary, desolate grandeur. Trees without foliage, hills and valleys alike destitute of verdure, chasms and ravines yawning beside us, without a thread of water in their arid, stony depths, made up such a world of desolation, that the contemplation of it became absolutely oppressive, and I gladly listened to glowing descriptions of the green and beautiful plains of Bathurst, which we were to reach the following day.

In one place we came to an almost precipitous descent in the road, called "Soldier's Pinch," or "Pitch," most probably from some accident which has happened there. It was a mass of loose stones, continually rolling from under the horses' feet, and so steep as to be very fatiguing even to walk down, which I preferred doing, not being quite reconciled to such roads for driving on. At the foot lay huge masses and heaps of wood, trees of all sizes having been hooked on to the drays at the summit of the Pitch, to prevent their rushing down suddenly, despite locked wheels, and overrunning the unfortunate oxen. If Major Mitchell, when Colonial Surveyor, had turned his attention and directed his men's labour to such places as this, and remedied their dangerous character, he would have rendered great and essential service to the colonists; but in the generality of instances his road has been made where a *good* bush-track formerly existed, and the really bad and dangerous portions remain in very many instances untouched—at least such was the case when I crossed the mountains. I could not avoid noticing likewise, that Major Mitchell's road, wherever originally marked by him, was almost

invariably carried over the summits of hills, whilst level valleys lay within a few hundred feet; and as we proceeded, I looked out for the highest peaks ahead of us, knowing by experience that the surveyor's road would lead us over them. I was informed that a determination to adopt no other person's suggested line of road was the reason of this most inconvenient and fatiguing route being resolved on, and I have since heard that a new survey is to be made, and a more level and rational track marked out.

The only portion of the present road for which I can give Major Mitchell great credit is the Pass of Mount Victoria, by far the most grand and striking scene in this mountain region. As we approached it, a huge barrier of rocks seemed to close up the onward path, till a sudden turn showed us a gorge cut in them, through which we drove, with a high wall of crags on the right hand and the lofty summit of the mount towering up on the left. Another turn brought us out of the chasm, and in full view of a most grand and beautiful landscape. The road was carried (from the opening of the chasm) by an arch and embankment across a deep valley that lay below, called the Vale of Clwydd, and along the side of the opposite mountain, till it gradually reached the level of the valley beyond. We stayed some minutes on the embankment to enjoy the prospect, so refreshing to eyes weary of the dark desolate sterility of the scenes we had just emerged from. On the left hand, the high rocky range of which Mount Victoria forms a part nearly enclosed the narrowing valley, the lower portions being overgrown with gum and wattle (*Acacia*) trees, amidst which grotesque rocks rose up here and there like fantastic ruins. From the deep water-courses that were plainly visible on the mountain-sides, the stream running through the vale must sometimes be considerable; but at the time we passed it was dry, and its tolerably green banks, shadowed by groups of graceful young gum-trees, had quite a smooth and lawn-like aspect as compared with the rough country around. On the right hand the same long range of precipitous rugged heights continued, stretching away to the north-east; and safely girdled by their fortress-like and frowning walls lay the pretty vale of Clwydd.

Clustering richly about the shrubs near Mount Victoria I first observed the lovely "native indigo" of New South Wales (*Kenne-*

dia ovata?). It is a delicate little climbing plant, with slender stems, long, narrow, blunt leaves, and a profuse quantity of small, violet-blue pea-shaped flowers, growing in long sprays, and completely clothing any bush or fence where it flourishes. We had alighted on the archway, to enjoy the view at leisure, and I, as usual, indulged my rambling and scrambling propensities by a descent into the ravine below, where I found many lovely flowering shrubs, including some dozen species of acacia, some of them very fragrant.

A large gang of convicts were stationed here road-making, and several of them importuned us for money or tobacco, showing such truly villainous countenances that the idea of being waylaid by bush-rangers gained tenfold horror, and the knowledge that many were out made me often look very earnestly at a misshapen gum-log or crooked tree, fancy transforming it to "a highwayman, with pistols as long as my arm." In one place, we met a couple of soldiers in search of some newly-escaped convicts; they were running about in a half-stooping position, peeping and thrusting their fixed bayonets into every thin bush and low tussock of grass where a man could not by any possibility be hidden, with most valorous resolves no doubt, but cutting rather a ludicrous figure. I am not aware if they succeeded in their chace, but have strong suspicions that they did not.

A comparatively level road succeeded to the grand mountain pass, and we journeyed on to our mid-day resting-place, called the "Rivulet," the little stream at this place being by some remarkable accident rightly named. A new, glaringly smart-looking inn here promised tolerable accommodation; it was as fine as twenty differently coloured kinds of paint could make it. Panellings and "pickings-out" of rainbow hues were set off by pillars of imitative and varnished marble, the like of which no quarry ever knew; and these again, touched up with bronze-paint and gilding, gleamed in the sun with almost dazzling lustre. A good veranda led by French windows to the two front rooms, into which I walked, without seeing any inhabitants or attendants. A few gaudily painted chairs, a small bad mirror in a large gilt frame thickly shrouded in yellow gauze, and a new cedar table

covered with tobacco-ashes and liquor-stains, composed the furniture of either apartment. After a long and ineffectual sonata on the hand-bell (no other description being seen, save in a very few of the very best colonial houses), just as I began to despair of its power, a young girl shuffled along the hall from some of the back settlements, and holding fast by the door-handle, for she was almost too much intoxicated to stand, took my orders for luncheon, and after many vain attempts at length succeeded in wiping the table with a ragged, very dirty apron. Her dull light-coloured hair hung in matted tangles about her neck and ears; her dress was disordered, torn, and dirty; and her face bloated and stupid from the effects of drink;—never did drunkenness wear a more revolting aspect, and I felt relieved when the wretched creature left the room. My companions had a similar tale to tell of the male portion of the establishment; every soul was drunk, and it was some time before they could arouse any one to attend to the horses. The same unfortunate girl I had before seen, laid our cloth, and brought what we wanted, or rather what we could get, for I imagine the copious libations indulged in by the whole household had made them regardless of eating, and the larder was accordingly very ill supplied. Bread and a few eggs (positively without ham!), which our ministering Bacchante rolled on the floor as she staggered in with them, formed our repast, but she took pains to impress upon us the pleasing assurance that "There was plenty o' ale an' sperrits."

We strolled down to the banks of the little rivulet, where I found many beautiful flowering shrubs, and the verdure of the adjacent little flats showed how excellent a garden might be made there, but I fear never will; idleness and drinking are such besetting sins, and money to provide them both so easily earned by "keeping a public" in this Colony, that nothing demanding bodily exertion is attempted. Meat can run about and feed itself on the wild hills, and flour they can buy; fruit and vegetables they "don't heed," as they would demand some little labour to produce.

As we returned towards the house, I looked at it again, as it stood in raw, shiny, comfortless newness, like a great toy freshly unpacked. Behind it lay a crowd of dirty, old, ruinous hovels,

that formerly served in its stead, and still were used as outhouses, stables, &c., all broken, and half unthatched. All the fences within sight exhibited the same dilapidated aspect, whilst ash-heaps and other less sightly things lay all around. How different would be the state of almost everything in this Colony, were that greatest curse man ever created out of God's good gifts, intoxicating liquor, less easily obtained by those who *ought* to be the industrious and prosperous, but, alas! too generally *are* the idle and worthless part of the community. Time, money, character, decency, feeling, principle, ambition, and honesty—all are sacrificed to the demoralizing passion for rum, when once it gains the ascendancy; and to know how often that is, we need only observe and listen to the sad evidence so continually passing around us. I perhaps praise the tidy appearance and good cookery of a friend's servant: "Ah! yes, she is an excellent cook, but we can so seldom keep her *sober*." The coachman of another seems quite a model for his class, till you hear he is so confirmed a drunkard that his mistress dares not trust him to drive her home alone from a party. Another family have an honest old "major-domo," faithful and good in every other point; may be trusted with "untold gold," but not with a bottle of rum. It is a universal failing, and a really sober servant or mechanic may consequently be held as a pearl of great price. Age and sex make no difference; your dainty lady's-maid or pretty young nurse-girl is just as likely to be over-liberal in her libations to Bacchus as your groom or shoeblack; and no threats, no bribes, no punishments avail to keep the besotted creatures from the dram-bottle, if it be by any means or in any shape accessible. I have known a female servant drink camphorated spirits of wine, and suspect the same individual of consuming a pint of hartshorn which mysteriously disappeared about the same time from my room; its evident strength being no doubt too tempting. Eau de Cologne and lavender-water, I know, they drink whenever they are left about, or anything else believed to contain spirit. The universality of this vice is most dreadful to contemplate, and far worse to witness and endure. Almost the only exceptions among the lower classes are the families of English emigrants, who, accustomed to poor living and hard work at home, continue sober and industrious, thankful for the many hitherto unknown

comforts and luxuries they can enjoy, and carefully and fearfully abstaining from all excess. Of this class I have known excellent examples, both old and young, male and female, and can only hope that in time their better and wiser course may be appreciated and emulated by other portions of this now numerous population.

CHAPTER IX.

"Hassan's Walls"—Grass-trees—Mount Lambey—Victoria Inn—Specimen of Benevolent Politeness—Colonial Bridges—First View of Bathurst—The "Settlement"—Dearth—Climate—Hot Winds—Processions of Whirlwinds—Hurricanes.

OUR road now lay over hilly ground again, sometimes skirted by live trees and a slight semblance of herbage, and often approaching in wild and sterile grandeur the scenery we had before traversed. A singular range of perpendicular cliffs form a striking feature in the landscape at a place called "Hassan's Walls." These walls or cliffs rise, I should think, to a height of about 300 feet perpendicularly above the road, and their summits, broken and fissured in various fantastic forms, exactly resemble a ruined castle crowning the brow of the sheer precipice, with here and there a stunted tree or graceful shrub growing from crevices in the dark rock. Had I been travelling in an old country, I should at once have decided that these were truly the ruins of some mighty mountain-fortress of former days; loopholes, arches, battlements, and buttresses were, as it seemed, so clearly remaining, and extending far along the airy heights of these genii-haunted crags, for such I half fancied them, especially when a turn in the road gave to view a colossal head standing well out against the clear, bright, blue sky, and bearing a strong resemblance to the venerable and veteran Duke of Wellington. We paused to contemplate the rude though striking likeness; and then, as we slowly drove on, the features changed, and a judge with a flowing wig stood frowning down on us; another turn, and another change came over the mountain statue, and then it again resolved itself into a mere turret of the hoary

ruin. I thought of the mysterious castle of St. John,* with its wizard transformations, and of how much romance would attach to these fantastic crags in a romantic or legendary country; but the existence of poetry or imagination in New South Wales is what none who know and have felt the leaden influence of its ledger and day-book kind of atmosphere would believe it guilty of suffering.

The grass-tree (*Xanthorrhæa arborea?*) is one of the most strikingly novel plants I observed in our mountain journey, and is common in most hilly or rocky places both in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. A young grass-tree appears merely a large reedy-leaved plant without a stem, the leaves being very long, narrow, and sharp, and growing erect for a foot or more, then curving over and nearly touching the ground, forming a thick boss or circle; but as the tree becomes older, the lower circles of leaves drop off, the young growth all rising from the centre; and in time a thick stem appears, from one to eight or ten feet in height, and two feet in circumference, rough with the scars left by the fallen leaves, and bearing on its summit an immense drooping cluster of foliage, which reminded me of a palm-tree (although, it must be confessed, by rather a clumsy resemblance). From the centre of this cluster the scape rises like an enormous bullrush or typha, frequently measuring ten feet and

* " Midmost of the vale, a mound
Arose, with airy turrets crown'd,
Buttress, and rampire's circling bound,
And mighty keep and tower.
Seem'd some primeval giant's hand
The castle's massive walls had plann'd.

* * * * *
But the grey walls no banners crown'd;
Upon the watch-tower's airy round
No warder stood his horn to sound;
No guard beside the bridge was found;
And where the Gothic gateway frown'd,
Glanc'd neither bill nor bow.

* * * * *
This dismal keep,
Which well he guess'd the hold
Of wizard stern, or goblin grim,
Or Pagan of gigantic limb,
The tyrant of the wold."

For the magic and gramoury of the Castle, *vide* Sir Walter Scott's 'Bridal of Triermain.'

more in height, the spike being about a foot long, of a yellowish brown colour. Groups of this very singular plant often give a picturesque and somewhat Oriental aspect to an otherwise uninteresting landscape, some being old, crooked and deformed, hump-backed and knobby; others erect and stately, bearing their verdure like a royal diadem; whilst the young ones, sitting close to the ground in all humility, look up to their patriarchal neighbours with the patient hope of one day rivalling their nobler growth. A resinous gum exudes from the grass-tree, said to resemble in great measure the "dragon's blood" prepared from the *Pterocarpus* and *Calamus*. Boiled with oil, it has, I believe, been successfully used for covering the bottom of vessels, instead of pitch. I have also heard that the natives cut out the pith of the trunk to eat.

The next point of our route having any claim to the picturesque was the rocky ravine at Cox's River; the sight of clear running water is always pleasant, but nowhere more delightful than in so dry and thirsty a clime as this. The ruins of numerous huts, formerly occupied by a convict-gang at this spot, gave it rather a desolate look; but the clear little brook (for such in England should we call this river) gurgling merrily over its pebbly bed, had a sweet music in its voice that made me forget all disagreeables. We tasted, and then crossed it, and immediately began the steep ascent of Mount Lambey, which rises abruptly from the river's bank. This mount had been the highest point in our landscape all day, and accordingly, despising all humbler and easier tracks, over its very summit passes Major Mitchell's vaunted road. Seven long miles of climbing were before us, up as bare, sterile a mountain as ever gloomed on a wayfarer's path. The rock is a splintery slate, not unlike many in old South and North Wales, and its dark grey and purple hue, stained in places with a rusty tinge, gave a dismal monotony to the scene, which scarcely a shrub or herb appeared to relieve.

An inn has very wisely been built half-way up this inhospitable mountain, and there, at the auspicious sign of the Queen Victoria, we purposed remaining the night, which was fast approaching, for the rapid departure of twilight leaves little time after sunset available for travelling. After a weary pull of four miles, the gracious countenance of our fair Queen (somewhat

libelled by the artist, it is true) beamed on our most loyal and rejoiced eyes from amidst a chaos of crown, sceptre, red drapery, and ermine; and our tired horses, after a last resolute effort, stopped at the inn door. At the same moment we heard a hand-bell sharply and loudly rung within, and after a minute's delay the landlord appeared at our summons, with the pleasing intelligence that he was very sorry indeed, but he could not accommodate us. As it was impossible to proceed farther in this case, there being no other habitation within a long stage, and our horses knocked up, Mr. Meredith and Mr. Campbell declared their determination to stay at all events; and again questioned the landlord, who then admitted his own willingness to receive us (and who of his class ever voluntarily rejected good customers?), which he could easily do at some trifling inconvenience, but Mrs. — (whose party had the preceding evening excluded us from the "Weather-board") was there, and the instant we stopped had *ordered* that no one else should be admitted, as they had taken *all the house!* This most overbearing monopoly, however, did not prevent our being comfortably installed in a snug little parlour, and a tolerable bed-room, which some of the landlord's family vacated for us, whilst the sofa in the sitting-room was made up into a bed for our companion. I am well aware that had we been known at the time, the conduct of this "lady" would have been very different; but at such an hour, and in such a place, no woman possessed of common humanity would have desired to turn a beggar from the door. The pride of wealth, unmixed with aught of better or nobler feeling, is too often the sole and engrossing principle and characteristic of persons raised by some fortunate chance to that kind of rank which in these Colonies, where the worship of Mammon reigns triumphantly, is at once accorded to the *rich*: "What *has* he?" not "What *is* he?" being the test; and this petty superiority is often the foundation of absurd and selfish importance, of which the above trifling incident is an apt illustration.

I am happy to say we found the members of this royal establishment sober, industrious, and civil; a most welcome contrast to the inn at the Rivulet, and, despite our unpropitious reception, were tolerably comfortable.

The following morning we again set forth, and after complet-

ing the ascent of Mount Lambey, proceeded to descend its opposite side, a far more pleasing task, especially as the surrounding country gradually assumed a less wild and inhospitable aspect. There is one little peculiarity in Colonial bridges, at least those usually met with on roads like the one of which I am treating, which it may be proper to mention; namely, that it is always far safer to plunge into the stream, morass, or ravine they stretch across, and wade or scramble out the best way you can, horses, carriage, and all, than to trust their treacherous and far more dangerous conveniency, for, like the celebrated bridge planned by Jack the Giant-killer for the destruction of the two-headed Thundel, they are apt to part company just as the passenger has passed too far to recede. In one place I remember seeing men erecting a stone bridge, with strong, good masonry; but the usual contrivance of a few long poles, covered with turfs, is far from satisfactory.

We rested about mid-day at a tidy public-house, which, although the fair hostess is believed to suffer from the prevailing thirst after strong drinks, we found very neat and clean; the miniature apartments set forth with bright Birmingham tea-trays, conch-shells, and the beautiful tail of the lyre pheasant, whilst the whitewashed walls and dimity curtains preserved their purity most surprisingly in this fly-tormented country. We had experienced the effects of the drought in the exorbitant charges made for the horses at every place we stopped at; and here, for a few handfuls of bad hay, ten shillings were added to the other items of the bill.

Journeying on, we arrived in process of time at the spot whence the first view of those lovely and verdant plains of Bathurst, of which I had heard so much, was to greet my delighted eyes.

“There, look! Do you not see them through the trees?”

I did look, anxiously and eagerly, directing my eye-glass towards every point of the compass in succession; still nothing green could I discern, but on a nearer approach beheld a wide extent of brown earth, with occasional flurries of dust passing across it; and this was all that remained of the so-vaunted Bathurst Plains! Every blade of grass and every green herb had disappeared during the drought, and a dry desert usurped their place, whilst a few thin, weak, widely-separated little roots of dry,

withering everlastings (*Gnaphalium*) were the only things bearing the semblance of vegetation. It was very dreary!

We drove along the tedious road across the plains, which just undulate enough in places to prevent a person from seeing entirely over them, and that is all; no hill, grove, or tree, scarcely a bush, breaks the heavy, weary monotony, till the tired eye rests on the dim outline of the distant hills. At length a few straggling houses and a church showed us that we approached the settlement; but as this is divided into two portions about a mile asunder, with the deep channel which is sometimes (water permitting) the river Macquarie between them, we had yet farther to go. The second division of the township contains the gaol, police-office, female factory, barracks, Scotch chapel, and bank, with several stores and small shops of a most heterogeneous character, where you may find iron pots, writing-paper, blonde lace, fire-arms, Dutch cheese, "P. coats," crockery, and various other commodities, though very rarely the one article you require. The private dwellings are of all grades, but chiefly of the smaller class; and the public-houses, as compared with the others, very numerous.

The bank, then the residence of near relatives, was our destination, and most welcome to me were the happy quiet and rest of the next few days, after our not very long, but tedious and fatiguing journey.

Bathurst, being the last township on the "up-country road," is comparatively a place of some importance, and frequently visited by settlers from the less civilized districts beyond, to whom it is a kind of half-way metropolis, as well as being in their direct road to Sydney, whence there is a mail-cart twice a week (the distance being 120 miles); a strange-looking two-wheeled vehicle, carrying the post, the driver, and two passengers when required. Travelling both night and day, and over the chief part of the delectable roads I have faintly described, at a hand-gallop, it is not exactly the conveyance to be selected by nervous or comfortable persons. How the whole concern escapes destruction, at least once a week, seems miraculous; but with the favourite bush assurance of "No fear, Sir!" away they go, driving at the pace of a hunt over ground that would make a steeple-chaser look twice; and if there be no fear, there is certainly far less danger

than might be supposed, for I do not remember hearing of above half a dozen accidents during our residence in the Colony.

We found Bathurst still suffering severely from the devastating and ruinous consequences of the terrible drought. Every article of food was extremely dear, and nothing good could be procured at any price. Meat was lean to starvation, and flour liberally adulterated with various cheaper ingredients; vegetables there were none; butter and milk had long been but a name; and all horse corn, hay, &c., so extremely scarce, and exorbitantly dear, that the neighbouring families had for some time ceased to use their carriage-horses, the poor animals not having strength to perform any work. The cost of a horse at livery was then one pound per night, and it had recently been two pounds. Visiting Bathurst under such peculiarly unfavourable circumstances, I could not be expected to form any very high opinion of its beauties or advantages; every one told me how very charming a place it had always been, and so I am bound to believe it was, and may be again; but as I saw it, the inevitable impression on my mind was of a most dreary and displeasing character. Its position, in the middle of a large plain, some twenty miles across, combines many disadvantages, one of the greatest being the distance which all the fire-wood used in the settlement has to be brought, and its consequent high price; one pound being given for a small load, which in most places in the Colony, where it costs nothing, would not serve for more than a winter day's consumption in a moderately-sized household (indeed I believe *more* is burned in our kitchen alone), but here a much greater economy is necessary; and as the cold is often as extreme here in winter as the heat is in summer, the scarcity of fuel is a serious evil.

I found the climate of Bathurst still less pleasant than that of Sydney, as in the latter place, however oppressive be the heat, the mid-day sea-breeze moderates it in some degree; but the plains of Bathurst (although considerably elevated), being shut in on all sides by lofty ranges of mountains, must endure without any relief their own oven-like atmosphere, the temperature of which is frequently increased tenfold by a "hot wind," when it seems as if a fiery blast from a huge furnace pervaded all space around, rushing into the house through every opening with the force of a hurricane. My English habit of flinging wide open all doors

and windows in warm weather, I here found (as a matter of course, so near the antipodes) a most imprudent course to pursue; as the only chance of preserving a moderately endurable existence during the continuance of the sirocco is, immediately on its approach to shut every door and window, and with closely-drawn blinds to await, as patiently and movelessly as half-suffocated mortals may be expected to do, the abatement of the terrible visitation. With us, however, a few hours of faintness, thirst, and misery generally comprise the whole evil (though sometimes the hot winds blow almost without intermission for several days), but the luckless fields and gardens escape not so easily. Every green thing looks as if a salamander had been held over it, either drooping and dying, or dried up like half-burned paper. I have seen large tracts of cultivated land, covered with luxuriant green crops of wheat, barley, or oats just going into ear, scorched, shrivelled, absolutely blackened by the heat, and fit for nothing but to cut as bad litter. Less important, though extremely vexatious, is the destruction caused in gardens, where the most delicate and beautiful flowers are ever the first to wither under the burning breath of this fervid Air-king.

These siroccos always blow from the north-west, and by some persons are supposed to derive their heat from tracts of unknown deserts in the intertropical regions of this island-continent. Their power is felt strongly, though less frequently, in Van Diemen's Land. One might almost fancy the Ancient Mariner to have experienced one during his ghostly voyage, he so accurately describes their aspect:—

“ All in a hot and copper sky
The bloody sun at noon
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the moon.”

I several times observed at Bathurst a phenomenon by no means unusual on the large plains of New South Wales, in dry weather, being a procession across them of tall columns of dust—whirlwinds in fact, which preserve a nearly uniform diameter throughout their whole length, the upper end seeming to vanish off, or puff away like light smoke, and the lower apparently touching the earth. They move in a perpendicular position, quietly and majestically gliding along one after another, seeming, at the

distance I saw them, to be from seventy to a hundred feet high, and about twenty broad. Thus viewed, they do not appear to travel particularly fast, but Mr. Meredith tells me he has vainly endeavoured to keep pace with them for a short time, even when mounted on a fleet horse. When they are crossing a brook or river, the lower portion of the dust is lost sight of, and a considerable agitation disturbs the water, but immediately on landing the same appearance is resumed. As some vanish, others imperceptibly arise, and join the giant-waltz; and when I first observed this most singular display, I amused myself by fancying them a new species of genii relaxing from their more laborious avocations, and having a sedate and stately dance all to themselves. When the dance ends, these dusty performers always appear to sit down among the neighbouring hills.

I never heard of these gregarious whirlwinds being at all mischievous; they only pick up dust, leaves, little sticks, or other light bodies, which whirl round in them with great velocity; but other and far more terrible visitations occur in the hurricanes, which, like those of the western world, devastate the tract of country over which they pass. Mr. Meredith, in returning from his visit to the Murrumbidgee, encountered one of the most fearful of these terrific tempests. At Bathurst on the same day we had a violent thunder-storm, with a heavy fall of rain and large hailstones, but the fury of the tempest passed chiefly near the river Abercrombie. I shall avail myself of my husband's observations in his own words:—

“I have often seen the effects of former hurricanes in New South Wales, the indications being the total destruction of all trees in the course the hurricane had taken, which course I generally observed to be from the north-west. The length to which the devastation extended I had no opportunity of estimating, but the breadth averaged from 400 to 800 yards. On one occasion I saw the spot where a hurricane had terminated in a whirlwind. My companion and myself had ridden for some distance along the path it had pursued, the direction of which was plainly indicated by the trees it had uprooted in its course all lying one way; the termination was as plainly shown by a circle, in which the trees lay *all* ways; and such is their partiality, or rather, so clearly are the boundaries of both hurricane and whirlwind defined, that

in cases where the blast did not reach the trunk of a tree, the branches were torn off from one side, without uprooting the stem.

“In the beginning of November, 1839, I was journeying from Goulburn to Bathurst by the direct route of the Abercrombie river, through a wild country, covered almost entirely with forests of very lofty gum-trees. On my departure from Mr. M'Allister's station in the morning, the wind was blowing strong, and the sky betokened tempestuous weather. As the day advanced, the gusts of wind became more and more violent, occasionally bringing down the branch of a tree. When I had arrived within three or four miles of the Abercrombie river the air became suddenly warm, and a few flashes of vivid lightning accompanied by loud thunder denoted the approach of a storm. A strong instinctive sensation of fear came over me, such as I never before experienced; and in a short time, perhaps a minute, I heard a strange, loud, rushing noise; the air grew rapidly dark and thick, and my horse was evidently, like myself, under the influence of intense fear, and trembling violently. I exclaimed (although alone), ‘This is a hurricane!’ and jumped off my horse at the *end* of a fallen tree; the poor animal endeavoured to shelter himself by backing under a growing tree, which I prevented by a violent pull at his bridle, and then for the space of a minute or two saw nothing; the hurricane, for such it was, had reached me, and everything was in total darkness. I fell on my knees, still holding my horse's bridle. The roaring, crashing sound was deafening, but it soon passed by, and the atmosphere again became clear enough to admit of my observing surrounding objects. My horse and myself stood alone in what a few seconds before had been a high and dense forest; every tree was prostrate, either broken or uprooted, including the one from under which I had luckily pulled my horse, its ponderous trunk lying within a few feet of us. Fortunately the track of the hurricane was in the same direction as that in which the fallen tree lay at the end of which I dismounted, and thus the small space was left which saved us both. Immediately that the hurricane had swept by, the rain fell in torrents, exceeding anything I ever witnessed in the tropics, and a heavy gale continued for two days.”

The horse Mr. Meredith had with him then, a beautiful creature, and a great favourite, retained an evident recollection of *his* terror in the hurricane long after—indeed, until we parted with him, on leaving the Colony. If a branch of a tree only lay before him in the road, or a twig blew across him, he would look fearfully at it, start, snort, and tremble, which, as he never used to notice such things before the occasion above mentioned, we believed to be the result of some remembrance or association in his mind. Perhaps the term *mind* is wrong as applied to a brute, however noble in nature, but this evident memory seems something above instinct.

CHAPTER X.

Bathurst Society and Hospitality—"White Rock"—Native Dance and Ceremony—Kangaroo Dance—Appearance of Natives—Children—"Gins;" their marriage-slavery and sufferings—Family Dinner-party—Adopted Children—Infanticide—Religion—"Devil-devil"—Language—Story of Hougong and Jimmy—"Ay, Ay?"—Duties of the Toilet—Native Songs—Mimicry—Fondness for English Dress—Boundary Laws—Legal Parricide—Habitual Treachery.

It savours strongly of an Irishism to say so, but the chief inhabitants of Bathurst live at some distance from it; many of the wealthy, and also higher class of settlers, having farms and good residences within a few miles, which renders the society superior to that of Colonial settlements in general. Nearly all are situated on the verge of the plains, combining both the flat and hilly country in their surrounding scenery, and their gardens and vineyards, which at the time we were there were slowly recovering their former verdure and luxuriance, seemed morsels of a brighter world, when compared with the arid waste around the township. Among these the pretty and picturesque residence of our good and venerable friend Captain Piper is as much distinguished by its beautiful situation as by the long-proved worth and hospitality of its owner, than whom I heard of no person in New South Wales more universally respected. Hospitality is so general a feature in Australian society, and I remember with so much pleasure the kind attentions which I, as a "stranger in the land," received for my husband's sake, that only a very remarkable pre-eminence would induce me to break my prescribed rule of abstaining from all personal allusions in these pages.

About three miles from Bathurst, near a pretty cottage on the Macquarie (in a district chiefly granite), is a singular group of low rocks rising abruptly from the turf of the plains, and perfectly white; they appeared to me to be masses of pure quartz, of which many specimens occur a few miles higher up the river.

Pebbles of very clear quartz crystal are sometimes found in the neighbourhood, but the natives search for them so successfully, that I only picked up one or two small ones.

These crystals, although by no means rare, are preserved as "charms" by the Aborigines, being given to them by their doctors, or "Croodjees," after a variety of ceremonies, which Mr. Meredith describes to me as highly absurd, he having been present at the rites, when performed by a tribe at Dundunemawl on the Macquarie, about forty miles below Wellington Valley. Great preparations were made, as for a grand Corrobory, or festival, the men divesting themselves of even the portions of clothing commonly worn, and painting their naked black bodies in a hideous manner with pipe-clay. After dark they lit their fires, which are small, but kept blazing with constant additions of dry bark and leaves, and the sable gentry assembled by degrees as they completed their evening toilettes, *full dress* being painted nudity. A few began dancing in different parties, preparatory to the grand display, and the women, squatting on the ground, commenced their strange monotonous chant, each beating accurate time with two boomerangs. Then began the grand corrobory, and all the men joined in the dance, leaping, jumping, bounding about in the most violent manner, but always in strict unison with each other, and keeping time with the chorus, accompanying their wild gesticulations with frightful yells and noises. The whole "tableau" is fearfully grand: the dark wild forest scenery around—the bright fire-light gleaming upon the savage and uncouth figures of the men, their natural dark hue being made absolutely horrible by the paintings bestowed on them, consisting of lines and other marks done in white and red pipe-clay, which give them an indescribably ghastly and fiendish aspect—their strange attitudes, and violent contortions and movements, and the unearthly sound of their yells, mingled with the wild and monotonous wail-like chant of the women, make altogether a very near approach to the horribly sublime, in the estimation of most Europeans who have witnessed an assembly of the kind. In the midst of the performance on this occasion, two men advanced, bearing between them a large piece of bark, about six feet high and three feet wide, rudely painted with red and white clay, the design consisting of a straight line

down the middle, and diagonal ones thickly marked on each side. The exhibition of this wonderful and mystic specimen of art caused extreme excitement and admiration, and the bearers held it in the midst of the dancers, who bounded and yelled around it with redoubled energy. Presently the oldest "Crodjee" present approached the charmed bark, and walked slowly round and round, examining it in every part, and then carefully smelling it, up and down, before, behind, and on all sides, with grave and reverential demeanour. This was to "find where the charms lay," which charms, consisting of small crystals, he had of course concealed about his person. After a great deal of smelling and snuffing, he commenced violently sucking a part of the bark, and, after some other manœuvres, spat out a "charm" into his hand, and went on sucking for as many as were then required.

These charmed crystals are kept with great care by the possessor, his wife usually having charge of the treasure, which she carries in the family "wardrobe," and the loss of one is esteemed an awful calamity. The charm-sucking ceremony takes place at the full moon, the time generally chosen by the natives for such celebrations. In this instance the Crodjee's part of the performance was very clumsily done, and Mr. Meredith asked one of the men, the following day, "if he were such a fool as to believe that the Crodjee really sucked the crystals out of the bark?" The fellow winked, nodded, and looked wondrously wise, and intimated that *he* certainly *knew* better, but that it would not do to *say* so. And thus is fraud perpetuated, alike by savage and by civilized men, and thus ever do policy and expediency take the place of truth and honesty!

One of the aboriginal dances is called "the Kangaroo dance," and one man, wearing a long tail, drops down on his hands and feet, pretending to graze, starting to look about, and mimicking the demeanour of the animal as nearly as possible; the others, in the character of dogs and hunters, performing their part of the play in a circle round him, at a very short distance.

The natives I saw at Bathurst were less ugly and better proportioned than I expected; the men being far superior to the women, though none of them are tall or largely made; six feet is a most extraordinary size among them. The sable picanninies were naked, long-armed, large-stomached, little bodies, giving

one the idea of a new sort of spider; I never had seen a black child before, and did not see enough of them then to familiarize me with the novelty. Several of the men knew Mr. Meredith, and whilst I was one day making some purchase in a store, one of them accosted him at the door, pointing at the same time to me. "Lady there, that Gin 'long o' you?—Ay, Ay?" "Yes, that's my Gin."—"Ay, Ay?" Then somewhat banteringlly, "Bel you got Gin (you have no Gin); poor fellow you—you no Gin!" A "poor fellow" meaning a bachelor, and the possession of a wife, among them, being in fact equivalent to keeping a servant, as the unfortunate Gins perform all the labour.

Judging from what I have heard, I imagine that their marriage-customs are as truly *savage* as any other of their strange ceremonies. Polygamy is general among all who can attain the desirable wealth of several wives, though few have more than two living with them at one time.

Female children are sometimes "promised" in infancy to their future husbands (frequently decrepit old men), and others appear to be taken by means of force and ill usage, as is the case among many savage nations. The men are always tyrannical, and often brutally cruel to their unfortunate wives, who really seem to occupy as miserable and debased a position, in *every* respect, as it is possible for human beings to do. I never before heard of, or could have conceived, any state so pitiable and so utterly degraded. If some of the zealous Missionaries of whom we hear so much were to endeavour to raise the moral and social condition of these wretched creatures, and to teach them a few of the simple principles and virtues of Christianity, they would indeed be worthily employed.

Severe personal chastisement is among the lesser grievances of the poor Gins. One day Mr. Meredith saw one of them crying most bitterly, and asked what was the matter. She replied, that she was going to get a beating because she had accidentally broken her husband's "pyook" (pipe). Mr. Meredith directly went to the fellow, and tried to dissuade him from his brutal purpose; but in vain, unless another pyook were given him, on which condition he would let her off. Unfortunately there was not one to be procured; and notwithstanding all my husband's persuasions, and his representations to the black tyrant of the simple fact,

that even if he killed his wife, that would not make him a new pipe, he remained doggedly sulky, and the next morning the poor Gin appeared with her *arm broken*, from the cruel beating he had given her with a thick stick. Such instances are of frequent occurrence.

These poor unhappy wretches are *slaves*, in every social sense, and are not even permitted to feed but at their husband's pleasure, and off the offal he may choose to fling them, although on them devolves the chief care of providing the materials for the repast. Two meals a day is the full allowance of the natives; but as they cook all they have for supper, and gorge themselves then to their utmost ability, breakfast depends on the possible remains of the feast. Their usual food consists of kangaroos and opossums roasted whole, without any portion being rejected; and they greedily devour garbage, entrails, &c. of any kind they can pick up, quantity rather than quality being the desideratum as regards provisions. Sometimes they feed more daintily, procuring turtle, fish, wild turkeys' eggs, guanans, snakes, and some large kinds of grubs, which are reckoned great luxuries. Occasionally the women dig up a bitter hot root, not unlike a bad radish, which serves them for a meal, in default of better viands.

Each family have their own fire, round which they sit to eat. The husband first takes the opossum, &c., tears it to pieces and gnaws off his own favourite morsels from the joints, which he then hands over his shoulder to his wife, who waits patiently behind him; and should food be scarce, her supper is a tolerably light one. The children are "helped" much in the same manner; and when, either from having eaten as much as they can, or all they have, the family have finished their repast, they crouch round the fire and go to sleep.

The single men, emphatically termed "poor fellows," have one fire in common; and with them, as with the family group, it is a point of etiquette to hand round their half-gnawed bones to one another.

Great fondness is usually displayed by parents for their children (if they survive the perils of infancy), and instances have often occurred of a couple, who had several little ones of their own, adopting some poor friendless orphan, and freely bestowing on

it an equal share of their scanty food. Such cases I have known frequently among the *poor* at home: they who have least to give, and are consequently most intimate with the misery of want, have the greatest compassion and charity for fellow-sufferers.

Although they appear to treat their children kindly when they can in some measure help themselves, yet infanticide is frequent among the women, who often dislike the trouble of taking care of their babies, and destroy them immediately after birth, saying that "Yahoo," or "Devil-devil," took them. One woman, whom Mr. Meredith saw a day or two after the birth of her baby, on being asked where it was, replied with perfect nonchalance, "I believe Dingo patta!"—*She believed the dog had eaten it!* Numbers of the hapless little beings are no doubt disposed of by their unnatural mothers in a similar manner.

I never could make out anything of their religious ideas, or even if they had a comprehension of a beneficent Supreme Being; but they have an *evil* spirit, which causes them great terror, whom they call "Yahoo," or "Devil-devil:" he lives in the tops of the steepest and rockiest mountains, which are totally inaccessible to all human beings, and comes down at night to seize and run away with men, women, or children, whom he eats up, children being his favourite food; and this superstition is used doubtless as a cloak to many a horrid and revolting crime committed by the wretched and unnatural mothers, who nearly always, when their infants disappear, say "Yahoo" took them. They never can tell which way he goes by his tracks, because he has the power of turning his feet in any direction he pleases, but usually wears them heels first, or, as they express it, "Mundoe that-a-way, cобра *that-a-way*" (feet going one way, and head or face pointing the other). The name Devil-devil is of course borrowed from our vocabulary, and the doubling of the phrase denotes how terrible or intense a devil he is; that of Yahoo, being used to express a bad spirit, or "Bugaboo," was common also with the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, and is as likely to be a coincidence with, as a loan from, Dean Swift; just as their word "*coolar*," for anger, very nearly approaches in sound our word *choler*, with a like meaning.

I have seen a vocabulary of the language used by the native tribes near Adelaide, together with a few particulars touching

their superstitions and customs,* but the words wholly differ from those used to express the same thing by the tribes about Bathurst, Goulburn, and the Murrumbidgee. I have been told by a friend of Mr. Meredith's, who had made himself thoroughly acquainted with many of the tribes, and was known among them as the "chief who spoke their tongue," that great diversity of dialects exists among them—not slight variations merely, but a distinctly different vocabulary, of which he gave me many striking instances. As my few examples of their patois will show, the natives who are acquainted with the settlers soon acquire a curiously composite tongue, where English words sometimes masquerade in most novel meanings, but so arranged as to be very soon understood, especially if used to beg anything.

In all the tribes some particularly solemn ceremonies are performed previously to a youth's being permitted to rank among the warriors, or "men;" but these take place in a very secret manner, not even the women being present. One of the initiatory rites, as practised among some tribes, is the knocking out one of the novice's front teeth.

The natives pay great respect to old age; that, and valour, comprising the only distinctions of rank allowed among them. The best fighting man is the chief or head of his tribe, and in case of his death, the next best takes his place, and inherits his wives. The other warriors and the old men form a sort of council, which is convened as occasion demands, when peace, war, and all other points of importance are discussed and decided upon.

A man named Hougong was some time chief of a Maneroo tribe, and another, called Jimmy the Rover, was second-best man. Jimmy mortally hated Hougong, but contrived to conceal his animosity under the mask of extreme friendliness, which, as his chief was no doubt as great an adept at hypocrisy as himself, was of little consequence. One day Jimmy went to a stock-keeper in the neighbourhood, to propose that he should ask them both to go duck-shooting, and requesting the loan of two guns, one of which should be loaded with ball, for himself, the other with powder only, for Hougong. "Well, me and Hougong go

* In a paper by John Philip Gell, Esq., of Hobart Town, published in the Second Number of the 'Tasmanian Journal.'

out look for duck, ay, ay. Bel make-a-light duck!—Den me pialla Hougong—‘ Good many time you want fight along o’ me ; *now* fight, like it white man, along o’ musket.’ Well, me pialla—‘ You shoot first time.’ Well, that fellow shoot. ‘ Ah ! you ’tupid fellow, bel hit it !’ Den me shoot ; directly tumble down Hougong !”

Which notable speech, rendered into English, would be, “ Well, I and Hougong shall then go and look for ducks. Ay, ay—we don’t see any ducks. Then I say to Hougong, ‘ You have wanted to fight me many times ; let us fight now, like white men, with muskets.’ Well, I say, ‘ You shoot first.’ He shoots. —‘ Ah, you stupid fellow, you did not hit me !’ Then I shoot, and Hougong falls dead !”

Shortly after the failure of this most treacherous and cold-blooded scheme of murder (for of course he was refused the guns) Jimmy heard that Hougong was dead. Great were the lamentations raised for their brave chief by his tribe, and most vehement and vociferous of all were the howlings and groanings of Jimmy the Rover. A friend of Mr. Meredith’s, who was present at part of the mourning, found Jimmy full of public woe and private exultation, venting the latter in theatrical *asides* to those in his confidence, during the impetuous outpourings of his tumultuous stage-effect grief, beginning at the top of his voice, and howling most hideously down its whole gamut, more like the yelling of a discontented dog than any other vocal performance I am acquainted with.

“ Oh ! oh ! oh ! oh ! Ooo-oo-oo-oo-ah ! [Cabou (big) rogue that fellow Hougong !] Oh ! oh ! oh ! oh ! Oo, oo, oo-oo. [Now he dead, directly me maan (take) his Gins !] Oh ! oh !” and *Da Capo*.

Accordingly, as soon as decorum and etiquette permitted, the triumphant Jimmy prepared to go and take possession of his new honours, when who should arrive, alive and well, but the defunct and bemoaned Hougong himself!—and who, on hearing of Jimmy’s kind intentions, promised him a sound beating for his pains.

The various expression conveyed by the peculiar “ Ay, ay,” so constantly used by the natives in speaking, is perfectly indescribable. It is used doubtfully, positively, interrogatively, or responsively, as the case may be, and contains in itself a whole

vocabulary of meanings, which a hundred times the number of words could not convey in writing. Suppose you inquire of a native if he have seen such and such a person pass, as he has gone that way :—" Ay, ay?" (interrogatively.) " Yes, a tall man."—" Ay, ay" (thoughtfully). " A tall man, with great whiskers." " Ay, ay (positively). Good way up cобра, cabou grasse; ay, ay" (corroboratively).

" Good way up cобра," means " head high up ;" *grasse* is used to express hair, beard, or moustache; and *cabou* means great deal, or very much. The aborigines wear no beards themselves, but a friend of ours, who had cultivated a most patriarchal growth of that commodity, excited great awe and admiration among them.

The labour and pains they bestow on their corrobory toilets prove them by no means insensible to the advantages of personal beauty, although their manner of enhancing their natural charms, in adding a thick stratum of pipe-clay to their usual coating of grease and other accumulations, seems indeed " *as wasteful and ridiculous excess*" as " to paint the lily, or throw a perfume on the violet." In lieu of

" Rowland's inestimable oil Macassar,"

their black elvish locks are always plentifully loaded with opossum or snake fat, which unsavoury unguent, as may be imagined, adds its share to the powerful and not too-pleasing odour natural to them.

A sable exquisite preparing for an evening party first undresses, then thrusts a large lump of pipe-clay into his mouth to soften, and when of a proper consistency uses his forefinger as a pencil, dipping it into the composition, and carefully dispensing the cherished ornament over his person. Having, with infinite regard to the general effect of the pattern, accurately striped and crossed, and wavy-lined and dotted every accessible part of his figure, he selects a trusty friend on whom devolves the important and responsible office of finishing off the work of adornment; and this done, no reigning belle of the season ever entered Almack's with more consciousness of all-powerful beauty than he feels in taking his place among the equally elaborate costumes of his companions. I fear the poor young squaws, or " Gins," have but little to do with their own disposal in marriage; but doubt-

less many a tender heart must be touched by these D'Orsays of the wilderness; and many a pipe-clayed hero is painted in indelible tints on the memory of love. My husband's animated and pantomimic descriptions of these scenes have often made me laugh heartily; but a second-hand detail must of necessity lose much, if not all the interest.

The aboriginal songs which I have heard are far from unpleasing in sound, and some have considerable melody, with much more tune and variety than those of the New Zealanders, which surprised me, as the latter people are so immeasurably superior to the natives of New South Wales in everything else. The words which the latter sing usually celebrate some great feast, nearly all being about eating. One (translated) runs nearly thus:—"Eat great deal; eat, eat, eat: eat again, plenty to eat! eat more yet; eat, eat, eat!" &c. &c.; and this is sung to a rather plaintive, pretty air! Another song consists of a like repetition of "Wind blow, blow; wind blow," &c.; the air being really pretty. The events celebrated by these songs are seldom of a very dignified description. On one occasion a bullock-driver, known to some of a tribe, got drunk, fought his companions, and had a black eye, which occurrence was immediately immortalized by his black friends in a ditty, of which the burden, chiefly English, was "Black-eye, black-eye," with repetitions endless, the remainder being in their own language. I remember once hearing some one say of modern fashionable songs, "What is the use of saying the same thing so many times over?" but these native troubadours far exceed the most echo-weary of drawing-room ballads, for, as I conceive, the self-same reason, a lamentable paucity of ideas.

Most of the natives are shrewd and clever mimics; one learned to waltz very correctly in a few minutes; and the slightest peculiarity of face or figure never escapes their observation, so that in speaking of any person you know, although his name be not mentioned, their accurate impersonation of his gait, expression of countenance, or any oddity of manner, is so complete as to leave no doubt of the identity. Their fondness for portions of European clothing is well known, and I have heard of many amusing instances of its display. One Wellington boot was sometimes worn, unaccompanied by any other article of apparel, and great was the pride

and grandeur of him who could button his upper man in a dress-coat, that alone being considered an ample costume. Other garments were subjected to various modes of wearing, for which they were never intended, legs being inserted where arms should be, and *vice versâ*.

The gift of a brass medal, formerly a rare distinction, is now made so frequently by settlers to natives who have served them well in any way, that the honour of the badge is somewhat diminished; but the pride with which the possessor wears and displays the insignia of his order is most amusing. The "medal" consists of a piece of brass in the form of a crescent, not much less than a cheese-plate, engraven with the name and style of both owner and donor, and worn hung round the neck by a brass chain.

Some of the native "attachés" to the establishments of settlers become useful servants, and are comfortably attired in suitable clothes, and their more than erect carriage (for a plumb-line dropped from the top of the head would fall some inches behind the heel) is still more striking in their civilized than savage costume. These men often accompany their masters' drays to Sydney, and sometimes join the long and toilsome stock-driving expeditions across to Adelaide; but even after a sojourn of many months with Europeans, and in a comparatively civilized state, they invariably return to their old habits, and relinquish their smart and comfortable clothes for the corrobory costume of nudity and pipe-clay.

The companionship of natives in the overland journeys above alluded to might perhaps be supposed of service in preventing injury or attacks from other natives, but this is far from being the case. The whole of the aborigines, as hitherto known, maintain most rigid laws touching all boundary questions, each tribe having a certain allotted portion of country, beyond which they cannot pass but in peril of their lives, or at least without risk of a battle; and when, even in company with and under the protection of their white masters, they traverse these forbidden climes, and meet parties of the rightful inhabitants, the adventurous travellers manifest the most intense fear, which, judging from the threatening and angry aspect of their foes, is tolerably well grounded.

Neighbouring tribes are generally at war, some of the chief causes being acts of trespass and abduction of women; but the battles between them are less murderous than might be expected, all being great bullies, and perpetually vaunting of their grand resolves, and the numbers they mean to kill; whilst it often happens, that after their spears and boomerangs have been flying about for an hour or two, both armies quit the field with undiminished numbers.

A tolerable idea of their "manners and customs" may be formed from an occurrence which took place within Mr. Meredith's knowledge. An intimation being given by a neighbouring tribe to that settled near Goulburn, that they would kill a certain old man among the latter, a council was held forthwith on the subject, and means discussed how this indignity should be prevented; when, after much deliberation, the elders and fighting men decided on a most strange and horrible expedient, being that the old man's *own son* should kill him then, and so deprive their foes of the pleasure! The young man immediately rose, took two spears, and gave his miserable old father his death-wound as he sat, unconscious of any harm, by his fire, although it was some hours before he expired; his son meanwhile tending him with the utmost care and affection. After his death his son and the whole tribe mourned and howled over him several days; and then, taking their weapons, they set forth to go and kill as many as they could of the other tribe, to avenge the death of the old man. They were very successful, leaving several of their foes dead; but the police magistrate of Goulburn, annoyed by their fightings, threatened them with punishment, which caused them to set off in a large body, and well armed, on a peaceful visit to the Bathurst tribe, who received them with all honour and civility, and gave a grand corrobory on the occasion, inviting the strangers to see them dance. The Goulburns accepted, but came armed with all their weapons; which Mr. Meredith observing, he asked them why they came to a dance armed as if for battle. They evaded the question some time, at length saying, "If we keep our weapons, very well, all go right; if we come without, directly they *jump up coolar*" (pick a quarrel, or get angry). A greater proof of the habitual treachery of these people could not be given than this distrust and

suspicion of their own countrymen. From all I have heard, I am very much inclined to think my husband's maxim is the prudent one:—"Never *trust* a savage: you may serve them, and they may serve you; but never give them the chance of an advantage."

CHAPTER XI.

Native Huts—"Gunyon"—Natives' ingenuity in Duck-snaring and Fishing—Native Weapons—Green Frogs—Freshwater Shells—Platypus—Spur-winged Plover—Australian Harebell—Convolvulus—Everlastings—Peppermint-tree—Opossums—Natives' Mode of taking them.

I HAVE often wondered that constant intercourse with Europeans, and experience of the comfort afforded by a permanent and substantial shelter from the inclemency of the seasons in the variable climate of New South Wales, has not induced the natives to make some rude attempt at building themselves huts, especially as they are always very glad to enjoy the benefit of dwelling in those of the settlers. But their idleness is wholly unconquerable; the uttermost effort they ever make towards the formation of a residence being to raise a few strips of bark slantingly against a tree, under which they crawl during bad weather. Had not these primitive erections been pointed out to me as "natives' huts," I confess I should not have had an idea that they were anything more than accidental heaps of bark.

One very wet miserable day a black was crowding in the warm chimney-corner of a "squatter's" hut, where my husband was present, and some of the party were asking the native why he was so idle and stupid as to go shivering about without a home, when he might soon build himself a warm hut. He listened very quietly to all they had to say, merely observing at last, with the air of a man who has arrived at a most philosophical conclusion:—"Ay, ay! White fellow think it best that-a-way—Black fellow think it best *that*-a-way." "Then black fellow 's a fool for his pains," was the uncourteous rejoinder. "I believe so," returned the sable stoic, and straightway folding his blanket around him, walked calmly out into the pouring rain.

A native one day was wistfully eying a snug pigsty, where

the fat grunting inmates were awaiting their supper, which was being cracked in a mill by a convict servant; doubtless their idle and obese condition must have seemed to him the *ne plus ultra* of luxury, for he thus feelingly apostrophized the pigs: "Ay, ay, budgereee fellow you! sit in gunyon all day—white fellow grind for you!" (Ay, ay, you 're a lucky fellow, can lie in a house all day, whilst a white man grinds for you!)

The word "gunyon," or house, they apply to everything that seems appropriated to contain any article. My husband had a silver pipe-case for the pocket, and they used to say his pyook had a "gunyon all along of himself." A dog-kennel would be "gunyon 'long of dingo," &c.

To make them industrious is utterly hopeless; nothing but the present urgent want of anything can induce them to make the slightest exertion. If a man have one "fig"* of tobacco, and you promise him another if he will do such or such a service, you must wait until his stock in hand is exhausted, before there is a chance of his trying to earn more, though they are always anxious enough to beg for "Pyook, nyook, owrangey bit o' bacco" (A pipe, and a knife, and a little bit of tobacco).

A small kind of crayfish frequent the Macquarie, called by the natives "moramy," and I was desirous of obtaining some, to see and taste, but nothing short of an exorbitant bribe could induce the blacks to procure any. They are generally expert fishermen, and in their methods of capturing their prey, making snares, and other occupations requiring patience and ingenuity, they show considerable intelligence and perseverance, despite their inherent idleness.

The contrivance adopted by a tribe on the Murray river for catching ducks is particularly clever. They place nets (very similar to those used by wild-duck trappers at home) over a narrow portion of the river or "creek" which the ducks frequent, and then, by chasing and frightening them at a distance, gradually drive the birds near to the snare; the risk is then that they

* Mr. Meredith tells me that the term "fig of tobacco," so general here, will not be understood at home, where the same description is not used. That kept here for general use is "Negrohead," and comes in large kegs, packed closely in layers of twisted rolls, about eight inches long, and one inch broad; each of these being technically termed a "fig." Idle smokers employ their servants to cut it up and rub it, ready for use.

may fly over it; to prevent which, the blacks fling up three-cornered pieces of bark high into the air, at the same time accurately imitating the cry of a hawk, and the poor ducks, stooping to escape the supposed enemy, dart into the snare and are caught.

A very fine and excellent fish is often taken in the Macquarie, called the cod, and though not really a species of cod, greatly resembles that fish in its general shape and appearance, though far more delicious in flavour. The Macquarie cod sometimes weighs seventy pounds or more. The natives catch them with spears made expressly for the purpose, in the use of which they are very adroit. These fishing-spears are twelve or fourteen feet long, made of hard wood, usually some kind of Eucalyptus, well sharpened at the end, but not barbed in any way. The native thus armed crouches or lies down on the overhanging bank of the river, or on a fallen tree or old log over the water, intently and motionlessly watching his prey. He then slowly and stealthily glides his spear down towards the water; then dips it a little way, then pokes it farther and farther, so softly as not to alarm the fish; and when quite certain, with one thrust runs it through the unfortunate cod, and brings him up.

The hunting or war spear is quite a different weapon to this, made of the same kind of wood, but much shorter and thicker, about seven or eight feet long, and barbed for some distance from the point, either by notches cut in the wood, or with sharp fish-bones, or crystals securely bound on with kangaroo sinews. These are most savage-like and fearful weapons, and are thrown to a distance of from seventy to one hundred yards, but rarely with certain effect beyond sixty. A great additional impetus is gained by the manner in which they are thrown. A piece of wood called a "wammara," about two feet long, has a notch or socket made in its upper end, into which the blunt end of the spear is inserted before throwing. The wammara is held in a slanting position with the spear horizontally resting *in* its upper end, and *on* the hand of the spearman, who, in flinging it, suddenly gives the wammara a perpendicular position, and adds greatly to the force of the blow.

The "nullah-nullah" is another fighting weapon, made like

the others, of hard wood, with a round handle widening towards the end into a broad knob, well sharpened on the lower side, like the edge of an axe. They have also formidable clubs, for which I do not know the native name.

The "boomerang" had become familiar, by name at least, in England before I left, although the toys sold in shops as boomerangs are very unlike the real ones, the use of which is extremely curious and ingenious. This weapon consists of a very slightly curved, nearly flat piece of hard wood, about two and a half feet long, and two and a half inches wide; its curve, weight, and the manner in which it is feathered off to catch the wind, being most accurately calculated for it to take the intended direction when thrown, different ones being adapted for different aims. It is never aimed at the object intended to be struck, but thus:—suppose A, B, and C form a triangle; a man at A throws the boomerang towards B, to which point it flies, strikes the ground, and, rebounding, turns towards C, where it strikes (like a good "canon" at billiards). The accuracy with which the natives can hit any object with this singular weapon, and the ingenious invention of it, seem worthy of a higher order of intelligent beings than they are usually considered. I have heard of several persons who have practised throwing the boomerang, but none could succeed so as to bear comparison with a native.

The word "waddie," though commonly applied to the weapons of the New South Wales aborigines, does not with them mean any particular implement, but is the term used to express wood of any kind, or trees. "You maan waddie 'long of fire," means "Go and fetch firewood."

The shields used by the natives are pieces of solid wood about two feet long, something in a long diamond shape, with a loop or handle to hold them by, hollowed from the inner side. These they use with extreme adroitness, fending off blows in every direction, which perhaps may partly account for the non-murderous character of so many fierce encounters among themselves. I have heard some of their white friends confess to having found an hour's "excellent sport" in shying at them cobs of Indian corn, from which the grain had been threshed, but which would still inflict rather a heavy blow; not one of which ever hit the

sable target, so nimbly did he ward off every cob with his shield, from his legs just as surely as his head, jumping about and grinning all the time in high glee.

I believe these are all the weapons used by the natives of their own manufacture, and these were formerly all cut and made with sharp flints or crystals; but now those acquainted with Europeans procure more convenient tools. The women make neat baskets and bags of the fine long dry grass common in these colonies (and which I have often thought would make beautifully fine plait for hats or bonnets); they use the currijong bark, too, for the same purpose, and carry about with them in these bags a most strange and useless accumulation of trash. They also sew the skins of kangaroos and opossums together (with sinews for thread, and fish-bones for needles), and fashion these into garments, rugs, or bags. Many of them procure English needles and thread from the settlers, and sew with tolerable neatness.

In the Macquarie, near Bathurst, I first saw the superb green frogs of Australia. The river, at the period of our visit, was for the most part a dry bed, with small pools in the deeper holes, and in these, among the few slimy water-plants and *Confervæ*, dwelt these gorgeous reptiles. In form and size they resemble a very large common English frog; but their colour is more beautiful than words can describe. I never saw plant or gem of so bright tints. A vivid yellow-green seems the groundwork of the creature's array, and this is daintily pencilled over with other shades, emerald, olive, and blue greens, with a few delicate markings of bright yellow, like an embroidery in threads of gold on shaded velvet. And the creatures sit looking at you from their moist, floating bowers, with their large eyes expressing the most perfect enjoyment, which, if you doubt whilst they sit still, you cannot refuse to believe in when you see them flop into the delicious cool water, and go slowly stretching their long green legs, as they pass along the waving grove of sedgy, feathery plants in the river's bed, and you lose them under a dense mass of gently waving leaves; and to see this, whilst a burning, broiling sun is scorching up your very life, and the glare of the herbless earth dazzles your agonized eyes into blindness, is almost enough to make one willing to forego all the glories of humanity, and be changed into a frog!

In the same pools I found some fresh-water shells, chiefly belonging to the species *Unio*, *Lymnæa*, *Stagnalis*, and *Physa*, and, I think, identical with my English specimens. The moramies, or crayfish, live in holes in the muddy banks of these pools; I saw many of their deserted shelly coats, but not any living ones.

That most enigmatical of all the strange animals found in Australia, the Platypus, or *Ornithorhynchus paradoxus*, is also a dweller in the Macquarie, but, being extremely shy, is not often found near Bathurst. So many descriptions have been published of it, that I imagine it is nearly as well understood in England as here. A full-grown specimen is twelve or fourteen inches in length, and much the same shape and proportion as the common mole, with a very thick, soft fur, dark brown on the back, and light coloured beneath; the head and eyes are perfectly *animal*, but in lieu of a mouth or snout, a small flat bill, similar to that of a duck, completes the very odd countenance of this most paradoxical creature. The short furry legs end in half-webbed feet, the hind ones being armed with sharp spurs, which are perforated, and through which, when the animal is annoyed, it is believed to eject a poisonous fluid as it strikes an enemy; but this fact is still doubted by some naturalists, and, like other anomalous peculiarities, is still the subject of argument amongst the learned, to whose information I regret that it is not in my power to add. The creature is very rarely seen on shore, and is usually killed by being shot from a high bank; but this is only practicable when it swims very near the surface.

Among the few living things that frequented the dreary desert plains of Bathurst during my sojourn there, were some flocks of the spur-winged plover; beautiful little birds, whose plaintive cry seemed unceasingly to bewail the dreariness of the spot. It seemed such a miserable place for birds—the gay creatures we love to watch fluttering, and coquetting, and sporting about in the green leafy trees—flying in and out—circling and soaring high into the air, then darting back into a thick shady covert, where only the light quivering of the leaves their quick wings fan into motion tells of their hiding-place! Here were neither bush nor tree—nor branches dancing in the sunlight—nor deep clusters of rich dark leaves—nothing but a scorching sky

and a desert earth, and the poor plover's sad, melancholy cry, instead of the full, varied choir of airy voices that fills the heart with gladness on a day in spring in green, beautiful old England!

Here and there, amidst the scanty and withered herbage, where the flocks of miserable sheep were vainly trying to pick the fraction of a feed, gleamed up an eye of blue, a bright blue starry flower, looking fearlessly to the fervid sky from its slight and hair-like stem; but its bolder aspect did not prevent my claiming a loving acquaintance with it as a relative of an ancient friend in my own dear land, the harebell. The Australian harebell (*Campanula gracilis*) is scarcely a *bell* at all—rather a star—the corolla being very deeply cleft, and widely expanded; but it is as beautiful: yes, with all my life-long love of the English one, I must acknowledge her antipodean cousin to be even as beautiful as the “poet's harebell,” that so merrily dances and waves over British heaths and hills.

In the same barren spots, too, I found a likeness of another old friend, the small meadow convolvulus, the new one being far brighter in hue than the sly, mischievous little sprite that frisks over our English fields, and baffles the sagacity of the neatest farmer when he strives to exclude it. The garb of my new friend is veritable *couleur de rose*, with scarcely a tint of yellow or a gleam of white. The plants were very small and quite compact; the flower growing on a short footstalk, which sprung direct from the root, without any climbing stem. This excessive dwarfishness was probably the consequence of the withering droughts, as in Van Diemen's Land I often gather the same kind in streamers half a yard long, or more; but they usually run along the ground, instead of twining up a bent of grass or any other support.

During our few drives and rambles among the nearest hills, to the north-west of Bathurst, I found some pretty everlastings, *Gnaphalium apiculatum*, and others, with the names of which I am unacquainted. Some of the white ones were large, and grew in handsome clusters, with the soft central florets yellow; looking, at a distance, not unlike the English ox-eye daisy. Others were entirely yellow, and larger than the white ones, growing singly on the stalk, and very handsome, showy flowers, |

from their wide open, staring look, always reminded me of those full-blown representations of the sun, so much patronized by country sign-painters. The dry, harsh, juiceless everlastings seemed exactly the kind of growth we might expect to meet in such an arid, parched region as this. They seem as if they could be quite independent of droughts, hot winds, and every other destructive agent of this withering climate, and thrive just as well, or better, on a whirl of dust, than in a shower of rain. I began almost to dislike them for daring to blossom and flaunt in such bright array, when so many fairer and sweeter things were drooping and dying all around. Some of the hills we climbed (having driven across the weary plains to their feet) had really very pretty spots among their little glens and slopes, being well clothed with trees living and growing; and as green as trees in New South Wales usually are, chiefly consisting of the common acacias, and various kinds of gum, or Eucalyptus, all very much resembling each other, except two species, one of which, the "blue gum," bears large, broad, rather blunt leaves, with a pale blue bloom upon them, which makes a pleasing contrast to the dark olive-green tint of the commoner kinds. The peppermint-tree (*Eucalyptus piperita*) is also a very distinct species, and usually a handsome tree; I have seen some old ones that an artist would delight to sketch. The bark is often very various in colour, the smooth white portions being overlaid in places with a thin coat partially peeled off, tinted with light and dark grey, red, fawn-colour, and brown of many shades, whilst towards the ground the rough, thicker, more orthodox kind of bark generally remains. The foliage is denser and casts more shade than any other gum-tree; the leaves are small and very narrow, both sides alike (as are those of the whole family), and thickly, yet lightly grouped on the spray; their colour also is much brighter and greener than the other kinds, and when in flower, the tree is often a dense mass of blossoms, sweet, luscious-smelling, white-fringed little stars, with myriads of birds fluttering and chirping about them, sucking the honey, and showering down bunches that they pull off in sport and mischief. The scent of the leaves when rubbed, and also their taste, which is very pungent, is exactly similar to that of our English herb peppermint, and I should think an essence might be distilled from them,

to serve for the use of both the druggist and confectioner. The leaves are commonly supposed to form the chief food of the opossum both in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. These beautiful animals live in hollow trees, and are rarely visible by day, unless, as I have sometimes done, you can see one sitting at his front door (as I suppose we may term the entrance to his habitation), usually a hole far up the tree, whence they descend at night to feed on grass and herbs, and may be seen scampering and playing about like squirrels among the branches. The marks left by their sharp claws in climbing trees are constantly seen, and on the trunks of large old gums tracks of scratches are visible in such numbers as to prove them very favourite places of resort. A full-grown opossum is larger and heavier than a very large cat, with a pretty innocent-looking face, the expression of which is both like that of the deer and the mouse, the shape of the nose and whiskers strongly resembling the latter. The eyes are very dark and brilliant, the ears soft and delicate, the legs short and strong, with monkey-like feet and long sharp claws. They sit up, holding their food in the fore-paws, like a monkey. The tail is eighteen or twenty inches long, about the thickness at the base of a sable boa, and tapering to the end; the under side is quite smooth and devoid of hair, the upper being covered with the same thick woolly fur as the other parts of the body, the colour being either black, dark grey, dark brown, or deep golden brown, like very yellow sable, but always beautifully shaded off from the sides towards the under part, which is lighter. These different colours are most probably also distinctions of species, as no blending or mixture of them is ever observed, which would very likely be the case if they were merely accidental varieties in the same animal, just as we see the common colours of the domestic cat mixed indiscriminately. The tail is strongly prehensile, and holds so tightly, that they often swing their whole weight upon it, and when shot dead, sometimes hang for a minute by it, before falling. Fine moonlight nights often prove fatal to the poor creatures, being the time chosen for shooting them by scores, either for the sake of their warm skins for rugs, or to feed dogs with their luckless bodies. Sometimes they commit sad ravages among the young corn, and then the war waged against them has certainly a fraction more of justice in it; but too often they

are, like my poor favourites the Cape pigeons, shot in mere wanton cruelty, which, to gild its villany, assumes the name of "sport." All dogs pursue them to the death, and often in the day-time find one who has either been too idle or unsuspecting to run up his tree, who, unless he can instantly climb one, falls a victim to his imprudence, though not without a most vigorous resistance of sharp bites and scratches, and many a shrill and piercing squeal of agony: as is the general course in this world, either among men or brutes, might is victorious over right, and poor "possey" rarely escapes. The noise they usually make at night, when undisturbed, is something like a very hoarse laugh, a kind of grating throat-chuckle; and on a still night many of them may be heard calling to and answering each other for a considerable distance.

Like all other animals of their class, they are marsupial, and have rarely more than one young one at a time, which the doe carries about with her, at first in the pouch, and afterwards on her back.

The blacks procure opossums by climbing trees where their holes are, and have evidently some means of ascertaining whether the animal is turned with its head or tail towards them, before touching it; if the former, they frighten him, or by some means induce him to turn round, when, instantly seizing the tail, they forcibly drag him out. If the hole extends too far for them to reach their prey, they cut a larger hole with an axe or tomahawk.* They often show great brutality in torturing the unfortunate animals they take, long before putting an end to their wretched sufferings. Mr. Meredith on one occasion remonstrated with a black who was cruelly and inhumanly maiming one of these poor harmless creatures, but the only reply the savage made was by a broad grin, and the cool remark, "Bel 'possum cry!"—(Opossum don't cry!) The natives, like most savages, are very agile in climbing trees, making small notches in the

* Formerly these implements were made of flint or crystal, but now the natives procure English ones.

My omitting all allusion to the kangaroo may be deemed an oversight, but the reason I do not describe them here, is, that I did not see one in New South Wales, nor has Mr. Meredith, in all his wanderings there, met with more than half a dozen. So effectually is the race being exterminated. In Van Diemen's Land they are much more abundant.

bark as they ascend, just large enough to rest the end of the great toe upon, which member seems in them particularly strong, for even in riding on horseback, which many of them do, well and fearlessly, they never put the flat foot in the stirrup, but only lay hold of it with the great toe.

CHAPTER XII.

Native Turkeys ; their mode of incubation—Native Cranberry—Our Return—
Locusts—Manna—Transformations—Ground-grubs—Night at the Rivulet
—New Flowers—Heat and Dust—"Weatherboard" Inn—Walk to the Cas-
cade—Fringed Violet—Waratahs—Fine View—Lories.

EMUS and native turkeys are not now seen near Bathurst, although still very numerous in the less populous districts. The bush-turkey is about the same size as a tame one ; the colour dark brown, with light grey feathers on the breast, and full plumage on the head and neck. They are very shy, and, being excellent eaters, are much sought after by both Europeans and natives. On foot it is all but impossible to approach within gunshot of them, as they take wing on the least alarm ; but they will allow persons on horseback, or in a vehicle of any kind, to come close to them, and by such means they are usually taken.

A most extraordinary account is given by Mr. Gould and other naturalists of the manner in which these birds provide for the artificial hatching of their young, by scratching together a great heap of vegetable matter, in which the females lay their eggs, and leave them, trusting to the heat which the mass acquires during fermentation, to bring out the brood. This, if true of any Australian bird, is certainly a mistake as regards the turkey, which frequents the wide, open plains of the interior, and forms scarcely any nest, but in some accidental hollow lays several bluish-spotted eggs, which afterwards become much darker in colour, and are hatched in the usual manner. Were the birds to form so large and conspicuous a receptacle for their eggs as I have seen described, namely, a mound of rubbish thirty feet round, and eight or ten high, none would escape discovery, and as both eggs and birds are valued as food, the race would ere this be totally extinct. I never had an opportunity of seeing the

nest of a bush-turkey, and therefore *my* account is but the transcript of what I have been told ; but of my informant's veracity and knowledge I cannot entertain a doubt.

One staple article of consumption, both with emus and turkeys, is the berry of the low-creeping prickly plant called the native cranberry (*Astroloma humifusum*), which is so very hard that I should think their digestive organs must be akin to those of the ostrich. This semblance of a fruit is about the size of a currant, and with its peach-like bloom looks rather tempting, but a marble covered with thin kid would best represent its flavour and consistence. I remember the shock of disappointment I received on attempting to taste some on a hot thirsty day, and have never since deprived the emus of a single berry. The blossom is very pretty, not unlike a small fuchsia, growing abundantly on the under-side of the trailing sprays, and not often noticeable until a piece is gathered, so closely they lie on the ground.

After a sojourn at Bathurst of about a month, we set forth on our return to Sydney, and the summer being more advanced, and the heat much greater, the weariness and discomfort of the journey were increased tenfold. The mountains were just as dreary as when we crossed them in coming ; the roads not quite so bad, the great holes and reservoirs of mud in them being a little dried up, and the really dry portions rising in continuous volumes of dust.

Equally annoying with the dust was the loud, incessant, and indescribable noise of myriads of large and curious winged insects, commonly and incorrectly called locusts, but which are totally different from any kind of locusts I ever saw either represented in books or in collections. They literally swarm in the summer time on the gum-trees, and are seen flying about in immense numbers ; the noise they make when on the wing being a loud hum or buzz, not nearly so disagreeable as their note when settled on a tree, which most closely resembles the sound of a miniature watchman's rattle ; and when this is multiplied by thousands and millions of these noisy creatures, the din is intolerable. A stocking or lace manufactory is not more distressing to a person unaccustomed to the rattling and riot of the machinery. Whilst we rested one day, a couple of the locusts were caught, and I no

longer wondered so much at their loud notes, for they are powerful-looking creatures, something the form of an enormous fly, with stout brown bodies two inches long, six rough legs, a squarely shaped head like a grasshopper's, half an inch or more in breadth, with large prominent black eyes, and a long proboscis, which when at rest lies very compactly under the chin. (I must pray entomologists to forgive my unscientific descriptions, as I am unacquainted with their technical phraseology.) On the front of the head are some jewel-like markings of yellow and red; the wings are very large, and as transparent as glass, traversed by some very strong and many finer fibres in a beautiful net-work. Altogether they are very handsome and most harmless-looking insects, and I liberated those caught for me, as soon as I had well examined them.

Since leaving New South Wales, I have become rather better acquainted with the locusts, as a species but slightly different inhabits Van Diemen's Land. These are somewhat smaller, with coral-red eyes, instead of black ones, and of a blacker colour generally. They frequent certain kinds of Eucalyptus in countless numbers, but only in particular localities; we sometimes drive several miles without hearing one, and then suddenly find ourselves in the midst of a whole swarm.

In both Colonies a kind of manna is found upon and lying beneath the trees chosen by the locusts, in snow-white flakes, sometimes soft, and often nearly as hard as a sugar-plum, with a sweet and rather pleasant flavour; its medicinal properties being the same as those of the manna sold by druggists. Children are very fond of it, but I have never seen it in any quantity.

I have heard very many discussions as to the origin of this manna and its connexion with the locusts, some persons believing that the insects made it, as bees make honey, others that it was a natural exudation from the tree, which attracted the locusts to feed on it. But since I have had opportunities of observing the matter more attentively, I have been convinced that neither of these is the true solution of the mystery, but that the following explanation, given me by our worthy medical attendant here (Van Diemen's Land), Dr. Storey, is the true one.

Beneath the outer bark of some gum-trees is a sweet kind of mucilage, free from the very strong aromatic flavour which per-

vades the rest of the tree ; and the locusts, perforating the outer bark with their long, sharp proboscis, suck out the juice, which continues to flow for a short time after they leave the aperture, and drying in the sun, falls to the ground in flakes of manna.

I have had many corroborative proofs of this fact, and, before knowing it, had often vainly endeavoured to conjecture what the locusts could be doing, when I saw them covering the smooth stem of a tree for many yards, and the greater portion of them motionless.

They evidently pass through one, if not more stages of existence, preparatory to their becoming perfect winged insects. In the summer, towards evening, it is common to see on the trunks of trees, reeds, or any upright thing, a heavy-looking, hump-backed, brown beetle, an inch and a half long, with a scaly coat ; clawed, lobster-like legs, and a somewhat dirty aspect, which is easily accounted for, when at the foot of the tree a little hole is visible in the turf, whence he has lately crept. I have sometimes carefully carried these home, and watched with great interest the poor locust "shuffle off his mortal," or rather earthy coil, and emerge into a new world. The first symptom is the opening of a small slit which appears in the back of his coat, between the shoulders, through which, as it slowly gapes wider, a pale, soft, silky-looking texture is seen below, throbbing and heaving backwards and forwards. Presently, a fine square head, with two light red eyes, has disengaged itself, and in process of time (for the transformation goes on almost imperceptibly) this is followed by the liberation of a portly body and a conclusion ; after which the brown leggings are pulled off like boots, and a pale, cream-coloured, weak, soft creature very slowly and very tenderly walks away from his former self, which remains standing entire, like the coat of mail of a warrior of old, ready to be encased in the cabinets of the curious ; the shelly plates of the eyes that are gone, looking after their lost contents with a sad lack of "speculation" in them. On the back of the new-born creature lie two small bits of membrane doubled and crumpled up in a thousand puckers, like a Limerick glove in a walnut-shell. These begin to unfold themselves, and gradually spread smoothly out into two large, beautiful, opal-coloured wings, which by the following morning have become clearly transparent, whilst the body has acquired

its proper hard consistency and dark colour ; and when placed on a gum-tree, the happy thing soon begins its whirring, creaking, chirruping song, which continues, with little intermission, as long as its happy harmless life.

When the locusts happen to come out in the morning, the heat of the sun often dries their unopened wings so suddenly that they cannot expand, and thus, quite helpless, the poor things become a prey to the numerous birds and swarms of ants that are always ready to attack and devour them.

What state the locust passes through previously to its existence as an underground beetle, I am not aware ; but in newly-ploughed peat land* great numbers of fat, white, inactive caterpillars or grubs are constantly found, some of which, judging from their size and shape, are probably locusts in their first state of being. I find these grubs some inches below the surface, coiled round in little cells exactly their own shape and size, hollowed in the moist ground, whence they apparently derive their sustenance. When disturbed, they slowly crawl under another piece of earth, where they soon form a new cell, similar to the old one.

Another locust, resembling the one I have described, in every respect except size, is perhaps the male insect, the body being much slighter in proportion, and not exceeding an inch in length. The circumstance of these two sizes in the locusts exactly corresponding with those of two kinds of the ground-grubs, induces me to think that the latter are locusts in their first or lowest form ; but my opinions, being formed solely from observation, without that aid which a previous knowledge of entomology would afford me, may very probably be erroneous. The cruelties which all persons learned in that science are perpetually guilty of, and, as it seems, irresistibly tempted to commit, always rendered it abhorrent to me, and consequently I am now nearly if not wholly useless as an observer of my interesting neighbours of the insect kingdom in this populous region ; but lest my modest fear of telling what is already known should by any possibility nip some wondrous discovery in the bud, I simply detail my small sums of knowledge, only regretting that the total amount is not greater.

* In Van Diemen's Land.

As we journeyed on, we found it convenient to rest one night at the Rivulet Inn (the scene of such bacchanalian orgies during our up-journey). The inmates were certainly not *so* tipsy, and more of them were visible than before; but as to *cleanliness*, the word and the meaning seemed equally unknown within, though the paint outside was as bright as ever, reminding one so much of a newly-furbished-up caravan at a country fair, that I almost expected to see a picture of a giant and dwarf in the veranda, or to hear a great drum. On our retiring for the night (in company with a dark-brown fat candle that smelt most insufferably ill, as it fizzled and flared by turns) to a freshly painted room with very scanty furniture, and a most sombre coloured, hide-the-dirt kind of bed, I instituted an examination into the state of the linen, and believe that half a dozen unwashed chimney-sweeps occupying the same bed for a fortnight could not have left evidences of a darker hue than presented themselves to my horror-stricken eyes. The blankets corresponded well in colour, but as to exchange those was totally hopeless, we dispensed with their services, and after great difficulty, and most eloquent grumbling from the rum-inspired landlady, I obtained some coarse cotton sheets (linen ones being rarely seen in the Colony), the dampness of which was satisfactory, as it proved they had been acquainted with the wash-tub.

Thrusting the other sable and not inodorous coverings into the farthest corner of the room, I washed my hands, and rearranged the bed, and had begun to think of sleep, when a loud knocking at the door aroused us—

“Who’s there?”

“If you please, ma’am, Missus wants them sheets you pulled off your bed, for a gentleman as is just come in!”

With my parasol I poked the things out on the landing, inly congratulating the happy man destined to enjoy such sweet repose; but I could not help thinking, at the same time, how many pairs of sheets might have been bought with the money the household were drinking at our previous visit; or even that a white-washed house *with* clean linen would have been preferable to gilding and rainbow paintings without that humble luxury.

The beauty of the vale of Clwydd had become much enhanced

during the interval of our visits by the blossoming of the young gum-trees, and the greater degree of verdure generally perceptible. I gathered many flowers by the road-side that were quite new to me, including several orchideous plants, and a bright rich blue flower, with gold and black stamens, growing on a straggling branched stem from out a large tuft of tall reedy leaves. I named it then the "Knight of the Garter," and have often met it since in both Colonies.

Mount Victoria, too, towered above far greener glens and ravines than when we had crossed the pass before; but once again amidst the forests of those dreary, black Blue Mountains, and all improvement was at an end. Burned trees, bare ground, and interminable hills once more surrounded us; the scorching heat of the sun was to me almost overpowering, and, reflected as it was by the dusty, shadeless road into our faces and eyes, became absolutely painful. Still the time and the journey wore on, and we reached the Weatherboard inn, then wholly at our service, and where an ever memorable luxury awaited us, in the shape of a capacious dish of young potatoes at tea, being the first vegetables we had seen for some time. Here we also found a clean bed, though the possession thereof seemed a point of dispute with its numerous tenantry; but this is an almost universal evil in New South Wales, and in wooden houses like the one in question is, I believe, incurable. A tolerably neat and productive garden adjoined the house, and everything about bore an air of more comfort than the generality of such places in the Colony.

After an early breakfast the following morning, we set forth on foot to visit a waterfall. Entering a little valley with low hills on either side, we soon reached the borders of a bright brook, that, as it gurgled and glittered over its rocky bed, spoke to me of many a lovely valley and verdant meadow at home, where, instead of being, as here, precious as a fount in the desert, such a stream would be but one among the thousands that gladden the teeming earth. After our dry and parching journey, it was delightful to walk close beside it—to be quite sure that it *was* water—and when wetted feet did not suffice, to stoop and dabble in it—and scoop it up in tightly-clasped hands to drink—and to step over on its large dry stones, with no very great

objection to a splash if one's foot slipped. All the valley was green too,—think of that! And how exquisitely refreshing such moist greenness was to our dust-blinded eyes! Tall rushes grew there, and half-immersed water-plants, from amidst which we heard the sonorous “clop, clop” of the great green frogs; and bright dragon-flies darted about among the high waving reeds; and there were gay flowering shrubs with pleasant odours, and the delicate “fringed violet, a gem worthy to grace Titania's rarest crown. It is an humble lowly flower, about the size of a violet, growing alone on a thin transparent stem some two or three inches high, of a deep bluish lilac rather than purple, and somewhat the shape of the iris, having also the same peculiar lustre, so well described by my poet-friend Mary Howitt—

“As if grains of gold in its petals were set.”

The sepals of the flower are edged with the finest fringe, like that which adorns our English bog-bean. It fades so very soon after being gathered, that I could not even carry one alive to the inn, and never meeting with it again, had no opportunity of sketching it.

As we walked on, a group of slender young gum-trees attracted my attention by their very graceful forms and polished verdure; and when opposite to them, we saw, as through a purposed entrance, that they formed a nearly circular bower, beneath whose leavy canopy dwelt a sisterhood of queens—a group of eight or ten splendid waratahs, straight as arrows—tall, stately, regal flowers, that with their rich and glowing hue,

“Making a sunshine in the shady place,”

seemed like the magic jewels we read of in fairy-tales, that light up caverns by their own intrinsic lustre.

It would have seemed a small sort of sacrilege to disturb this beautiful picture, this temple of the mountain nymphs; so I contented myself with gathering some less fine flowers of the waratah that grew near, and we pursued our way still along the green little valley, and close beside the streamlet, which, as we advanced, flowed much more swiftly, and a sound of pouring water reached us, the cause of which was soon explained by one

of the most stupendous scenes I ever beheld, bursting unexpectedly upon us.

Suddenly we found ourselves standing on the brink of a tremendous precipice; for though I have spoken of traversing a *valley*, be it remembered that this was on one of the highest parts of the Blue Mountains, and the valley itself merely a water-course. I know not how to describe the scene without a comparatively insignificant simile, namely, a theatre, but supposing a space of three or four miles between the centre of the audience-portion and the back of the stage, with a proportionate width. We stood, as it were, in the front of the gallery, which was the summit of a colossal amphitheatre of precipitous and most picturesque cliffs, rising in many places above the point where we stood, and in others broken by rugged ravines, fantastically adorned with trees, that seemed to hold on, like the natives, by a great toe only. At a depth of some hundreds of feet below us lay a thickly wooded undulating vale, a billowy ocean of verdant foliage, stretching far away, and rising again in the distance, until bounded by a towering wall of rocks, their sharp outlines telling in strongly marked light and shade against the clear, deep blue sky.

On our left hand, the bright waters of the mountain stream poured over the rocks in one smooth, glassy, unbroken torrent for some distance, and then, scattered by projecting crags into smaller jets, were lost to view amidst the overhanging trees that fringed the sides of this natural Colosseum.

That portion of the rock near us seemed certainly of an igneous origin, and some more distant parts had much the aspect of basalt, being apparently columnar. Some of the small fragments I picked up had a beautifully crystalline structure, and glittered like "ruby-blende."

I much regretted the impossibility of remaining to have a day or two's exploration about this grand and interesting spot. I should have liked to visit the foot of the cliffs as well as the brow, but this would have incurred a circuit of many miles, and too much fatigue for me to dream of; and with excessive reluctance I retraced my steps to the "Weatherboard," whence we immediately started on our onward journey.

Near the inn we saw some lories, the most brilliant of all the

parrot tribe; the back and upper portion of the body being a bright gleaming blue, whilst the breast and under parts are the most intense rose-colour, or *ponceau*. Gay as were all the parrots I had previously seen, I gazed on these in sheer wonder, scarcely believing they could be *real*, as they rose in a flock from the road before us and flew past, brightening the very sunshine with their glorious colours.

CHAPTER XIII.

Storm and fine View on Lapstone Hill—Farm-house in the “Public” line—
Arrive at Parramatta—Steamboat—Scenery on the “River”—Sydney—
Christmas-tree—Christmas-day—Tippling Servants.

IN the afternoon we encountered a storm of lightning, thunder, and rain, just before reaching Lapstone Hill, and whilst we wound down it we enjoyed as perfect a picture of a landscape as ever eye beheld. How I wished, and wished in vain, for some rare artist to see it with us!—and fancied the versions of its beauty that Constable, Creswick, Copley Fielding, Cox, or Turner might give to an admiring world. I have before endeavoured to describe Lapstone Hill (Chapter VII.): but if beautiful then, how much more so was it now,—with tall and graceful gum-trees loaded with their white and honied blossoms, lifting up their garlanded heads from the deep ravine,—amidst groups of the delicate, feathery-leaved acacia, whose countless clusters of pale-golden, hawthorn-scented flowers were bending with the heavy rain-drops, that glittered and sparkled like diamonds on the shrubs, trees, and deep-crimson waratahs on the rocks above us! Before us lay the green Emu Plains, the broad Nepean, and town of Penrith; the view being bounded on either side by the rocky gorge through which we looked. One half of the sky was black as night, with the yet unspent wrath of the thunder-clouds, whose artillery still reverberated grandly amongst the mountains; the other half of the Janus-faced heaven was blue, and bright with sunshine: and over both, like a beautiful spirit of concord, blessing alike the darkness and the light, beamed a most brilliant rainbow. The whole scene was so indelibly painted on my mind, I can fancy now that I see each individual rock and tree that helped to make up the beautiful whole.

Crossing the Nepean as before, in the punt, we took up our quarters again at the Ferry Inn, and early the next day continued our journey. Seeing a tolerably large house by the roadside,

with stacks, cows, pigs, and other farm-like things about, and a tall sign-post, or what appeared such, in front, we alighted, to see if we could procure a glass of milk, and entered a room, evidently in the "public" line of business, smelling dreadfully of rum and tobacco, and garnished with pipe-ashes, dirty glasses, and empty bottles in abundance. A continuance of loud knocking brought a stupid, dirty, half-dressed, slipshod woman from an inner room, in which, as she left the door open, I could see several messy, unmade beds, soiled clothes all about the floor, and three or four more women of different ages, and of as unpleasing aspect as the one who had obeyed my summons, and who, after some delay, brought me a jug of nice sweet milk, and a dirty glass to pour it into; seeming to me as if she had ably assisted in the bottle-emptying of the preceding evening. This universal addiction to drink, and the consequent neglect of all industry and decency, are truly shocking. Here was a substantial farm-house (sometimes performing in another character, it is true), with the female inmates half-drunk and scarcely out of bed at ten o'clock on a summer's morning, rooms unswept, beds unmade, and the whole establishment telling of plenty, sloth, and drunkenness.

We reached Parramatta about noon, and remained, in luxurious idleness, at the pretty inn I had so much liked on our previous visit, for a day or two, until lodgings were prepared for us in Sydney. We then embarked in a steamboat named the *Rapid* or the *Velocity*, or some like promising title, on the Parramatta river (*alias* Port Jackson), and moved away from the wharf at a most funereal pace, which I for some time accounted for by supposing that other passengers were expected alongside, but at length found, to my dismay, that it was the best speed with which this renowned vessel could travel without fear of an explosion. One advantage it gave us was a good and deliberate view of the scenery on either side; a moderately quick draughtsman might have drawn a panorama of it as we slowly puffed along.

Some of the cottages and villas on the banks are very prettily situated, with fine plantations, gardens, and orange-groves around them, and nice pleasure-boats moored beside mossy stone steps leading to the river. As we neared Sydney the banks became

much more rocky and picturesque, skirted and crowned with pretty native shrubs, with here and there a fantastic group of crags, like a little fort or castle, perched among them.

The animation of the scene in the harbour, the numerous vessels at anchor, and the busy little boats plying in every direction, gave by no means unpleasing evidence of our return to the Australian metropolis. Viewed from any point, Sydney cannot fail to strike a thinking mind with wonder and admiration, as being the creation of so comparatively brief a space. A large and well-built town, abounding with all the expensive luxuries of civilized life—streams of gay equipages and equestrians traversing the wide and handsome streets—thronged with busy merchants, whose costly and innumerable goods are being landed from whole fleets of noble ships that bring hither treasures from all climes—all this, and more—where, but a few years ago, the lonely native caught and eat his opossum, or paddled his tiny canoe across the almost matchless harbour!

Not without strong misgivings as to the equity of such appropriations generally, do I make these remarks; but, in the cruel annals of colonization, I believe that of New South Wales to be the least objectionable. For the most part it has been peacefully effected, and the great disproportion of the scanty aboriginal population to the vast extent of habitable country still leaves a superfluous abundance to the natives, of both land and sustenance. Unlike the nobler and far more abused natives of New Zealand, they attach themselves to no particular spot, but within a certain wide boundary, which separates them from other aboriginal tribes, they wander about, without attachment or interest in one portion of country more than another, so that they can find abundance of food, the vicinity of Europeans' residences being sought and preferred for that reason.

We now made a few weeks' sojourn in Sydney, which, could we have laid the dust, moderated the heat, and dismissed the mosquitoes and their assistants, would have been very pleasant; but as it was, my colonial enjoyments were limited to our usual drives, and when able to walk at all, an idle, languid stroll in the beautiful Government gardens. For some days before Christmas, in our drives near the town, we used to meet numbers of persons carrying bundles of a beautiful native shrub, to decorate

the houses, in the same manner that we use holly and evergreens at home. Men, women, and children, white, brown, and black, were in the trade; and sometimes a horse approached, so covered with the bowery load he bore, that only his legs were visible, and led by a man nearly as much hidden; carts heaped up with the green and blossomed boughs came noddingly along, with children running beside them, decked out with sprays and garlands, laughing and shouting in proper Christmas jollity. I liked to see this attempt at the perpetuation of some of our ancient homely poetry of life, in this new and generally too prosaic Colony, where the cabalistic letters *£. s. d.* and *R U M* appear too frequently the alphabet of existence. It seemed like a good healthy memory of *home*; and I doubt not the decked-out windows and bouquet-filled chimney in many a tradesman's house gave a more home-like flavour to his beef or turkey, and aided in the remembrance of old days and old friends alike numbered with the past.

The shrub chosen as the Sydney "Christmas" is well worthy of the honour (the rough usage it receives rendering the quality of the post it occupies rather problematical, by the way). It is a handsome verdant shrub, growing from two to twelve or fifteen feet high, with leaves in shape like those of the horse-chestnut, but only two or three inches broad, with a dark green, polished, upper surface, the under one being pale. The flowers, which are irregularly star-shaped, come out in light terminal sprays, their chief peculiarity being, that they completely open whilst quite small, and of a greenish white colour; they then continue increasing in size, and gradually ripening in tint, becoming first a pearl white, then palest blush, then pink, rose-colour, and crimson: the constant change taking place in them, and the presence of all these hues at one time on a spray of half a dozen flowers, has a singularly pretty appearance. Their scent when freshly gathered is like that of new-mown hay. Great quantities of the shrubs grow in the neighbourhood of Sydney, or I should fear that such wholesale demolition as I witnessed would soon render them rare.

The "Christmas dinner" truly seemed to me a most odd and anomalous affair. Instead of having won a seasonable appetite by a brisk walk over the crisped snow, well muffled in warm

winter garments, I had passed the miserable morning, half-dead with heat, on the sofa, attired in the coolest muslin dress I possessed, sipping lemonade or soda-water, and endeavouring to remember all the enviable times when I had touched a lump of ice or grasped a snowball, and vainly watching the still, unruffled curtains of the open window for the first symptom of the afternoon sea-breeze.

I have heard persons who have lived for years in India say that they found the climate of Sydney by far the most oppressive; and I partly account for this by the better adaptation of Indian habitations to the heat, and their various contrivances for relief, which English people, choosing to build English houses in an un-English climate, never dream of providing. The only cool arrangement generally adopted is the substitution of an oiled cloth or matting for a carpet on sitting-room floors; some of the mattings are fine and rather pretty-looking, but the oiled cloth has always a kind of hair-dresser's-shop look about it, which not the most elegant furniture of every other description could reconcile to my old-world prejudices; and the noise which the softest step makes upon it is always unpleasant.

The prevailing vice of drunkenness among the lower orders is perhaps more resolutely practised at this season than any other. I have heard of a Christmas-day party being assembled, and awaiting the announcement of dinner as long as patience would endure; then ringing the bell, but without reply; and on the hostess proceeding to the kitchen, finding every servant either gone out or rendered incapable of moving, the intended feast being meanwhile burned to ashes. Nor is this by any means a rare occurrence; as the crowded police-office can bear ample testimony.

CHAPTER XIV.

Homebush—Colonial Country houses—The “Avenue”—Gates—Slip-rails—Bush-rangers—Mounted Police—Dingoes—Flying Fox—Flying Opossum—Native Cats—Birds—Robins—Swallows—Knife-grinder—Coachman—Bell-bird—Laughing Jackass—Larks—Game.

IN January, 1840, we removed to “Homebush,” an estate within eleven miles of Sydney, on the Parramatta river, where we proposed residing for a year or two; and rendered the ill-arranged and dilapidated old house a tolerably comfortable home. It contained two good rooms and five smaller ones; the veranda in front was one hundred feet long, by twelve in width, and was carried round the ends of the house in the same proportion, the whole neatly flagged; at the back, the line was broken by the two wings, leaving a shorter veranda in the centre, with the garden (or rather wilderness) before it, commanding a beautiful view of the river (a creek of which ran up towards the house), the opposite shores, and several wooded jutting points on our own side.*

Homebush was a fair specimen of a New South Wales settler’s residence, possessing many of the Colonial peculiarities. The house stood on the highest ground in the estate, and for some hundreds of acres all around not a native tree nor even a stump was visible, so completely had the land been cleared, although not worth cultivation. This desert bareness was a little relieved close to the house, by three magnificent Norfolk Island pines, which towered far above the roof; and by the then broken and ruined fruit-trees of what had been two very large orchards, which were

* On one of these was a school for young ladies, and any one addressing the principal by letter would be somewhat amused at the very alarmingly soft nature of the superscription, which would run thus:

“Mrs. Love,
Harmony House,
Concord,
Near Kissing Point!”

formerly well stocked with mulberry, plum, cherry, pear, apple, peach, orange, and loquat trees, but at the time of our taking the place, after its being vacant some years (or only occupied by a drunken overseer), the cattle had free ingress through the broken fences, and the fine orchards were utterly destroyed.

A curving road, nearly half a mile long, and some twenty yards wide, with a good four-rail fence on either side, led from the entrance gate, on the public road, to the house, and this, being unadorned by a single tree, was, according to a Colonial stretch of courtesy, termed the "Avenue;" much to my mystification, when, on inquiring for Mr. Meredith one day, a servant told me, "Master had just gone down the 'aveny.'" I pondered this announcement some moments, and not being able to recollect any thing of the kind near the place (for I confess my thoughts were wandering in search of some gum-tree likeness of the stately aisles of elms and limes that I loved so well at home), I was compelled to inquire where this "*terra incognita*" lay; and having once discovered that we *had* an "avenue," I never failed to remember its style and title.

Proceeding, then, along the avenue towards the house, a stranger might be apt to fancy he had entered at a wrong gate, for he would find himself led into the midst of all the farm-buildings; stock-yards, cow-sheds, barn, stable, and piggeries ranging on his left hand, whilst huts for the farm servants lay on his right; and in front, commanding a full view of all these ornamental edifices, the hall door of the house! Such being the almost universal arrangement in the Colony; and, as compared with many other settlers' houses, this was rather aristocratic. Why the approach to a farm-house here should be so much more dirty, unpleasant, and intrusive than in England, I know not; but certain it is that in visiting a colonist you are generally obliged to inspect every other portion of the establishment before you can reach the apartments of the family.

Another universal inconvenience is, that you never see a *gate*, or so rarely as only to be the exception to the rule. "Slip-rails" are the substitute; five or six heavy long poles loosely inserted in sockets made in two upright posts. They may be stepped over by a horse if only lowered at one end, but to allow any vehicle to enter, each one has to be lifted out and put aside;

and it often happens that four or five of these troublesome and slovenly contrivances occur in the approach to one house, with the invariable additional charm (in winter) of a deep squashy pool of mud around each one; yet, most probably, when you do gain your destination, if a dinner-party be the occasion, you find a table spread with abundance of plate, glass, damask, and costly viands, and a profusion of expensive wines. Such inconsistencies perpetually struck me, showing the general preference for glitter and show, rather than sterling English comfort. A settler will perhaps keep two or three carriages, and furnish his house in a costly style, yet grudge the labour of a carpenter to convert some of the useless wood around him into gates for his farm and grounds. Homebush did possess a gate, but, as was requisite, to be in proper Colonial "keeping," one half was off its hinges, and the companion-moiety never consented to open unless it was lifted; therefore, on the whole, it was remarkably convenient.

During nearly the whole time of our residence here the public road near us was infested by a gang of bush-rangers, or rather footpads, who committed many robberies on persons travelling past; but although we and our servants constantly traversed the dreaded road, we were never molested. Possibly the shelter and concealment they very probably found in some of the dense scrubs and thickets which skirted part of our ground near the scene of their exploits, induced them to adopt the fox's policy, who rarely "robs near his own den;" but the constant depredations we heard of rendered our drives far less pleasant to me, although a double-barrelled gun usually accompanied us. One day we met the clergyman of Cook's River,* who, on his way to dine with the Governor at Parramatta, had been stopped by three of the party, who took his money and a very valuable watch. He had directly ridden to the nearest public-house, not a quarter of a mile off, and, with some of the inmates and an old musket, had diligently scoured the bush in pursuit, but without again seeing the gang, who within an hour robbed some persons in another road. They one day took from a poor woman even her wedding-ring, and for several months continued the same prac-

* Cook's River is an arm of the sea, running inland from Botany Bay, and on its banks are many pleasant residences, and the prettiest church in the Colony.

tices on this, the most frequented public road near Sydney, almost without an attempt being made for their capture; for so constantly were they "at work," that had the police been desirous of taking them, they could not have failed. In the case of the more formidable gangs of bush-rangers, who by their outrages often become the terror of a wide rural district, the "mounted police" is an excellent and efficient force. It consists of picked and well-paid volunteers from the regiments in the Colony, and the officers are generally brave and intelligent young men, who, when they *look* for a bush-ranger, generally *find* him; two terms by no means synonymous among the constabulary.

During our stay at Bathurst, a party of the mounted police went in search of a very daring gang of bush-rangers, or, as they are sometimes called, "bolters." After some search, the officer in command, Lieut. Hilliard (of the 86th or 28th, I forget which), divided his force, taking one route himself, accompanied by a single trooper, and sent the rest in an opposite direction. He had not gone far before he found the gang of seven desperadoes comfortably bivouacking, with eleven stand of arms, loaded, beside them; and by a sudden and gallant attack, secured them all, and brought them into Bathurst; his prowess being duly appreciated by the settlers, who presented him with a valuable token of their gratitude.

The plan usually pursued by the bush-rangers in robbing a house (which I imagine they very rarely do without collision with the servants) is to walk quietly in, and "bail up," *i. e.* bind with cords, or otherwise secure, the male portion, leaving an armed guard over them, whilst the rest of the gang ransack the house, taking all firearms, money, plate, or valuables, together with what clothes or stores they require. Resistance is out of the question, silence or death being the alternative. One friend of ours on such an occasion sprang across the room to seize his gun, the moment the bush-rangers entered, but they fired, and he was severely wounded, without gaining his object; another gentleman had several fingers shot off, but the wretches seldom commit murder if their victims quietly submit to their peremptory demands.

Another unpleasant class of neighbours were the native dogs, or dingoes, evidently a species of wolf, or perhaps the connect-

ing link between the wolf and dog. These creatures were very numerous around us, and their howling or yelling at night in the neighbouring forests had a most dismal, unearthly kind of tone. They are more the figure of a Scotch colly, or sheep-dog, than any other I can think of as a comparison, but considerably larger, taller, and more gaunt-looking, with shaggy, wiry hair, and most often of a sandy colour. Their appearance is altogether wolfish, and the expression of the head especially so, nor do their ferocious habits by any means weaken the likeness.

We had a number of calves, which, for greater safety from these savage animals, were folded at night in one of the old orchards adjoining the house; but several of the poor little ones fell victims to the dingoes. Shortly after our arrival at our new residence, we were one night alarmed by a fearful outcry among the calves, and Mr. Meredith, who instantly divined the cause, got up, and found several dingoes dragging along one of the youngest of the herd; as they ran away he fired, but the night being thickly dark, the brutes escaped. The cries of terror among the poor calves had brought all the cows to the spot, and the indescribable moaning and bellowing they continued until morning showed their instinctive knowledge of the danger. The poor wounded calf was so much injured that it died the following day, and its unhappy mother, after watching and comforting it as long as life remained, never ceased her cries and moans till she entirely lost her voice from hoarseness: I have rarely seen anything more distressing than the poor animal's misery; and to prevent such an occurrence again, the youngest calves were always locked in the stable at night.

The dingoes rarely kill their victim at once, but coolly commence *eating* it, at whatever part they chance to have first laid hold of, three or four often gnawing at the unfortunate animal together, whilst its agonised cries do not seem to disturb their horrible feast in the slightest degree; and unless by chance a vital part is destroyed, the maimed creature probably lingers during hours of protracted and unimaginable torture.

Their audacity, too, is quite equal to their other engaging qualities. Finding that our veal was not to be obtained, a party of them made an onslaught on our pork, and very early one morning carried off a nice fat pig, nearly full grown. Luckily pigs

are not often disposed to be silent martyrs, and the one in question made so resolute a protest against the abduction, that the noise reached Mr. Meredith, who immediately gave chase, and soon met the main body of porkers trotting home at a most unwonted speed, whilst the voice of woe continued its wail in the distance; on coming to the spot, he found two dingoes dragging off the pig by the hind legs towards a thick scrub; he fired, wounding one, when both released their victim and made off, the poor pig trotting home, telling a long and emphatic story of its wrongs and sufferings, from which it eventually recovered. In about two hours after this, a lame white dingo, the same which had been so lately shot at, boldly chased my two pet goats into the veranda!

On one occasion Mr. Meredith was travelling from one station to another with a number of cattle, both old and young, and at night had, as usual, placed them in a secure stock-yard, the calves being with the cows. On going to see them turned out in the morning, the peculiar moaning of a cow struck him as being similar to that of one which had lost her calf; but knowing they were all right the night before, he paid little attention to it, until, on observing a skin and fresh blood just outside the rails, he examined more closely, and found that the dingoes had contrived to drag a young calf through the bars of the stock-yard, and had devoured it (doubtless nearly alive) within a foot or two of the miserable cow, who could see and hear, but not help, her poor little one.

Frequently, when their visits are interrupted, a foal or calf is found with a limb half-eaten away, and the utmost vigilance is requisite to protect the yet more helpless sheep from their ravenous jaws. All flocks are folded at night and watched. Two yards or folds are usually erected near together, between which the watchman has his box, and a large bright fire, and frequently during the night he walks round with his dogs.

I had not the satisfaction of seeing any of the marauders about us taken, though they were continually seen by the servants skulking about, early in the morning, and I have seen them pass through our veranda before sunrise, followed by our own dogs, barking and growling their evident dislike of the intruders. The dingoes do not bark, but howl and yell most dismally. The

Cumberland hounds meet occasionally in the neighbourhood of Homebush, and I hoped they would find and destroy some; but though repeatedly on the scent, they did not succeed, and the members of the "hunt" seemed generally to prefer having their fox (dingo) in a bag, to the trouble, or, as I should have supposed it, sport of finding one in the forest.

The "flying fox" of New South Wales is an animal I do not remember to have seen any published account of, yet it is a very remarkable one. I had often heard Mr. Meredith speak of the quantities of these creatures that he had seen on the shores of the Hunter's River, but was not aware we had any of them near us, until one moonlight night, whilst initiating an English friend into the barbarous mysteries of opossum-shooting (familiarly termed "possumin"), he heard a great flapping and rustling amongst the branches and leaves above his head, and firing, brought down a very fine specimen of the flying fox.

I forget the dimensions which Dr. Buckland assigns to the pterodactyle, the gigantic bat of a former world; but this seemed a not unworthy representative of the species, the wings measuring between four and five feet at their full expansion, and the body being larger than that of a well-conditioned rat. The head more resembles that of a dog than a bat, covered, like the middle and hinder portions of the body, with thick black fur, that round the neck being fox-coloured. The claws and limbs of the wings are very strong, and the membrane very tough and elastic.

These giant bats are especially destructive in orchards, as they have a great penchant for ripe fruit, particularly peaches, and their mode of gathering their dessert not being economical, they knock off great quantities while buffeting about in the trees; added to which, their scent is so exceedingly unpleasant that no fruit they have once touched is eatable.

I never saw any other large bats here. Several of a small kind, apparently very similar to the common little English bat, used to flit about the house in an evening; but I liked them too well to molest them.

One dead specimen of the flying opossum was brought to me. The head greatly resembles in its gentle expression those of the other kinds of opossum, and with a still greater length of prehensile tail. The fore and hind legs on either side are enclosed

in the soft, elastic, furry membrane, which spreads like a bat's wing from the back, leaving only the sharply clawed feet exposed. On having the body skinned, I observed that this membrane was double, and easily separated, but without the slightest particle of any other substance between the two thin, almost transparent textures. The upper portion was covered with warm black fur; the under part had a thinner covering of soft, greyish white hair.

Several of the mischievous little animals commonly called native cats (*Dasyurus* — ?) were destroyed by our dogs. They seem to occupy the same place in Australia that the weasel and ferret family do at home, being terribly destructive if they can get into the henhouse; not only killing to eat, but continuing to kill as many fowls or turkeys as they have time for, leaving a sad spectacle of mangled corpses behind them. They are pretty, but have a sharp, vicious countenance, very different to the deer-like expression of the herbivorous animals here. Their common colour is grey, finely spotted with white; the tail thin, covered with rather long, wiry hair, which forms a sort of tassel at the end. They are about the size of a lean, half-grown domestic cat, very agile, fierce, and strong, and extremely tenacious of life. Dogs seem to have a natural propensity to destroy them, but sometimes find the engagement rather more equal than they might wish.

Very few birds came near our house, but among those few was the robin (*Petroica phænicea*?), as much more beautiful in plumage as he is inferior in note to our winter darling in England, but with exactly the same jaunty air, and brisk, quick manner. His attire is, I really think, the most exquisite of all the feathered creatures here: the breast is the most vivid geranium-colour, softening to a paler shade towards the wings, which are glossy black, with clear white markings across them; the back is also black, with a white spot on the crown of the head, and the tail-feathers are also barred with white. The colours are so clear and distinct as almost to convey the idea of different garments put on and fitted with the most exquisite taste; whilst the gay, frolicsome air, and intelligent, bright, black eyes of the little beau tell you that he is by no means unconscious of the very favourable impression his appearance must create. He

hops about, sings a few notes of a soft, lively little song; flies to a rail or low tree, and arranges some fancied impropriety in a wing-feather; then surveys the glossy spread of his tail as he peeps over his shoulder, and after a few more hops, and another small warble, very sweet and very low—a passing glance, like the flash of a tiny flambeau, and he is gone!

Some robins, which I supposed the females, have a less vivid scarlet on the breast, though similar in all other respects.

When we first came to Homebush, I observed fragments of many swallows' nests in the veranda, and marks where others had been, but had wholly crumbled away, the constant heat so drying the mud that it could not stick, and the poor birds were in constant danger of losing both their patient labour and their helpless young. To obviate this sad distress, I had a few little shelves nailed up in the most retired part of the veranda, as foundations for the nests, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing a nice strong superstructure raised on one of them, from which in process of time five downy little heads emerged, opening very wide mouths for the food constantly supplied by the parent birds. Only one family placed themselves thus under our immediate protection, but many others built in the old barn and other outhouses.

One bird which frequently came near the house has a very singular note, which has gained for him the Colonial *sobriquet* of the "knife-grinder;" a portion of his song bearing a most accurate resemblance to the sound of grinding a knife on the grindstone, giving exactly the crew - - - whiss - ss - ss -, but in a most musical and dulcet tone. His attire, as befitting an artisan, is somewhat sober and plain.

Another equally singular voice among our feathered friends was that of the "coachman," than which no title could be more appropriate, his chief note being a long clear whistle, with a smart crack of the whip to finish with. Although I have often heard his fine clear voice sounding far above me, from his favourite perch in the top of the highest tree near, I never had a distinct view of Mr. Jehu.

The "bell-bird" has, as may be supposed, won its appellation from the resemblance of its deep full voice to the tones of a bell; and that general favourite, the "laughing jackass," equally well merits the first portion of his title, by his merry and most musical

peals of laughter ; but why he should be called a "*jackass*" at all, I am at a loss to divine. Under this name, however, he is generally respected in the colony, being an adroit destroyer of snakes, guanas, and other reptiles. When many of these merry birds congregate together, the effect is extremely droll : first one begins alone, and laughs lustily out at the top of his voice ; a second, third, and fourth then take up the strain, like glee-singers, till the whole party are fairly off, and the very trees seem to peal out along with them. I am half inclined to fancy that Martini's popular laughing chorus, "*Vadasi via di qua*," must have been suggested by the voices of my friends the Australian jackasses ; certain it is, that both songs have an equally infectious spirit, and set the most gloomy-minded listener laughing in concert, whether he will or no. The poor birds often fall victims to their own accomplishments, for, being much esteemed as "pets," they are frequently maimed to prevent their escape, and tied by the leg or closely caged, whilst their less human persecutors spoil their naturally merry voices by teaching them a few lame bars of some London-alley tune ; and "All round my Hat," "Jump Jim Crow," or "Sich a getting up Stairs," tells a melancholy story of their miserable fate.

Many small birds, with which I am not sufficiently acquainted to describe them, inhabited our woods ; and one or two kinds of "larks," as they are called, used to rise in considerable numbers from the dry grass-tufts, as we walked over the cleared land. A few quail, a chance wild duck or teal, and one solitary snipe, formed our list of game at Homebush, and I scarcely saw a parrot during our stay.

CHAPTER XV.

Norfolk Island Pine—English Pear-tree—Daisy—Bush Flowers—Creepers—“He-oak”—Zamia—“Wooden Pear-tree”—Native Cherry—Insect Architecture—Twig Nests, &c.—Butterflies—Ground-Spiders—Tarantula—Silk-Spiders—Scorpions—Hornets—Mosquitoes—Ants.

THE Norfolk Island pine (*Aracauria excelsa*), of which, as I have before remarked, we had three magnificent specimens close to the house, is certainly the most noble and stately tree of all the pine family that I have ever seen, beautiful as are they all. The tall, erect, and tapering stem (seventy or eighty feet high), the regularity of the circling branches, lessening by small degrees from the widely-spread expanse below, to the tiny cross that crowns the summit of the exquisite natural spire, and the richly verdant, dense, massive foliage clothing the whole with an unfading array of scale-armour, form altogether the finest model of a pine that can be imagined. The cones too are worthy to grow on such a tree; solid ponderous things, as large as a child's head—not a *baby's* head, neither—with a fine embossed coat of mail, firmly seated on the beam-like branches, as if defying the winds to shake them.

Mr. Meredith climbed very nearly to the summit of our tallest pine, and said he had never seen anything more beautiful than the downward view into and over the mass of diverging branches spread forth beneath him. He brought me down one cone, with its spray, if so I may call the armful of thick green shoots that surrounded it, and I was gazing at it for half the day after; it was so different from anything I had seen before, so new, and so grandly beautiful. The rigidity of the foliage had a sculpture-like character, that made me think how exquisitely Gibbons would have wrought its image in some of his graceful and stately designs, had he ever seen the glorious tree.

One of those at Homebush grew near to the front veranda,

and some of its enormous roots had spread under the heavy stone pavement, lifting it up in an arch, like a bridge.

When the cones ripened, the large winged seeds fell out in great numbers; they require to be planted immediately, if at all, as the oil in them quickly dries out, and with it the vegetative properties are lost.

Close under the towering pines grew a common English pear-tree; a crooked, wide-spreading, leafy, farm-house-garden sort of pear-tree, that won my especial love, from the good old-fashioned pictures of gable-ended houses and neat garden-orchards it brought into my mind, and the glory and delight of its spring-time blossoms was an earnest and most child-like joy to me. Surely never was pear-tree so watched and gazed on, both morning, evening, and moonlight!—for Sydney moonlights are like tropical ones, so clear, so silver-bright, that I could see to read small print as well as by day—and the old pear-tree shone out in them like a beautiful vision of home, telling store of pleasant stories in each fluttering leaf that fell from its thousands of flowers—telling of bloomy fragrant gardens, with velvet turf paths, and shady arbours, and singing birds, and little running brooks, *one* of whose silver threads near our thirsty home would have been a priceless treasure—oh! it was an exhaustless remembrancer of pleasant by-gones was that old pear-tree!

Its rival in my home-loving regards was a little root of the double daisy, which, as a great treasure, my husband brought me one day from a gardener's. It lived, as very few daisies do at home, I can tell them, in a pot by itself, and was carried into the shade, and watered daily, and tended with as much solicitude as any *rara avis* of the choicest conservatory. It bore two nice pinky-white daisies, just like real English ones; and then, during an illness I had, in which I could not attend to it, it withered away, and my first glance into the garden showed me the scorched remains of my poor favourite.

Many very pretty native flowers and shrubs adorned our "bush," or rather forest, and the graceful native indigo crept up many bushes and fences, sometimes totally hiding them with its elegant draperies. Another handsome climber of the same family (*Kennedia*) has rich crimson flowers, very long in the part called the keel, with bright yellow stamens protruding from its

point. This species climbs to a height of twenty or thirty feet, and the dark leaves and drooping flowers hang down in elegant pendulous wreaths. But the most beautiful climbing plant I have yet seen in Australia, I know not the name of, nor can I find any botanical description to suit it, except that of *Bignonia Australis*, which it possibly is. The leaves resemble those of the jessamine in form, but are much larger, and of a rich glossy green; the flowers fox-glove shaped, in long axillary sprays, their colour being a delicate cream-colour, beautifully variegated within by bright purple markings. I only found one plant of it, in a (comparatively) cool moist thicket in our Homebush wood.

Great quantities of a tall, handsome, herbaceous plant, commonly called the "mock-cotton tree," grew near us, and by the roadsides around Sydney, it having at one time been introduced as a probably profitable speculation, but the cotton was not found to be a marketable article. The clusters of white flowers are extremely beautiful, having very much the structure of the *Hoya carnosae*, and are full of clear honey. I used to put them to a very ignoble use, namely, as fly-cages, to attract the troublesome swarms from our picture-frames, which the honey-laden blossoms effected to a great extent.

The seed-pods are large, and full of most beautiful soft filaments, like white floss silk, which before they are ruffled by the wind have a bright and silvery gloss, that might well tempt a trial of so fair a material in manufactures. It looks as if it might be spun into an exquisite stuff between cambric and satin; and I think still, that some clever genius of the spinning-jennies might weave us a most dainty and gossamer fabric of its fine and even threads, which are the wings of the seeds, and being so light and long, waft them an immense distance, often to the annoyance of the agriculturist, who would by no means partake in my idle admiration of his insidious foe. I suppose it is a species of *Asclepias*.

Small shrubs with yellow and orange papilionaceous blossoms abounded everywhere, some clinging to the ground like mosses, and others, with every variety of soft and hard, smooth and prickly leaves that can be imagined, growing into tall shrubs, all very pretty, but with so strong a family likeness that I grew fastidious among them, and rarely gathered more than two or

three. A small scentless violet and a bright little yellow sorrel (which is an excellent salad-herb) made some few patches of the dry earth gay with their blue and golden blossoms, and the ground convolvulus and southern harebell seldom failed to greet me in our rambles. Various kinds of epacris also abounded, with delicate wax-like pink and white flowers.

The trees called by the Colonists "he-oak" and "she-oak" (*Casuarina stricta* and *C. torulosa*) form a remarkable feature in Australian scenery. They are usually of rather handsome forms, with dark, rough, permanent bark, and brownish-olive foliage, resembling in structure the "horse-tails" of English brooks, consisting of long tufts of jointed grassy branchlets, hanging down like coarse hair, or a horse's tail. The he-oak has much shorter tresses than the she-oak, which may perhaps have given rise to the absurd Colonial distinction of the species (as they belong to the order *Monocotyledonae*). The blossoms in spring appear like a small crimson fringe on portions of the branches, and the succeeding cones are the size of a pigeon's egg, very roughly tubercled. Perhaps none of all the novel trees in this Colony have so completely strange and un-English an aspect as these; and in a moderate breeze the tones uttered amongst their thousands of waving, whispering strings are far from unmusical, and reminded me of the lower, wailing notes of an Æolian harp. However luxuriant may be the foliage of one of these singular trees, the skeleton form of the branches is never hidden, but every twig shows itself, making a drawing of one rather a puzzling affair to so humble a limner as myself.

She-oak is especially liked as fuel. It is said that this name has been borrowed from the *sheac*, or cheoak, of America, in consequence of some resemblance in the wood.

The zamia, now so well known in English stoves, I have often observed near Sydney, with its handsome coronet of palm-like leaves gracefully spreading round the central cone. Near the road to Cook's River they grow very numerously.

The name, and some resemblance in form between the seed-vessel and the fruit, form all the likeness which the famed "wooden pear-tree" of Australia bears to its more useful namesake at home. One or two large specimens of the wooden fruit which I saw were the size of a good Jargonelle pear. When

ripe, they split open from end to end, showing a solid wooden structure, with the thin winged seeds scaling off the inner sides. Several other shrubs bear similar seed-vessels of a smaller size.

The "native cherry" (*Exocarpus cupressiformis*) has no better claim to its borrowed title than the pear-tree, being in foliage more like a cypress, but of a brighter and yellower green than the generality of trees in this ever-brown region. Its form is usually handsome, although it seldom attains a large size, and the wood is remarkably close, hard, and finely grained, well adapted for turning or carving. The fruit, so celebrated among Antipodean contrarities for having the "stone outside," is like a small yew-berry, but still less pleasant in flavour, with a hard seed growing from its end, fancifully termed the stone. Of all countries or climates, I think that of Australia must be the most barren of useful natural products of the vegetable kingdom; for this miserable "cherry" is the best specimen of its indigenous fruits, if not the only one; nor am I aware of any one edible grain or root fit for human food. Some florid descriptive writers have, I know, luxuriated in depicting imaginary gardens of "parsley and wild carrots," amidst which the cattle are said to revel in abundance; but whilst in the Colony I never heard of such things. Perhaps the wretched root which, as I have before mentioned, the aborigines dig for when all other sustenance fails them, may be the "carrot" in question; but it is too hot, stringy, bitter, and small to be of the slightest use to Europeans.

Some of the insect-architects here are most extraordinary creatures; but I grieve to say I know comparatively little about them, my chief acquaintance being with their deserted houses, of which I have several kinds. Some of these are formed of straight twigs, the sixth or eighth part of an inch thick, and from two to four inches long, placed side by side in a circular form, and very strongly webbed together within, so that it is impossible to tear them asunder without breaking the twigs, the ends of which usually project beyond the closed portion of the cell, which is suspended by a strong web woven over the spray of a tree or shrub, so as to let it swing with the wind. I have sometimes seen a large white caterpillar inside an unfinished cell, and on one or two occasions have observed a bush or tree so full



Strong bags of web, with sticks strongly fastened round them.



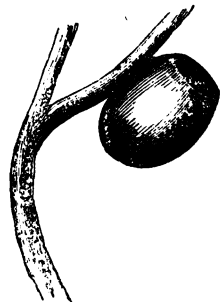
Bag of silky web, with small twigs woven and cemented on it.



Cone of web, with dry leaves loosely attached to it.



Cone of web, with small twigs and grass straws attached.



Cell like an egg, stuck on a twig.

of these pendent berths as to give them the appearance of a good crop of some fruit or seed ; but (very stupidly) I always limited my collection to the vacant ones, or I might have learned much more of their economy. How such a creature could cut off, and carry to their destined place, pieces of twig four or five times its own weight, I cannot imagine : that they were cut expressly for the purpose is evident from the neat manner in which the ends are rounded off : they are left of uneven lengths, and not webbed on the outside, which, together with their being hung so as to wave with the leaves of the tree, seem all precautions against discovery.

Some are formed in the same manner of much smaller twigs ; others are pointed bags of strong web, with small bits of stick fastened at intervals on the outside ; and some are formed of a webbed bag, to which quantities of small dead leaves are attached by one end only, so as to cover it entirely, and flutter like a withered bunch of leaves ; but all are hung upon trees as much resembling the nests in colour and aspect as possible. Those I have opened are lined within with the smoothest white silken web, the outer portion being brown or ash-coloured, to correspond with the tint of the twigs or leaves.

I have two examples of another kind of cell, like a very small bird's egg, of a brown ash-colour, with one end open and the other firmly attached to a twig. At first it might be mistaken for the empty seed-vessel of a plant (had I not gathered it from a pod-bearing shrub) ; but on inspection the cell seems evidently built upon, not grown out of, the spray. The egg-shape is perfect, and the open end smoothly finished. Both those I found were empty, their texture was quite smooth and hard, the same substance to all appearance as the bark on which they were so firmly lodged.

I saw very few butterflies in New South Wales, not more than two species, I think, both of a finely spotted copper colour. Large moths are more numerous ; but of these I did not notice many remarkable ones. Whilst we were at Bathurst, the settlers were complaining of a kind of white grub which infested the roots of the corn, and by eating through the stalks destroyed the crops ; I have seen half a dozen, or more of them, at one root. Before we left Bathurst, a prodigious number of small copper

butterflies were seen flying about, and I had strong suspicions of their being identical with the destructive grubs.

The ground-spiders may well be ranked among the wonderful native architects of Australia; they are of various sizes, and differ in their colour, form, and markings. They hollow a circular hole in the earth, adapted to the size of their body, and more beautifully formed and perfectly round than any engineer with all his scientific instruments could have made it. Within, it is nicely tapestried with the finest web, woven closely over the wall of this subterranean withdrawing-room, the depth of which I never accurately ascertained, as at a certain distance they seem to curve, or perhaps lead into a side-cell, where the feelers of fine grass I have introduced could not penetrate. Some of these tunnels terminate at the surface with merely a slight web spun over the grains of soil close to the aperture, as if to prevent their rolling into it; the holes being from one-sixth of an inch to an inch or more in diameter. Some of them boast the extraordinary luxury of a front door; these I imagine to be rather first-rate kind of spiders, and their doors are as beautiful instances of insect skill and artifice as any that our wonder-teeming world displays to us. When shut down over the hole, nothing but the most accurate previous knowledge could induce any person to fancy they could perceive any difference in the surface of the soil; but, perhaps, if you remain very still for some minutes, the clever inhabitant will come forth, when you first perceive a circle of earth, perhaps the size of a wedding-ring or larger, lifted up from beneath, like a trap-door; it falls back gently on its hinge side, and a fine, hairy, beautifully pencilled brown or grey spider pops out, and most probably pops in again, to sit just beneath the opening, and wait for his dinner of flies or other eatable intruders. Then we see that the under side and the rim of his earthen door are thickly and neatly webbed over, so that not a grain of soil can fall away from its thickness, which is usually about the eighth or tenth of an inch, and although so skilfully webbed below, the upper surface preserves exactly the same appearance as the surrounding soil. The hinge consists also of web, neatly attached to that of the lid and the box. I have the greatest respect and admiration for these clever mechanics, and though I very often, with a

bent of grass or a soft green twig, try to persuade one to come up and be looked at (which they generally do, nipping fast hold of the intrusive probe), I never was guilty of hurting one. I have picked very large ones off ground that the plough had just turned over, and have carried them to places unlikely to be disturbed: and I generally have two or three particular friends among them, whom I frequently take a peep at. They often travel some distance from home, probably in search of food, as I have overtaken and watched them returning, when they seldom turn aside from hand or foot placed in their way, but go steadily on at a good swift pace, and, after dropping into their hole, put forth a claw, and hook the door to after them, just as a man would close a trap-door above him when descending a ladder.

The tarantula is not quite so great a favourite with me, as I have strong suspicions of its bite being venomous. At first I understood them to be harmless, although servants and ignorant people hold them in great abhorrence, and, unless too frightened to approach, always kill them when discovered. Certainly the appearance of a full-sized tarantula is by no means prepossessing. An oval body nearly an inch long, and a proportionably large head and shoulders, are surrounded by eight bent-up legs, two or three inches long, covered, as are also the head and body, with thick, fine, brown, hair-like fur. When disturbed they scramble along at a rapid rate, and are very frequent residents behind pictures or furniture against the wall, often causing terrific screams from one's housemaid, which are somewhat alarming, until, on inquiry, the dreadful words "*A Triantelope, Ma'am!*" are gasped out, and the tragedy ends in the death, or, as I usually arrange it, the careful expulsion of the intruder.

Not being learned in entomology, I know not if the tarantula is a spinning spider or not, but I never saw one in a web, or detected any thread attached to their bodies. Out of doors their favourite haunts are old trees, where they live between the loose bark and the wood, or in cracks of wooden fences; and from the large families of several generations which I have sometimes discovered, I imagine their habits to be somewhat patriarchal.

Several persons of education and intelligence have assured me of their dangerous nature, but I have never yet witnessed an instance of it, and they are such patient and industrious fly-

catchers, that so long as they confine their perambulations to the ceiling, or the upper portion of the walls of a room, I never disturb them.

Many other large kinds of spider are common, and frequently in the woods I have found some with immense webs of dark yellow silk, which would bear a tolerable pull without breaking; the threads being far thicker and stronger than those of the silkworm, and often stretched from tree to tree in a length of several yards. The weavers of these are very handsomely marked spiders of various colours, bright green being a prevalent one. If, as I remember hearing some years since, spiders' web can be spun into gloves and lace, the manufacturers would do well to procure a supply of the raw material from Australia.

We once found what appeared to be the first essay of a numerous family of young spiders at setting up in life on their own account. The large parent web, of strong bright silk, was spread out in all its exquisite and regular divisions across a path, with the portly owner daintily arrayed in green, with leopard-spot markings, staidly poised in the centre; and close by, scattered amongst the twigs and leaves of the thick shrubs, hung a multitude of *little* starry webs, with a little spider seated in the midst of each, all exactly the same size, and bearing a strong filial resemblance to the large one.

The scorpion is a far more truly formidable creature than the tarantula, and, as it frequently lives in old wood, is apt to be brought into the house with the fuel. It is the real, orthodox, zodiacal scorpion, with its hideous scaly, claw-armed body, and long jointed tail, ending in a fearful sting, a wound from which is severely painful, and often of dangerous consequence. It is, without doubt, the most horrible-looking of all the creeping and crawling fraternity that I am acquainted with; and even my philanthropy cannot defend the detestable scorpion, which I ruthlessly kill whenever an opportunity offers. Those I have seen in these Colonies are about two inches long, the tail being about half the entire length; and when the creature is disturbed, this diabolical tail seems to turn on a dozen pivots, darting in every direction, until, when hard pressed or wounded, the creature most assuredly stings itself (even without being "girt by fire"), but whether accidentally, or with intent to commit *felo de se*, of course no one can decide, unless

some vicious, venomous individual who *was* a scorpion “in Pythagoras’ time” can throw light on this poesy-honoured question!

On several evenings I was driven from the veranda, where we commonly sat for some time after sunset, by the sudden appearance of great numbers of large hornets flying in all directions; and the cattle and horses seemed, by their half frantic demeanour and loud cries, as well aware as ourselves what dangerous visitors had arrived, although we did not find that any of the animals were stung. All the fences near the house were thickly occupied by the hornets, who seemed, by their loud buzzing and rapid movements, to be themselves in a state of great excitement. These tumultuous and most unpleasant assemblies took place for several evenings in succession, but fortunately the terror of all our household sufficed to keep every one as much within doors as possible, and we all escaped being stung. I did not even see a single hornet in the house, which, with such countless swarms careering through the air all around, and even in the veranda, seems rather singular.

Mosquitoes used to rise in positive clouds from the banks of the creek in the evening, and if I dared to remain then near the water, they severely punished my temerity, their long sharp proboscis piercing like a fine needle through shoes, gloves, dress, or shawl, and the shrill hum of some hundreds round my face seeming to promise a still further increase of their delicate attentions. A precipitate retreat was my only resource, for most fortunately we were rarely annoyed by them within doors, and there at least I could escape the torments.

But the house, as if no place in this Colony could be free from nuisances, was assailed by myriads of ants, that made their way into every description of sweet stuff, through every kind of barrier; jars, canisters, boxes, and papers were alike unavailing; whatever I touched seemed alive with ants, and their industry was unwearied; day and night the “runs,” or paths they traversed, were always black with their countless millions, like a miniature Cheapside or Ludgate Hill, and none of our destructive or protective measures seemed to make the least difference. If one million were scalded, two more supplied their place, and I have met some of the little foragers with bits of sugar in their mouths far down the garden, showing their plans of business to be on a most extensive scale.

CHAPTER XVI.

Guanas—Lizards—Snakes—Salt - Marshes—Fishing—Crabs—Toad-fish—Mangrove-trees—Romance and Reality—Night Sounds—Orange-groves—Gardens—Gigantic Lily—Scarcity of Fresh Water—Winter Rains—Salt Well—Climate in Winter—Society—Conversation—Servants—Embark for Van Diemen's Land.

MANY large kinds of guanas inhabit New South Wales; some, which have been described to me, must be enormous reptiles. I have only seen two species, the most common being generally called the sleeping lizard, and is found also in Van Diemen's Land. It is about a foot or fourteen inches in length, the body dark coloured, fat, and bloated-looking; the tail short and thick; the head broad, with a snaky expression, and a long blue tongue, which gives the poor animal a terrible reputation among the vulgar, who declare that so blue a tongue must be a proof of its venomous nature. I believe, if the poor stupid creatures had the sense to keep their ill-hued tongues out of sight, many hundreds would escape violent deaths. Contrary to the habits of most lizards, which are remarkable for their extreme activity and timid alertness on the approach of a footstep, or the slightest noise, the sleeping guana is often seen lying in the midst of the road, and frequently the crushed body of one bears disastrous evidence of the fatal consequences of indolence. Sometimes we have turned aside to avoid driving over them, or have bestowed a light lash of the whip in passing, which only caused them to crawl slowly away, as if our friendly hint were a most officious and impertinent proceeding, and they had rather a preference for being trodden or rolled to death. They are most undeniably ugly creatures, although without the hideous pouch-cheeks of the West Indian guanas; but we always considered them quite harmless, until a little incident which occurred since our residence in Van Diemen's Land led us to suspect them of being at

least capable of mischief. One day, last summer, we found one lying in our path, during a bush-ramble; and without any intention to hurt or annoy the animal, but merely to intimate that its place of repose was an unsafe one, Mr. Meredith touched it gently with the barrel of his gun, when, instead of retreating as might be expected, it turned fiercely round, and snapped repeatedly at the gun, just as a savage dog would do, and bit so sharply and strongly as to cut into the solid iron with its teeth, as deeply as a hard stroke of a diamond cuts into glass. Had a hand or foot been in the place of the gun, a fearful wound must have been inflicted. Still, as they appear only to act on the defensive, I see no reason for wantonly destroying them, although I would not advise any one to incur their bite.

My other acquaintance in the guana-family is a far less loathsome creature; I have only seen one specimen, which Mr. Meredith shot, as it was swiftly climbing a tree, with only its head exposed, watching his movements. The head and body of this together were not more than ten inches long, but the slender tapering tail measured more than twice as much. The head had no pouch-cheeks, but was a sharp, knowing-looking lizard's head, covered with small, close, hard scales, as were the entire body, tail, and legs; the feet had long toes, and long, sharp, black claws, evidently well adapted for climbing trees, and seeming as if, like the natives' yahoo, it could turn its feet any way required. The whole of the creature was most beautifully piebald black and white, and in some parts the old scaly coat was shelling off, leaving a brighter new one below. This guana had moveable teeth, like those of the snake, but, I need scarcely say, we were not anxious to experimentalize upon their qualities. By the ignorant, and even by some persons who might be supposed to know better, these animals are termed goannas, and I have heard of a "great pianna" among them.

Numbers of a small kind of lizard, about five or six inches long, used to frequent the garden as well as the "bush," and two took up their abode in my china-pantry, where I often saw them crouching motionless on the dresser, watching the flies till one came near enough to be snapped up in their nimble jaws. Flies were so great a torment, that I respected anything which aided to destroy them, and accordingly never molested the lizards;

but my housemaid, who, I fear, was destitute of all taste for natural history, had a great dread of my poor friends, and either used to run shrieking away, or fling something at them whenever they ventured into her sight. They were agile, delicate little creatures, with bright black eyes, slender long-tailed bodies of a mottled grey and pale brown colour, and extremely fine small feet and toes. Still, they were reptiles, and the common prejudice against their race extended even to these very harmless little creatures.

With the snake tribe in New South Wales, I am happy to say my personal acquaintance is very limited, for I fully partake in the horror usually and very reasonably entertained of them. Our servants had frequently raised an alarm about a "large black snake," which lived in an unoccupied hut near the house, but it always vanished before a gun could be brought, and we rather discredited the story, until on one occasion the alarm being, I suppose, more quietly given, Mr. Meredith succeeded in shooting it through the head, to the extreme satisfaction of the whole household. It was not a large snake, not being more than four feet long, of a purplish black colour, with a kind of damson-bloom on the skin, instead of a polished appearance, which most of them have, and down each side was a streak of dim red. The extreme tenacity of life in these reptiles, or more probably the long continuance of muscular power and motion, even after the head has been wholly severed from the body, has given rise to a common idea that at whatever time of the day a snake may be *killed*, it cannot *die* until sunset. The extraordinary activity with which the tail-end of the creature will leap and jump about, whilst the head is swiftly travelling in another direction, is horrible to see; it seems as if every joint had a vitality of its own, entirely independent of brains, or spinal cords, or any other imagined seat of life.

One of our men-servants told a story of a large black snake which lived in his hut a long time, and used to lie on his bed at night, until he took unto himself a wife, who, very naturally, demurred at the presence of so suspicious a bed-fellow, and induced him to kill it. The large kind called the diamond snake is (for a snake) as handsome a creature as can be conceived, being most exquisitely adorned with various colours, like mosaic-

work. Could a lapidary imitate its varied markings in a girdle or bracelet of gems and gold, his fortune would be made.

During our walks in the forest we frequently saw a smaller kind of snake, about two feet long, and so exactly similar in colour to the dead sticks and leaves with which the ground was covered, as not to be observed until they moved: I several times have most narrowly escaped treading on them, which, as all the snakes known in this Colony are venomous, would be a dangerous accident. Some species are far more fatal than others, and of a few the bite is certainly mortal. Among the latter, the small one commonly called the whip-snake, or death-adder, is the most rapidly fatal of all. Several instances of immediate death from its bite were related to me. On the victims in two cases, my informant, our friend Mr. Dunn, of the Hunter River, had, as coroner for the district, held inquests; the evidence proving that in one instance death ensued in seven minutes after the bite, and in the other in eight, the sufferers being scarcely conscious of having been hurt, so very slight had been the puncture, and so wonderfully subtle the poison. It may well be imagined that these dreadful occurrences did not tend to diminish my terror of snakes.

One portion of our land at Homebush consisted of salt-water marshes, covered in high tides, and producing immense quantities of a species of samphire. Through these marshes deep drains had been cut and embankments formed, evidently at an enormous expenditure of labour, but for what purpose we never could divine. One of these drains, which, being very old, had become quite natural-looking, with shrubs, trees, and all kinds of growth adorning the banks, had a sort of wide flood-gate next the creek, through which the tide flowed and ebbed, bringing with it quantities of fine fish, bream and mullet especially. A couple of narrow logs formed something of an "Al Sirat" across the deep channel, which was about twenty feet wide, and on this crazy bridge Mr. Meredith used to station himself to fish; but not being a votary of the (so called "gentle craft" of quaint old Izaak Walton, he found a spear armed with a strong barb a more efficient weapon than the rod, and often caught some very fine fish. I, meanwhile, read, sketched, or more frequently idled away an hour or two in watching the myriads of small crabs with

which the muddy banks were thickly peopled. At a certain state of the tide they might be seen scrambling out of the water by thousands, and often reminded me of a hungry cargo of stage-coach passengers, to whose dinner only a limited time can be allotted; for the whole troop, after sidling a short distance from the water, immediately commenced eating most expeditiously, picking up some mysterious comestible from the soft rich mud, first with one claw and then with the other, and continually carrying the supplies to the mouth, which, being situated in the broad central region, always gave the idea of a person very busily engaged in filling his waistcoat-pockets; and the effect of some thousands of these odd little bodies all engaged in the same manœuvres was droll in the extreme. If disturbed, they instantly began turning round and round on one claw, as it seemed in a kind of *pirouette*, using themselves as an auger to work their way down, and in an incredibly short time were all lost to view. Occasionally, two happened to fix on the same spot to bore into, or probably old holes remained in the mud, only slightly hidden by the last tide, and access to the known sanctuary was disputed; in this case there was usually a great deal of clawing and turning under and over, which ended in the combatants both waltzing away together under the mud. These crabs were of various colours, some red, others black, and some dark green. On the sandy beaches near Sydney I have seen some very small ones, of a fine blue, just as busy pirouetting into the white sand as my Homebush friends were in the black mud. The larger ones had bodies the breadth of a dollar, whilst some of the small were not bigger than a fourpenny-piece.

A disgusting tenant of most of the shores around Sydney, and of ours in particular, is the toad-fish: most admirably named; it looks precisely like a toad elongated into a fish, with a tough, leathery, scaleless skin, and a bloated body, dark mottled brown above and white beneath. It is usually about five inches long, and disproportionately broad, but swims very swiftly, and is, for its size, as bold and voracious as the shark. When I said Mr. Meredith *did* not fish with a line and rod, I might have added that he *could* not, for the toad-fish, which swarm everywhere, no sooner see anything dropped in the water, than they dart towards it by dozens, and fight among themselves for the

honour of swallowing your hook, generally taking the precaution to bite off the line at the same time. This extreme anxiety to be caught might perhaps be pardoned were the greedy little wretches fit to eat, but they are highly poisonous; and although I should have thought their disgusting appearance sufficient to prevent their being tried, I know one instance, at least, of their fatal effects, a lady with whose family I am intimate having died in consequence of eating them. As they thus effectually put a stop to our angling, by biting off every hook dropped in the water before any other fish had time to look at it, they especially enjoyed the benefit of the fishing-spear, upon which many hundreds, if not thousands, must have been impaled in succession. This sounds very wantonly cruel, I doubt not, but let no one pronounce it so who is not well acquainted with toad-fish; from those who are, I fear no reproof. When speared, they directly inflate their leathery skins to the shape of a balloon, and eject a stream of liquid from their mouths, with a report as if they had burst. If flung again into the water, however wounded, they instantly swim about and begin eating; and should one be a little less active than his fellows, they forthwith attack and eat him up. Even my poor little harmless friends the crabs become their victims; when these usually well-armed troops have just got their soft new coats on, and are almost defenceless, then come the cowardly, ravenous toad-fish, and make terrible onslaughts among them—an attention which, I believe, the crabs eventually repay with interest.

A tree which we, I know not if correctly, called the mangrove, grew very luxuriantly on the brink of the salt-water all along the embankments. Many of the trees, from their gnarled and twisted appearance, seemed very old, but all were clothed in a rich glossy verdure, something like the laurel, the leaves not being quite so large.

In the too-completely cleared space around Homebush these belts of green trees skirting the water were of great value in our view, and the sailing boats which daily passed up the creek, glancing behind and between the groups of mangroves, added infinitely to our home-pictures, and served to build many a pleasant little fiction upon as they gaily glided past; distance rendering all blemishes invisible. After a time, however, these

“light barks” were stripped of half their interest and all their romance by an officious friend, who heartlessly remarked, when I one day pointed out a particularly nice effect of light and shade on the white sails of one, he “did not know before that Jones’s *brick-boats* came up that creek !”

Twice a day too the Parramatta steamer puffed in sight, as she passed the mouth of the wide creek down which we looked towards the estuary. And with a telescope, on a Sunday morning, we could plainly see the carriages and pedestrians going to the new church at Kissing Point, on the opposite shore ; besides having a view of the half-way signal-staff ; and on a still night hearing the drums beat at the Parramatta barracks. Thus, in our quiet retreat, “the contingent advantages” were almost as extraordinary as those which the inimitable Dick Swiveller discovered in the apartments of Mr. Brass. Often, when we have sauntered in the garden and veranda late in the evening, especially on a dark moonless night, I have listened for a long time to the wild tones and voices that rose from the forest and the marsh, whilst the wind, gently sweeping through the string-like foliage of the casuarina, made a soft flowing music in unison with them all. From the marsh arose the multitudinous, incessant gurgling, croaking chorus of the lesser frogs, with at intervals the deep sonorous *clop, clop*, of a great one, the Lablache of the small fry, whose note is extremely melodious and solemn withal, not unlike a single stroke on a very mellow musical bell. The long clear treble note of the shy curlew often came from many points at once, now near, now distant—calling and answering each other. Many persons dislike their cry, but to me it has a most plaintive, melodious tone, and sometimes the concluding cadence is far from melancholy. I often tried to see the curlews, but they retreat on the slightest sound or motion, and, except the tame ones at Parramatta, I only knew them as an airy voice heard in the “stilly night.” The least pleasing part of our natural concert was that taken by the troops of dingoes, and unfortunately it was often the most prominent. Their indescribably wild and dismal yelling and howling seemed like the cries that evil and tortured spirits might utter in their dire agony, and often drove me within ; for though not usually a “nervous” person, they made me feel positively uncomfortable, and conjured

up all the fearful stories of ravenous wolves in howling wildernesses, and packs of jackals, and all the natural-history-book horrors that I used to shudder over when a child.

Some of the vineyards and orange-groves near us were extensive and very beautiful. The large orange-trees, gay with their golden fruit and exquisitely fragrant bridal-blossoms, are among the noblest of all the acclimatized products here, and, with the many other exotics common in every garden near Sydney, were quite a delight to me to see. The handsome bushy pomegranate, adorned with quantities of its large red fruit, is tempting in appearance, but its beauty is very deceptive. The rind is thick and as hard as wood, containing nothing but seeds, each enveloped in a thin coat of acid astringent pulp; but the tree is always highly ornamental, with its rich glowing scarlet blossoms and handsome foliage. The large-leaved magnolia-like loquat is beautiful, whether laden with its pendent clusters of fragrant blossoms or their succeeding bright amber fruit. The mandarin orange is an elegant dwarf species, with fine, smooth, bitter fruit the size of an Orleans plum. The lemons grown in this colony resemble a Seville orange in their rough, deformed shape, although well flavoured. Huge bushes of the delicate oleander are very common, and how lovely they are may well be imagined. Geraniums of the old-fashioned kinds are almost like weeds, but very few good varieties have reached the colony.

That magnificent indigenous flower the gigantic lily (*Doryanthes excelsa*) is often and easily cultivated in gardens, and well deserves a place in the stateliest. From the centre of an immense group of long, broad, curving leaves the flower-stalk rises to a height of fifteen or twenty feet, and of proportionate thickness, crowned with a great cluster of the gorgeous crimson lilies. It is, truly, a colossal flower.*

Gardens in this neighbourhood might be small editions of

* The following little poem, written for a juvenile work (not yet completed), may perhaps be permitted a place here:—

THE GIGANTIC LILY.

Who loves to cull gay flowers?
Come hither, all, to me;
I'll show ye rare and strange ones,
On grass and shrub and tree.

Do ye love the modest lilies,
Each shrouded in its leaf,
And hanging down its gentle head
As full of fear, or grief?

I have

Paradise, had they sufficient and regular moisture; but the uncertainty of the seasons, and the impossibility (not to mention the expense) of supplying the deficiency by artificial means, render the most industrious and anxious attention to them a source of annoyance rather than pleasure. The *want of water* is a drawback of which no dweller in England can imagine the curse. I well remember my husband's admiration of our English rivers, brooks, and the little narrow, trickling lines of bright water that traverse our meadows and gardens; and when I used to laugh at so much good enthusiasm being thrown away on a *ditch*, he would say, "Ah! only wait until you have lived a few years in a *dry* country, and then you will better understand the inestimable value of such *ditches*!"

I have a lily here,

A nobler one than those;
The tulip may not vie with it,
Nor the dahlia, nor the rose.

Its long broad leaves are spread
Down curving to the ground;
And I doubt if, as they grow,
Four yards would span them round.

One stem from out the centre
Of those bright leaves ascends;
As straight as is an arrow,
It neither twists nor bends.

Month after month it higher grew,
We watched it day by day,
Impatient to behold the flower
In all its bright array.

It grew above the cottage eaves,
Full fifteen feet in height,
Before one bud had shown a streak
Of hidden treasure bright.

At length our wondering eyes beheld
The tall stem richly crowned
With silken-petalled lilies, all
In one bright cluster bound.

But not the pale and timid flowers
Of northern climes are these;
Not shrinking from the temp'rate sun,
Nor trembling in the breeze.

In robe of regal hues they're drest,
And to our fervid sky
With bold, unblenching gaze, is bent
Each bright and glowing eye.

They scorn to share with humbler
flowers
Kind Nature's smile or tear,
And proudly above all their kin
Their crowned heads uprear.

In lofty, solitary state
They ope, and fade away;
Whilst far below, their scorned friends
Dwell socially and gay.

The bright pomegranate's smiles re-
The oleander's blush, [flect
And roseate passion-flowers lend
Pale clematis a flush.

The twining indigo enwreaths
Full many a gentle flower,
That dwell together lovingly
In some acacia bowery.

The humble and the lowly, all
Contented, happy, gay,
Laugh on, whilst in their lonely pomp
The lilies fade away.

But think—how grand they are!
How tall, and how arranged!
How far beyond those little bells
That tremble in the shade!

Choose ye between the two—
And then I'll truly tell
If ye in lordly pride and pomp
Or in happier love would dwell.

Our whole and sole dependence whilst at Homebush for a supply of water on the estate consisted of two or three holes, like old clay-pits, which were about half filled during heavy rains, and as no shade was near them, very rapidly evaporated in warm weather. At these the cattle and horses drank, and we had a water-cart to convey the daily supply to the house; but in the heats of summer these water-holes were completely dry, and then our unfortunate cattle and horses were driven three or four miles to another clay-pit, where we also sent the cart, with, of course, the constant fear lest, with so many claimants on its bounty (for all our neighbours were in as ill a plight as ourselves), even that source should fail us too. Some of our friends were at the same time sending five and eight miles for water, and *such* water! I did indeed then bethink me of the English meadow *ditches*, and how luxurious a draught their fair bright streamlets would afford. And as I commiserated our poor cows and oxen, parching amidst dry, brittle hay, for it were absurd to call it grass, without a chance of slaking their thirst till their daily toilsome pilgrimage along the dusty road, I used to think of the deep shady rivers at home, where I have seen whole herds stand in the summer noons with the rippling water often meeting over their sleek backs, and green, juicy herbage nodding at them from the bank, and such a world of luxury around as made the heat seem but a means for its enjoyment.

I would have all discontented grumblers in England, who growl alike at November fogs and April showers, and who always carry umbrellas by way of an implied reproach to the seasons of their native land—I would have all such sent to New South Wales on a “probation” system: let them enjoy sunshine, since they like it so much; let them really luxuriate in a veritably “dry atmosphere” for a few years, and then see if their hydrophobia will not wonderfully abate!

When a winter rainy fit does assail the sky in this land of extremes, it certainly takes care to leave no doubt of its intentions,—for down comes such a thorough, right-earnest deluge, as not only washes away half your garden, but generally inundates the house, parched and warped as every part is by the previous baking process of the summer months. We enjoyed two visitations of this kind at Homebush, each of about a week’s duration,

and giving us the healthful advantage of an unexpected shower-bath in nearly every room. Every imaginable vessel was enlisted in the water-catching service; the tide in the clay-pits rose several feet, and our spirits in proportion; but the old dry, exhausting weather soon returned.

A large well in front of the house, which had been closed over, excited our curiosity, for although we were told the water in it was salt, still, at so considerable an elevation, this seemed improbable, and we opened the well. To describe the anxious excitement which pervaded the assembled household as the first bucket-full was slowly drawn up, were impossible—perhaps Wilkie might have *painted* the scene, had he witnessed it: even our favourite old pointer stood wagging his tail, and pretending to lick his thirsty lips, as he by turns looked down into the well or wistfully into my face:—the housemaid ran for a cup that “Missis might taste first,” but I was compelled to confess that the singular variety of unpleasant flavours the liquid combined left me quite in doubt whether it were salt or fresh.* Every one so ardently wished it fresh, that very daring anticipations were formed of the effect which the air might have on it, and various other possibilities; but the experience of a week fully proved that our labour had been in vain. When poured into the trough, some of the pigs and one old horse used to drink the brackish water, but for aught else, save washing kitchen-floors, it was useless. The salt must have been derived from some saline beds in the soil, for the bottom of the well, though very deep, was far above the sea-level. Another half-closed well remained in one of the orchards, showing that every pains had been taken to find good water, but in vain.

After all my own grumbings at the climate of Sydney, which my impaired health and languid frame proved to be not without reason, I must give its two months of winter unqualified laudation, for then existence is no longer a burthen, nor walking exercise absolutely unpleasant. The early morning is often

* Some years since, Mr. Meredith and an old servant, being out together on some expedition, were seeking fresh water near the coast, for themselves and their horses, and after vainly trying the qualities of many small pools, Godbold dismounted to test another, but instantly began spitting out the water again with a sad wry face. “Is that fresh?” inquired my husband. “Fresh to me, Sir, for I never tasted any thing so bad before!”

frosty, with a light white rime on the grass and a bracing sharpness in the air, making a bright fire very good company at breakfast-time. By nine o'clock the frost entirely vanishes, and a warm sun and clear Italian sky tempt us to desert the fire and sit by open windows, or ramble about without even an additional shawl over a light morning dress. Towards evening we begin to notice the darkness of the hearth, and a pile of blazing logs merrily lights up the dining-room. In some houses grates and Colonial coal are used as a luxury, but after being accustomed to a cheerful, broad, good humoured-looking hearth of logs, they seem to me very dull and sulky by comparison. The coal which I have hitherto seen used is less bright itself and emits less blaze than what we should term good coal in my native county of Warwick. It comes, very appropriately, from Newcastle, on the Hunter's River, a part of New South Wales I much wished to visit, and had a land-journey been easy, might perhaps have enjoyed the trip; but to make a sea voyage, however short, for *pleasure*, is an anomalous proceeding I cannot comprehend.

One great pleasure we enjoyed at this time, but have since been wholly deprived of, was that of having plenty of books, as we subscribed to the Australian Library in Sydney, and could send for a fresh supply once or twice a week. We did not obtain many new works of fiction, but of less fashionable literature, as Biographies, History, Travels, &c., we had abundance. Neither were we by any means deficient in society, but, with a few memorable exceptions, I soon found that Colonial ladies seldom speak of aught besides dress, and domestic events and troubles, "bad servants" being the staple topic. And most gentlemen have their whole souls so felt up in wools, fleeces, flocks, and stock, that I have often sat through a weary dinner and evening of incessant talking, without hearing a single syllable on any other subject. Some of our friends had been among the early adventurers who made the perilous overland journeys to Adelaide, with large herds of cattle and sheep, and their narratives were always highly interesting, seeming like a romance, often a most sad one too—after the dull wool-gatherings of more every-day people. Far be it from me, in these slight remarks, to imply want of respect for the worthy enthusiasts in wool; still there are times and places for everything. In English

society the lawyer does not carry his briefs and special pleadings into the drawing-room; the physician dreams not of occupying the attention of a dinner-party with his last wonderful cure; even the author refrains from volunteering a recitation of his new book; and surely, according to our old-world notions of propriety, the wool-merchant also should sometimes divest himself of the "shop," and not be always encompassed and engrossed by his bales and fleeces. However fascinating may be the company of his "fine-woolled sheep" and peerless breed of Merinos, he should not insist on taking them out to dinner. I had to endure a perpetuity of mutton in the wool; whilst choice "samples," tied and labelled with most fond accuracy, were passed from hand to hand, and contemplated with the profound and critical air of a connoisseur passing judgment on a masterpiece of art. So long as the conversation conveyed intelligence respecting different parts of the Colony, as connected with sheep-farming or other occupations, I could derive amusement and knowledge from it, but the eternity of wool, wool, wool—wearied my very soul. Perhaps some excuse is admissible for this unsocial style of conversation in Colonial gentlemen, from the rarity of Colonial ladies who are disposed to take a part in any topic under discussion, and many, though not disposed or qualified to express an opinion on general subjects, would feel insulted if you asked their advice how to make butter or cure a ham; thus rendering it difficult to know what they would like to talk about when the servant-stories are exhausted, which usually prove lengthy and very circumstantial.

I alluded to "bad servants" as being a constant source of complaint amongst my friends, and I am well aware that in most families the relative comfort or discomfort may pretty nearly be proportioned to the scarcity or number of servant-women in the establishment. Free women usually demand such exorbitant wages, and are here such apt illustrations of the proverb, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," that the generality of married persons apply for prisoner-women to be assigned to their service. Among these, a few prove willing, good servants, some tolerable, many very middling, and the largest portion totally unfit for a respectable place, not only from their inability to do good, but from their inherent propensities to do evil, every

shape of vice and depravity seeming as familiar to them as the air they breathe. We were fortunate in having two decent emigrant families, the men as head farm-servants, and their wives and one daughter as cook, dairy-woman, and housemaid ; being honest, sober, valuable servants, I was thus spared much of the annoyance suffered by others. I certainly had one very bad specimen in an old nurse, and who, although free at the time of her being recommended to me, had been doubly convicted formerly, and at the end of her five days' sojourn carried off with her several articles of value ; for at that time I had not become accustomed to the vigilant care of my locks and keys, which is imperatively necessary here, and was, to me, extremely difficult to acquire. Having in various instances purchased experience somewhat dearly, I have since made considerable progress in this essential and troublesome accomplishment, and now as systematically lock my drawers, work-box, and other similar temptations, as if they were caskets of untold diamonds.

Wine or strong liquor of any kind is *never* safely left accessible to servants. The unlimited allowance of good beer common in English households is here scarcely credited, nor could such a custom be practised, for not a soul on the establishment would quit the barrel so long as any liquor remained in it. Tea, at every meal, is the Colonial kitchen beverage, with a good allowance of Cape wine on extraordinary occasions ; but the quantity of meat eaten at least thrice a day may well compensate for the loss of beer. The fryingpan is in perpetual requisition, and seems to have scarcely time to cool between its performances ; that, and a small iron pot in which the tea and coarse sugar are boiled together, form the sole cooking utensils of many a labourer's household : his bread is "damper," baked in the ashes, and varied occasionally by a "fat cake" done in the fryingpan, vegetables being rarely cared about. In stock-keepers' huts, and others where candles are not attainable, a light is procured by a bit of rag rolled up, stuck into an old cup or pannican full of dripping, and lighted. Home-made mould candles are generally used in houses where wax-lights are dispensed with, and certainly vary more in quality than any other article of domestic manufacture ; but nothing beyond common care and attention is

required to make them equally good with those sold by English chandlers.

Various circumstances having combined to determine us on quitting New South Wales, and permanently settling in Van Diemen's Land, we prepared for our removal thither, and in October, 1840, again returned to Sydney for a few days, which, as if to confirm my dislike of the place, and increase my joy at quitting it, were the most disagreeable I had ever passed there. The heat, even at that early period, was most oppressive, and the detestable mosquitoes (with their horrible allies) besieged us in swarms, cruelly tormenting my poor child, whose chubby face and fair fat arms were covered with their mountainous bites, despite of all my care and contrivances.

We embarked in a lumbering Colonial-built vessel named the *Sir George Arthur* (since wrecked off Bermuda), and once more passing the beautiful coves and bays of Port Jackson, sailed forth through its mighty gates on our way to a new home in Tasmania.

THE END.

THE
LIFE, VOYAGES, AND EXPLOITS
OF
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

WITH NUMEROUS ORIGINAL LETTERS
FROM HIM AND THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO THE QUEEN AND
GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

BY JOHN BARROW, ESQ., F.S.A.



"THE FIRST WHO PLOUGHED A FURROW ROUND THE WORLD."

SECOND EDITION, ABRIDGED.

LONDON:
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1844.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JAMES R. GRAHAM, BART.,

&c. &c. &c.

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE,

THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

The first Edition of the 'Life of Sir Francis Drake' being out of print, the work has been carefully revised ; and also considerably abridged, in order that it might appear as one of the Numbers of the 'Colonial and Home Library.'

P R E F A C E.

THE reasons which have induced me to submit the following pages to the public may be briefly stated.

The *Life of Drake*, written by Dr. Johnson, is interesting in no common degree; and in it are happily blended a vivid narrative of adventure with lofty and valuable moral precepts: but it is altogether incomplete; the great moralist having terminated his narrative somewhat abruptly at the conclusion of the Circumnavigation Voyage; and leaving untold all the important events of Drake's subsequent life.

Dr. Southey's memoir, given in the third volume of his '*Lives of the British Admirals*,' is much more complete; and evinces great research: but it forms part of a voluminous work; from the very nature of which many subjects, not immediately connected with Drake, are blended with the details of his life.

It appeared to me, therefore, that a *Life of the celebrated circumnavigator*, more extended than that of Dr. Johnson and unencumbered with other biographies, might be acceptable to the public: the more especially as there was reason to believe that much valuable matter, illustrative of his career, remained unexplored in the public depositories of the kingdom, and in private collections. I accordingly applied my best diligence to the task: and I do not think that I overrate the result of my labour when I state, that many of the original documents never before published which are given in the following pages will be found in no common degree interesting and important.

By the kindness of Sir James Graham, I received ready permission to investigate the documents in the State Paper Office ; where I felt assured that much important matter would be found. From this source, as well as from the numerous collections of manuscripts in the British Museum, I obtained copies of many autograph letters, not only of Sir Francis Drake, but also of the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Effingham ; several of them relating to the Spanish Armada, miscalled ‘ the Invincible ; ’ together with many other documents connected with the public transactions of Sir Francis Drake.

In going through these collections I received great assistance from Sir Henry Ellis, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Lemon ; for which my best thanks are due to them : as they are also to Mr. Thorpe ; who most obligingly took the trouble to collate my copies with the almost illegible manuscripts.

I next applied to Sir Francis Palgrave, with reference to the records in the Tower ; but was informed by him that there is nothing among the Admiralty Papers so early as the reign of Elizabeth. Sir Francis Palgrave thinks it probable that in the Rolls-House there may be Accounts connected with the subject ; but says that the search would be laborious, as there are no indices.

The answer which I received from the Bodleian Library was, that “ the collection contained nothing new to interest a biographer of Sir Francis Drake.”

In the Ashmolean Museum there are only a few notices ; and these have already appeared in print.

At Magdalen College, Cambridge, there are numerous and voluminous documents collected or composed by Mr. Pepys, chiefly relating to naval matters ; but little or nothing concerning Drake.

To Mr. Bolton Corney, a gentleman of great literary acquirements and research, I am highly indebted for the loan of several valuable and rare tracts, besides detached notes of information on points connected with my subject ; and I am the more anxious

thus publicly to offer him my thanks, in consequence of the ready and willing manner in which they were communicated.

There is still, however, a great deficiency of materials regarding the private and domestic life of Drake; and as the family may be considered extinct, or at least only continued in the female line, there is but little hope that any such will be forthcoming.

I did not omit to apply in every quarter where there was the slightest chance of obtaining any information; and especially to Sir Thomas Trayton Fuller Elliott Drake, Bart., the nephew of the late Lord Heathfield, to whose property he has succeeded; and who has also, under a Royal patent, taken the names of Elliott and Drake, after that of Fuller, as well as the arms of Drake. His reply was that he had nothing whatever, except some relics that were given to Drake by Queen Elizabeth, an account of which had already been published; but at the same time, in the most obliging manner, expressed his willingness to place the whole of these in my hands.

As Sir Francis Drake was much in communication with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and had frequent correspondence with him, I applied, through a friend, to the Marquis of Salisbury; requesting to be permitted to have access to the Burleigh Papers, at Hatfield House; or at least to be informed what was the nature and extent of the documents they contained relating to Drake. The reply was, that it would be a long time before the catalogue was finished; and that his Lordship must decline to let any person have unlimited access to the papers: but that as soon as they were completely arranged, I should be informed how far he could contribute to my object.

I applied also to the Marquis of Exeter, as it appeared probable that he might be in possession of papers connected with Drake or his family. His Lordship's reply was, that he had sent all his papers to Lord Salisbury. Thus, then, these memorials, whatever they may be, remain, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, still inaccessible.

In transcribing the autograph letters of the Lord High Admiral

and of Sir Francis Drake, I have rigidly adhered to the originals; even to the spelling, although the same words are frequently written differently, at different times, and even in the same letter.

Subjoined is a list of the principal authors, many of them the contemporaries of Drake, upon whose authority I have framed my account of his life.* In very many instances I have transcribed their original words. It would have been easy for me to have remodelled these passages, and to have given their substance in a modern garb; and the narrative would have had a less disjointed appearance had I done so. But I felt that any change in their phraseology—any departure from their quaint and forcible mode of expression—must detract, not only from the interest of the details which they give, but in some degree also from the validity of their statements. This conviction outweighed with me all minor considerations.

* Camden
Stow
Strype
Speed
Holinshed
Hakluyt

Purchas
Fuller
Prince
Monson
D'Ewes
Hume

Lediard.—As also,
Rymer's Fœdera
Birch's Tracts
Lord Somers' Tracts
World Encompassed
Drake Revived, &c.

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L I F E

OF

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF HAWKINS TO THE WEST INDIES.

1567—1568.

The parentage and early life of Francis Drake—His sea-education—Voyage to the West Indies with his friend Captain John Hawkins—Treachery of the Spaniards and disasters in that voyage—Narrative of Miles Philips—Letter from Hawkins to Cecil—Narrative of Job Horton.

AMONG the number of distinguished characters which the reign of Queen Elizabeth produced, the name of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE must always hold a prominent place. Born of humble parents, and thrown upon the world, in early youth, as a common seaman, by honest industry, by perseverance and resolution in overcoming difficulties, and by unflinching courage, he gradually rose to the highest rank in the Naval Service, and to the honour of knighthood bestowed by the Sovereign; an honour which, in that illustrious reign, was the reward of distinguished merit only.

"This Drake," says Camden, "(to relate no more than what I have heard from himself) was born of mean parentage in Devonshire, and had Francis Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford) for his godfather, who, according to the custom, gave him his Christian name. Whilst he was yet a child, his father, Edmund Drake, embracing the Protestant doctrine, was called in question by the law of the Six Articles made by Henry VIII. against the Protestants, fled his country, and withdrew himself into Kent"—"for," says Prince, in his 'Worthies of Devon,' "the sting of Popery still remained in England, though the teeth thereof were knocked out, and the Pope's supremacy abolished."

Sir Francis Drake (the nephew) says, in the dedication to the 'Voyage Revived,'

"Honest reader, without apologie, I desire thee in this insuing discourse to observe with me the power and justice of the Lord of Hostes, who could enable so meane a person to right himself upon so mighty a prince, together with the goodness and providence of God, very observable, in that it pleased him to raise this man, not only from a low condition, but even from the state of persecution; his father suffered in it, being forced to fly from his house (neere South Tavistocke in Devon) into Kent, and there to inhabit in the hull of a shippe, wherein many of his younger sonnes were born; hee had twelve in all, and as it pleased God to give most of them a being upon the water, so the greatest part of them dyed at sea; the youngest, though he were as far as any, yet dyed at home, whose posterity inherits that which by himself, and this noble gentleman the eldest brother, was hardly, yet worthily gotten."

"After the death of King Henry," continues Camden, "he (the father) got a place among the seamen in the King's Navy, to read prayers to them; and soon after he was ordained Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of Upnore upon the river Medway (the road where the fleet usually anchoreth). But by reason of his poverty he put his son to the master of a bark, with which he used to coast along the shore, and sometimes to carry merchandise into Zeland and France.

"The youth, being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by will and testament."

The account thus given by Camden, one of the ablest and most faithful of our old historians, and coming as it does from Drake himself, must be considered as settling the question of his parentage; and disproving the story of his father Edmund being merely a sailor.

What indeed could a sailor have to do with the Six Articles, to make it necessary for him to fly his country? It is more probable that he was one of those who bore the title of Preacher or Minister, and had received holy orders, but was without church preferment, and engaged in giving instruction to the neighbouring people, and reading prayers to them. Be that as it may, he must have been a well-educated man, if it be true that he was ordained Deacon, and inducted to the vicarage of Upnore, on the river Medway.

The cottage on the banks of the Tavy, in which Drake was born, remained unaltered until about thirty years ago. It was then demolished, and a stall for cattle now stands upon its site.

The date of his birth is uncertain. There is an original portrait of him in Buckland Abbey, painted *Anno Domini* 1594; *ætatis suæ* 53: according to this he must have been born in 1541: but there is also a beautiful miniature portrait by Hilliard, sold lately at Strawberry Hill, and now in possession of the Earl of Derby, under which is written *Ætatis suæ* 42; *Anno Dom.* 1581: which gives 1539 for the date of his birth. There is a doubt also as to the name of his father, which appears by the pedigree to have been Robert, and not Edmund, the third son of John Drake of Otterton.

For some time young Drake continued to carry on the same business as his master had done. But the narrow seas were too confined a space for so large and aspiring a mind. He therefore sold his bark, and by the advice of Captain John Hawkins, a bold and adventurous seaman (who is called his kinsman), was induced to try his fortune with him on a venture to the West Indies, in which he embarked the whole of his little property.

Captain John Hawkins had previously made two voyages to Guinea and the West Indies, purchasing Negro slaves at the first place, and selling them to the Spaniards at the latter;—a trade that was then carried on by virtue of a treaty, still subsisting, between Henry VIII. and Charles V. So far was this traffic from being considered infamous, that every encouragement was given to it by Queen Elizabeth; who took Hawkins into her service, made him Paymaster of the Navy, and as a mark of her favour gave him a coat of arms, the crest of which was a demi-moor, properly coloured, bound by a cord, ~~the very emblem which has since been used to stamp with infamy this inhuman trade.~~

That the adventurous spirit of Drake should have induced him cheerfully to join a man who had always been kind to him, and who was engaged in large mercantile concerns, on a voyage to the West Indies, cannot be wondered at.

“Nothing,” says Dr. Johnson, “was talked of among the mercantile or adventurous part of mankind but the beauty and riches of this new world. Fresh discoveries were frequently made, new countries and nations, never heard of before, were daily described; and it may easily be concluded that the relators did not diminish the merit of their attempts, by suppressing or diminishing any circumstance that might produce wonder or excite curiosity.”

Drake was already acquainted, but to what extent we know not, with the West Indies and the coast of the Caribbean Sea ; for in the Preface to the Voyage (called his Third), revised, as we shall see, by Drake himself, and published by his nephew, he speaks of the wrong he suffered with Captain John Lovell, in the years 1565 and 1566, at Rio da Hacha. Of this voyage no particulars appear to have been at any time published ; it was no doubt based on mercantile speculation ; and perhaps among other things, in the traffic for slaves, as an outward-bound cargo : and doubtless the knowledge he then acquired was of important advantage to Captain Hawkins in his present undertaking.

The expedition consisted of one of the Queen's ships, which, as the strongest proof of her approbation of the voyage, she lent to Hawkins. It was called the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and was of 700 tons burden. It was commanded by Hawkins as Admiral—or General ; the latter being the title given in those days to the commander of a naval expedition. To the *Jesus* was added the *Minion*, Captain John Hampton ; the *William and John*, Captain Thomas Bolton ; and the *Judith*, Captain Francis Drake, he being then, as it is stated, in the twenty-third year of his age, or, if the inscription on the Buckland Abbey picture be correct, in his twenty-sixth. There were besides two other very small vessels, the *Angel* and the *Swallow*.

On the 2nd of October, 1567, they set sail from Plymouth, but met with a violent storm off Cape Finisterre, which lasted four days : the ships separated, the boats were all lost, and the *Jesus* suffered so much as to be nearly disabled. The storm ceasing, however, they were enabled to re-assemble the ships and to pursue their course ; and having reached the Cape de Verde, Hawkins landed about 150 of his men, in the hope of obtaining a supply of negroes. Here, however, they got but few, and those with great hurt and damage to their men, chiefly caused by the envenomed arrows of the negroes : and "although," says Hakluyt, "in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any, that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shutte some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole ;" "when I myself," says Hawkins, "had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped."

They next proceeded down the coast of Guinea, and after

many difficulties, and the loss of several men, they succeeded in obtaining about 200 negro slaves more; and departed with this cargo of human beings on their voyage for the Spanish Islands of the West Indies, to sell them to the Spaniards, as Hawkins had done before, under the conditions of the treaty above mentioned.

Hawkins, however, before he proceeded with his cargo to the West Indies, went farther down the coast to St. Jorge da Mina, where he was to obtain gold for his merchandise, fitted, no doubt, for the slave-market. At this place a negro king came to ask his assistance against a neighbouring king, promising him all the negroes that should be taken. An offer so tempting was not to be rejected; and 150 men were selected and sent to assist this black warrior. They assaulted a town containing 8000 inhabitants, strongly piled round, and fenced after their manner, and so well defended that Hawkins' people had six slain and forty wounded. More help was called for:

“Whereupon,” says Hawkins, “considering that the good success of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went myself; and with the help of the king of our side, assaulted the town both by land and sea; and very hardly, with fire (their houses being covered with palm-leaves), obtained the town and put the inhabitants to flight; where we took 250 persons, men, women, and children; and by our friend, the king on our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to have our choice; but the negro (in which nation is never or seldom found truth) meant nothing less; for that night he removed his camp and prisoners, so that we were fain to content us with those few that we had gotten ourselves.”

On the 27th of March they came in sight of Dominica, coasted Margarita, Cape de la Vela, and other places, “carrying on, and without obstruction, a tolerable good trade,” that is, of course, selling their negroes for silver. But at Rio da Hacha all commerce with the inhabitants was strictly prohibited. Hawkins, deeming this to be an infraction of the treaty, and an unauthorized and illegal proceeding, determined to attack the place: and having landed 200 men, the town was taken by storm with the loss of two men only; and no hurt is said to have been done to the Spaniards; because, after their volley was discharged, they all fled. They soon, however, returned; and then secret trade was carried on during the night; and the Spaniards bought 200 negroes; and at all other places the inhabitants traded willingly.

In proceeding from hence toward Cartagena they were caught in a terrible storm ; which continued four days, and so shattered the *Jesus*, that they cut down her upper works : her rudder was also shaken, and she sprang a leak. Proceeding toward Florida, they encountered another storm ; and were driven into the bay of Mexico, and entered into the port of San Juan d'Ulloa : in searching for which they took on their way three ships, which carried passengers to the number of one hundred.

"I found in this port," says Hawkins, "twelve ships, which had in them by report, 200,000*l.* in gold and silver ; all which being in my possession, with the King's Island, and also the passengers, before in my way thitherward stayed, I set at liberty without taking from them the weight of a groat."

The Spaniards mistook the English ships for a fleet from Spain, which was daily expected ; and the chief officers came on board ; but being soon undeceived, were in great alarm : when, however, they found that victuals only were demanded, they took courage and furnished them in abundance.

To prevent any misunderstanding, Hawkins sent to Mexico, representing to the viceroy that he had put into this port in consequence of stress of weather ; that he was in want of victuals, and his ships in great need of repair ; and, as Englishmen and friends to Spain, he requested that they might be supplied with what they wanted, on proper payment being made.

"On the morrow," says Hawkins, "we saw open of the haven thirteen great ships, and understanding them to be the fleet of Spain, I sent immediately to advertise the general of the fleet of my being there ; giving him to understand, that before I would suffer them to enter the port, there should be some order of conditions pass between us, for our safe-being there, and maintenance of peace."

It is not easy to comprehend how a commander of three ships, two of them of no strength, should presume to dictate to thirteen great ships, not to mention the twelve others already in port, and that port belonging to the Spaniards, and guarded by a battery of brass guns ; or that he should be bold enough to talk of making conditions, before he would suffer them to enter their own harbour. It marks the wide difference between an English sea commander and a Spanish one, in those days, as indeed in many subsequent periods.

Hawkins, however, felt that he had gone too far, and that his audacity was likely to get him into a scrape :

“And here,” he says, “I began to bewail that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That was, either I must have kept out the fleet from entering the port, the which with God’s help I was able to do, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never fail to execute, where they may have opportunitie to compass it by any means; if I had kept them out, then had there been present shipwreck of all the fleet, which amounted in value to six millions, which was, in value of our money, 1,800,000*l.*, which I considered I was not able to answer, fearing the Queen’s Majesty’s indignation in so weighty a matter. Thus with myself revolving the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the jutt of the uncertainty than the doubt; the uncertain doubt, I account, was their treason, which, by good policy, I hoped might be prevented; and therefore, as choosing the least mischief, I proceeded to conditions.”

The fact was, as he more clearly admits in another place, that besides the risk he ran of an unequal combat, he was afraid to take upon himself the responsibility of plundering from the king of Spain so immense a sum of money, which could not fail to bring her Majesty into collision with that sovereign.

The General therefore resolved not to commit any act of hostility, nor do anything that could be construed into a breach of the treaty. All that he required of the Spaniards was the assurance of security for himself and his people, and all that belonged to him; that provisions should be supplied to them for money, and that they should have liberty to trade: moreover that, during his abode there, he should keep possession of the island and the eleven pieces of brass cannon that were planted upon it.

In the fleet was a new viceroy from Mexico, Don Martin Henriquez; who, although he disliked these conditions and made some demur, at last agreed to them, and gave a writing to that effect signed and sealed by himself; each party giving and exchanging ten hostages for the due performance of the stipulations.

“At the end of three days,” says Hawkins, “the Spanish fleete entered the port, the ships saluting one another, as the manner of the sea doth require; the morrow after, being Friday, we laboured on all sides, in placing the English ships by themselves, and the Spanish ships by themselves, the captains and inferior persons of either part offering and showing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie on all sides.”

This amity on the part of the Spaniards was, however, soon discovered to be fallacious: they were observed to be placing additional guns on the fortifications of the island, and increasing

the crews of their ships. The viceroy sanctioned this treachery, inasmuch as he took no steps to prevent it; although he assured Hawkins that "he would be their defence against all villainies." As the master of the *Jesus* spoke Spanish, Hawkins sent him to the viceroy to inquire if his suspicions were correct: immediately the master was seized, the trumpet sounded, the English were taken by surprise, and the Spaniards most perfidiously falling upon them, killed a great number of men, seized, plundered, and burnt three of their ships, made their crews prisoners, and obliged the remainder, in the smaller ships, to retreat without provisions, and in so miserable a plight, that scarcely a sixth part survived to reach England.

The English, however, did not come away wholly unrevenged;

"For," says Hawkins, "no sooner were the *Jesus* and the *Minion* got about two ships' length from the Spanish fleet, than the fight began to be so warm on all sides, that, in less than an hour, the Spanish Admiral was supposed to be sunk, the Vice-Admiral burnt, and another of their chief ships believed to be sunk, so that their ships were little able to annoy us."

The cannon on the island being now in possession of the Spaniards, they turned them upon the English, and the masts, yards, and rigging of the *Jesus* were soon so shattered that no hopes were left of carrying her off: it was with these cannon, also, that the small ships of the English were destroyed. The English then resolved to place the *Jesus* between the fort and the *Minion*, and at night to tranship all the provisions and necessaries from the former into the latter, and to leave the *Jesus* behind. But the Spaniards set fire to two of their large ships, and let them drive down upon those of the English.

"Upon this," says Hawkins, "the men on board the *Minion*, without either the captain's or master's consent, set sail in such a hurry and confusion, that it was not without great difficulty I was received on board."

Miles Philips, one of the unfortunate men who had been put on shore, gives a more detailed account. He says,

"The *Minion*, which had somewhat before prepared herself to avoid the danger, hauled away, and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke; then they sought to fall on board the *Jesus*, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slain; but yet our men defended themselves and kept them out; for the *Jesus* also got loose, and joyning with the

Minion, the fight waxed hote upon all sides; but they having won and got our ordinance did greatly annoy us. In this fighte there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our own ordinance in such sort that the Jesus was very sore spoyled, and suddenly the Spaniards, having fired two great shippes of their owne, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marvellous feare. Howbeit the Minion, which had made her sayles ready, shifted for herself, without consent of the Generall, captaine, or master, so that very hardly our Generall could be received into the Minion, and those which the small boat was not able to receive were most cruelly slain by the Spaniardes.

“Of our shippes none escaped saving the Minion and the Judith; and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certain trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they took and hung them up by the armes, upon high postes, until the blood burst out of their fingers’ ends: of which men so used, there is one Copston and certaine others yet alive, who by the merciful providence of the Almighty were long since arrived here in England, carrying still about with them (and shall go to their graves) the marks and tokens of those their inhuman and more than barbarous cruell dealings.”*

Thus the Minion, with only one small bark of fifty tons, the Judith (Drake’s ship), escaped the treachery of the Spaniards:

“But,” says Hawkins, “the same night the Judith likewise forsook us. We were now left alone, with only two anchors and two cables, our ship so damaged that it was as much as we could do to keep her above water, and a great number of us with very little provisions. We were besides divided in opinion what to do. Some were for yielding to the Spaniards, others chose rather to submit to the merc^e of the savages; and again, others thought it more eligible to keep the sea, though with so scanty an allowance of victualls as would hardly suffice to keep us alive.

“In this miserable plight we ranged an unknown sea for fourteen days, till extreme famine obliged us to seek for land. So great was our misery that hides were reckoned good food; rats, cats, mice, and dogs, none escaped us that we could lay our hands on; parrots and monkeys were our dainties. In this condition we came to land on the 8th of October, at the bottom of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victualls, and a proper place to repair our ship. But we found every thing just contrary to our expectation; neither inhabitants, nor provisions, nor a haven for the repair of our ship. Many of our men, nevertheless, being worn out with hunger, desired to be set on shore, to which I consented; and such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to go homewards I put apart; so that they were indifferently

* Narrative of Miles Philips, given by Hakluyt.

posted, a hundred on one side, and a hundred on the other side. These hundred men we set a-land with all diligence in this little place, before said, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remains of victuals to take the sea.

“Of about two hundred souls which we then were, one hundred chose to seek their fortune on land, on which they were set with great difficulty; and with the remainder, after having watered, I again submitted to the mercy of the seas, and set sail on the 16th of October.”

Hawkins himself and his companions were first endangered by a vehement storm; after that, by famine: many of his men died; and the rest, from weakness, being unable to manage the ship, entered Ponte Vedra, near Vigo, to obtain fresh meat: there also many of them died; and, for fear of being a second time betrayed by the Spaniards, he again put to sea, and arrived in England on the 25th of January, 1567.

“If,” says Hawkins, in concluding his narrative, “all the miseries and troubles of this melancholy voyage were to be completely and thoroughly written, it would require a laborious man with his pen, and as much time as the author had, who wrote the lives and deaths of the Martyrs.”

The following is a copy of a letter in the State Paper Office, from Hawkins, announcing his arrival in England from this disastrous voyage:—

25th January 1568.

Right Honorable, my dewty most humbly considered: yt may please your honor to be advertysed that the 25th day of Januarii (thanks be to God) we aryved in a place in Cornwall called Mounts bay, onelie with the Minyon which is left us of all our flet, & because I wold not in my letters be polyxe, after what maner we came to our dysgrace, I have sent your honor here inclosed some part of the circumstance, and although not all our meseryes that hath past yet the greatest matters worthy of notyng, but yf I shold wryt of all our calamytyes I am seure a volome as great as the byble wyll scarcelie suffyce: all which thyngs I most humblie beseeche your honour to advertyse the Queen's Majestie & the rest of the counsell (soch as you shall thinke mette).

Our voiage was, although very hardy, well acheived & brought to resonable passe, but now a great part of our treasure, merchandyze, shippinge and men devoured by the treason of the Spanyards. I have not moche or any thyng more to advertyse your honour, nore the rest, because all our business hath had infelycyye, mysfortune, and an unhappy end, & therefore wyll troble the Queen's Majestie, nor the rest of my good lords with soch yll newes. But herewith pray your honour eftsoons to impart to soch as you shall thinke mete the sequell of our busyness.

I mynd with God's grace to make all expedicyon to London myselfe, at

what tyme I shall declare more of our estate that ys here omittted. Thus prayinge to God for your Honours prosperous estate take my leave : from the Mynion the 25th day of Januarii 1568.

Your's most humbly to command,
(Signed) JOHN HAWKINS.

To the Ryght Honorable Sir Wm Cycylle Knighte, & Principall Secretarie to the Queen's Majestie, gyve this.

No mention whatever is made of the Judith, nor does the name of Drake once occur in Hawkins' account of this unfortunate voyage; there are, however, detached accounts of it in which Drake is represented as having done wonders with the little Judith.

Regarding the hundred men who were put on shore, and the sufferings they underwent from the Indians and Spaniards, the industry of Hakluyt and Purchas has collected many particulars. The accounts given by these men on their return to England of the miseries they had undergone, and of the horrid cruelties practised upon many of them by the Inquisition, tended greatly to arouse a spirit of indignation against the whole Spanish nation. The following account of the affair at St. Jean d'Ulloa was given by Job Horton, one of the sufferers who returned to England on the 2nd day of December, 1590. It is extracted from Hakluyt.

" From Cartagena, by foule weather, wee were forced to seeke the port of Saint John de Ulloa. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a small ship who was bound for Santo Domingo; he had in him a Spaniard called Augustine de Villa Neuva; them we took and brought with us into the port of Saint John de Ulloa. Our Generall made great account of him, and used him like a nobleman; howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed. When wee had mored our ships and landed, wee mounted the ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee discovered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon, a Spanyard, was Generall: with him came a Spaniard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the King of Spain sent to be his viceroy of the Indies. He sent a pinnesse with a flag of truce unto our Generall, to knowe of what countrie those shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaine's port; who sayd they were the Queene of England's ships, which came in there for victuals for their money; wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall give me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side the port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spanyard returned for answer, that he was a viceroy and had a thousand men, and therefore he would come in. Our Generall

said, If he be a viceroy I represent my Queene's person, and I am a viceroy as well as he: and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place.

"Then the viceroy, after counsell among themselves, yeelded to our Generall's demand, swearing by his king and his crowne, by his commission and authority that he had from his king, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were given on both parts.

"Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, judged the Spanyards to have done the like, delivered to them five gentlemen, not doubting to have received the like from them; but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gave of the basest of their company, as afterwarde it was well known. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides that on payne of death no occasion should be given whereby any quarrel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entered the port with great triumph on both sides.

"The Spaniards presently brought a great hulke, a ship of five hundred, and mored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towardes us; in the night they filled the hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboard, as the sequel did shew, which made our Generall doubtful of their dealings; wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboard the viceroy to know his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a cornet (for a watch-word among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de Villa Neuva, sitting at dinner with him, should then presently have killed with a poynarde, which hee had privily in his sleeve, which was espyed and prevented by one John Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynarde out of his sleeve. Our Generall hastily rose up, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the steward's roome (and to be kept with two men).

"The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had been finished, suddenly sounded a trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spanyards entred the Minion; whereat our Generall with a loude and fierce voyce called unto us, saying, 'God and Saint George! upon those traiterous villaines, and rescue the Minion; I trust in God the day shall be ours;' and with that the mariners and souldiers leapt out of the Jesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spaniards; and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards' Vice Admiral,* where the most part of 300 Spanyards were spoyled and blown over-board with powder. Their Admiral* also was on fire halfe an houre.

"We cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came up upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke until it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the land saving three, which, by swimming, got aboard the Jesus of Lubeck.

* In those days the two chief ships were so called.

They sunke the Generall's ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow. The Spaniards' Admirall had above threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete and that came from the shore to rescue them, fiftene hundred: we slew of them five hundred and fortie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico.

"In this fight the Jesus of Lubeck had five shotte through her maynemast; her foremast was strooke in sunder under the hounds, with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte: therefore it was impossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne shippes on fire, intending therewith to have burnt the Jesus of Lubeck, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast. The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from us, and come to an anker without shot of the iland.

"Our Generall couragiously cheered up his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of beere, who brought it him in a silver cup; and hee, drinking to all men, willed the gunners to stand by their ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand but a demy culverin shot stroke away the cup, and a cooper's plane that stode by the mainemast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship; which nothing dismayed our Generall, for he ceased not to incourage us, saying, 'Feare nothing; for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitours and villaines.' Then Captaine Bland, meaning to have turned out of the port, had his mainemast stroke over boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore; wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men, and came aboard the Jesus of Lubeck to our Generall, who said unto him that he thought he would not have runne away from him: he answered that he was not minded to have runne away from him, but his intent was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboard, and fired his ship, in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleete. He said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for safeguard of her masts, to be brought under the Jesus of Lubeck's lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboard, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out; and so he did.

"At night, when the wind came off the shore, we set sayle, and went out in despite of the Spanyards and their shot, where we ankered with two ankers under the island, the wind being northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared every hour to be driven with the lee shore. In the end, when the wind came larger, we waied anker and set saile, seeking the river of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little; and victuals were so scarce that we were driven to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, munkies, and dogges. Wherefore our Generall was forced to divide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals; and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, than to starve on ship-board.

“ He asked them who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-board? Those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on fore mast, and those that would tarrie, on baft mast: fourescore and sixteene of us were willing to depart.

“ Our Generall gave unto every one of us five yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came unto us, where, friendly embracing every one of us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him; he counselled us to serve God, and to love one another; and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowfull farewell, and promised if God sent him safe home he would do what he could, that so many of us as lived should by some means be brought into England (and so he did).”

CHAPTER II.

THIRD VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN.*

1572—1573.

State of England and Spain—Revised Relation of this Voyage by Drake himself—Arrive at Port Pheasant—Symérons—Transactions at Nombre de Dios—The Treasury and Governor's house—Drake wounded—Return to their ships at the Isle of Pinos—Cartagena—Capture a great ship of Seville—Drake destroys his own ship the Swan—Takes several vessels—Arrives at Port Plenty—Drake leaps on shore at Cartagena—John Drake slain—Sickness in the crew—Death of Joseph Drake—Attempt to reach Panama by land—Disappointment—Drake is led to a great tree—Discovers the South Sea, and makes a solemn vow—Vasco de Balboa—Returns to England—Sir Wm. Davenant's Drama.

THE treacherous and unjust conduct of the Spaniards towards the unfortunate adventurers in the voyage detailed in the preceding chapter, and to other traders to the West Indies and the coasts of the Spanish Main, roused a flame of indignation in England, more especially among the mercantile and seafaring community; and the cry for vengeance and retribution was loudly expressed against these tyrants of the New World. Elizabeth was well disposed to encourage adventurers desirous of sharing in the riches extorted by Spain from Mexico and Peru; nor was she unwilling to chastise Philip, who was employing every means in his power to seduce her subjects from their religion and allegiance; but the circumstances of the times made it inexpedient to commit the nation to anything that could be construed into a direct act of aggression. The two sovereigns were to each other in a state of peaceable animosity, each "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike." Elizabeth was a staunch Protestant; Philip the slave of the Pope and the tool

* So called by Sir F. Drake (the nephew), but it is in fact Drake's *Fifth* Voyage to the West Indies.

of priests, Jesuits, and inquisitors. But it was not the policy of England to risk hostilities at home or abroad. The power of Spain was colossal, and the extent of her dominions both at home and abroad immense. At home, it embraced a sea-coast extending from the Mediterranean to the Netherlands, except that portion which belonged to France; abroad, the West India Islands, and two-thirds of the vast continent of America, were under her control; and her galleons traded even to the East Indies.

The naval and military forces of England were small in comparison with those of Spain; her ships greatly inferior in point of magnitude; and the want of colonies had checked her mercantile marine.

The particulars of Drake's voyage to the West Indies, the great object of which was to visit *Nombre de Dios*, then the storehouse and shipping place for the immense quantities of gold and silver obtained by Spain from Peru and Mexico, have been related by several of the old historians, Camden, Hakluyt, Purchas, Strype, &c.: but the details given in the following pages are chiefly taken from the small quarto volume entitled 'Sir Francis Drake Revived,' published in 1626 by Sir Francis Drake, the nephew of the great admiral. The title and dedication of this volume, which has now become extremely rare, are curious. The title is as follows:—

“SIR FRANCIS DRAKE REVIVED, CALLING UPON THIS DULL OR EFFEMINATE AGE TO FOLOWE HIS NOBLE STEPS FOR GOLDE & SILVER, BY THIS MEMORABLE RELATION OF THE RARE OCCURRANCES (NEVER YET DECLARED TO THE WORLD) IN A THIRD VOYAGE MADE BY HIM INTO THE WEST INDIES, IN THE YEARS 1572 AND 1573. FAITHFULLY TAKEN OUT OF THE REPORTE OF MR. CHRISTOPHER CEELY, ELLIS, HIXON, AND OTHERS, WHO WERE IN THE SAME VOYAGE WITH HIM, BY PHILIP NICHOLS, PREACHER. REVIEWED ALSO BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE HIMSELFE BEFORE HIS DEATH, AND MUCH HOLPEN AND ENLARGED, BY DIVERS NOTES, WITH HIS OWNE HAND, HERE AND THERE INSERTED.”

DEDICATION.

“TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY CHARLES THE FIRST OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, KING, ALL THE BLESSINGS OF THIS AND A BETTER LIFE.

“MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

“That this briefe treatise is yours, both by right and by succession, will appear by the Author's and Actor's ensewing dedication. To praise either

the Mistress or the Servant, might justly incurre the censure of *Quis eos unquam sanus vituperavit*; either's worth having sufficiently blazed their fame. This present loseth nothing by glancing on former actions, and the observation of passed adventures may probably advantage future employments; Cæsar writte his owne Commentaries, and this Doer was partly y^e. Inditor: neither is there wanting living testimony to confirme its trueth; for his sake then cherish what's good and I shall willingly entertaine check for what's amisse: Your favourable acceptance may incourage my collecting of more neglected notes, however, though vertue (as Lands) be not inheritable, yet has he left of his name one that resolves, and therein joyes to approve himself

“ Your most humble

“ And loyall

“ Subject,

“ FRA: DRAKE (nephew).”

Then follows a letter from the admiral to Queen Elizabeth:—

“ TO THE QUEENE'S MOST EXCELLENT MA^{TIES}:

“ MY MOST DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

“ MADAM, Seeing diverse have diverslie reported and written of these voyages and actions, which I have attempted and made, every one endeavouring to bring to light whatsoever Incklings or Conjectures they have had, whereby many untruthes have been published, and the certaine trueth concealed, as I have thought it necessary myselfe, as in a Card, to prick the principall points of the Counsaills taken, attempts made, and successe had, during the whole course of my employment in these services against the Spaniard, not as setting saile for maintayning my reputation in men's judgment, but onlie as sitting at Helme, if occasion shall be, for conducting the like actions hereafter: So I have accounted it my dutie to present this discourse to your Ma^{TIES} as of right, either for itselfe being the first fruits of your Servants Penne, or for the matter, being service done to your Ma^{TIES} by your poor Vassail, against your great Enemy, at such tymes, in such places, and after such sorte, as may seeme strange to those that are not acquainted with the whole cariage thereof, but will be a pleasing remembrance to your highnes, who take th' apparent height of th' Almightyes favour toward you by these events, as truest Instruments, humbly submitting myselfe to your gracious censure, both in writing and presenting, that Posteritie be not deprived of such helpe as may hapilie be gained thereby, and our present Age at least may be satisfied in the rightfulness of these Actions, which hitherto have bin silenced, and your servants labour not seeme altogether lost, but only in travell by sea and land, but also in writing the Report thereof, a worke to him no lesse troublesome, yet made pleasant and sweete, in that it hath bin, is, and shall be, for your Ma^{TIES} content, to whom I have devoted myselfe, live or die.

“ FRA: DRAKE.

“ Jan: I.
“ 1592.”

The narrative commences thus :

“ As there is a general vengeance which secretlie pursueth the doers of wrong, and suffereth them not to prosper, albeit no man of purpose impeach them : Soe there is a particular indignation ingrafted in the bosome of all that are wronged, which ceaseth not seeking by all meanes possible to redresse or remedie the wrong received, in so much that those great and mighty men, in whom their prosperous estate hath bredde such an overweening of themselves that they do not onlie wronge their Inferiours, but despise them, being injured, seeme to take a verie unfitt course for their own safety and farre unfitter for their rest. For as *ÆSOP* teacheth, Even y^e *FLY* hath her spleene, and the *EMMET* is not without her choller : and both together many tymes finde meanes, whereby though the *EAGLE* lay her Eggs in *JUPITER*'s lappe, yet by one way or other she escapeth not requital of her wrong done to the *EMMET*.

“ Among the manifold examples hereof which former ages have committed to memorie, or our tyme yealded to sight, I suppose there hath not bin any more notable then this in hand, either in respect of the greatness of the Person by whom the first Injurie was offered ; or the meanenes of him who righteth himself : the one being (in his owne conceit) the mightiest *MONARCH* of all the world ; the other an English *CAPTAINE*, a meane subject of her Majesties, who, (besides the wronges received at *RIO DA HACHA* with *Captaine JOHN LOVELL* in the years 65 : and 66 :) having bin grievously indamaged at *St. JOHN DE ULLOA* in the Bay of *MEXICO* with *CAPTAINE JOHN HAWKINS* in the years 67 : and 68 : not only in the losse of his goods of some value, but also of his kinsmen and friends, and that by the falsehood of *DON MARTIN HENRIQUEZ* then the Vice Roy of *MEXICO*, and finding that no recompence could be recovered out of Spaine by any of his owne meanes or by her Maiesties letters : he used such help as he might by two severall voyages into the *WEST INDIES* ; the first with two ships, the one called the *DRAGON*, the other the *SWANNE*, in the year 70 : The other in the *SWANNE* alone, in the yeare 71 : to gaine such intelligence as might further him to get some amende for his losse : And having in those two voyages gotten such certaine notice of the persons and places aymed at, as he thought requisite, and thereupon with good deliberation resolved on a third voyage (the description whereof wee have now in hand), he accordingly prepared his ships and companie, and then taking the first opportunity of a goode winde had such successe in his proceedings, as now follows further to be declared.

“ On *WHITSON EVE*, being the 24th of May in the yeare 1572, *CAPTAINE DRAKE* in the *PASCHA* of *PLYMOUTH* of 70 Tonnes, his Admirall, with the *SWANNE* of the same Porte of 25 Tonnes, his Vice-Admirall, in which his brother *JOHN DRAKE* was *CAPTAINE*, having in both of them, in men, and boyes, 73 : all voluntarilie assembled, of which the eldest man was 50 : all the rest under 30 ; so divided that there were 47 in one ship and 26 in the other, both richlie furnished with victuals and apparell for a whole yeare : and no lesse heedefully provided of all manner of Munition, Artillery, stufte and tooles that were requisite for such a man of *WARRE*, in such an attempte,

but especiallie having three daintie Pinnaces made in Plimouth, taken asonder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up (as occasion served), set saile from out of the SOUND of PLYMOUTH with intent to land at NOMBRE DE DIOS."

On the 2nd of July they came in sight of the high land of Santa Martha, and directed their course to Port Pheasant,

"Which," says the narrative, "our Captaine had so named it in his former voyage, by reason of the great store of those goodlie foules, which hee and his companie did then dailie kill and feede on in that place. When we landed here, we found by evident marks that there had been latelie there an Englishman of Plimouth called John Garrett, who had been conducted thither by certaine English Mariners which had been there with our Captain in some of his former voyages, who on a plate of lead, fastened to a very great tree, greater than any foure men joyning hands could fathom about, left these words engraven :

"Captain Drake, If you fortune to come into this port make haste away ; for the Spaniards which you had with you here last year have betrayed this place, and taken away all that you left here. I departed hence this present 7th July, 1572.

"Your very loving friend,

"JOHN GARRET."

Notwithstanding this warning, Captain Drake resolved to put together his pinnaces in this convenient port : this work was finished in seven days.

"Here he fortified himself on a plot of three-quarters of an acre of ground to make some safety for the present, by felling of great trees and bowing and trailing them together with great pullies and halsers, until they were enclosed to the water, and then letting other fall upon them, until they had raised with trees and boughs thirty foot in height round about, leaving only one gate to issue at, neare the water side, which every night was shut up, with a great tree drawne athwart it.

"The next day after we had arrived, there came also into that bay an English barque of the Isle of Wight, of Sir Edward Horsey's, wherein James Rause was captaine, and John Overy maister, with 30 men, of which some had bin with our captaine in this same place the year before. They brought in with them a Spanish carvell of Seville which he had taken the daie before, also one shallop with oares which he had taken at Cape Blanche. This Captaine Rause, understanding our Captaine's purpose, was desirous to joyne in consort with him, and was received on conditions agreed upon between them.

"22nd July. Drake disposing there of all his companies according as they enclined most, he left the three ships and the Carvell with Cap : Rause, and chose into his four pinnaces (Cap : Rause's shallop made the fourth) besides 53 of his own men, 20 to atchieve what he intended, especially having proportioned, according to his owne purpose, and the men's disposition, their severall armes : namely, 6 Targetts ; 6 Fire Pikes ; 12 Pikes ; 24 Muskets and Callivers ; 16 Bowes and 6 Partizans ; 2 Drums and 2 Trumpets."

With this force he set out for Nombre de Dios ; and reached the Isles of Pinos on the 22nd of July. Here he met with certain black men who had fled from the Spaniards their masters, and were known by the name of Symerons, who had enrolled themselves under two kings or chiefs. Drake, thinking these people might be of service to him, set them on shore on the main land, that they might make their way to the Isthmus of Darien.

These Symerons were not negroes, but the native Indians of this part of the continent, who had fled from their tyrannical persecutors ; they were not very dissimilar either in manners or character to the maroons of Jamaica ; but in the latter there was a mixture of the negro race.

Drake came silently and by night before Nombre de Dios ; and finding his people were talking of the greatness of the town, and what its strength was, according to the report of the negroes whom they took at the Isle of Pinos, thought it best to put these conceits out of their heads at once, and therefore took the opportunity of the rising moon to persuade his people that it was the dawn of day.

“ By this occasion we were at the towne, a longe hower sooner than was first purposed. For we arrived there by three of the clock after midnight ; at what time it fortun'd that a ship of Spaine of sixtie tunnes, laden with Canary wines and other commodities, which had but lately come into the Bay, and had not yet furled her sprit-sayle, espying our foure Pinnaces, sent away her Gundeloe towards the towne to give warning.”

Drake perceiving this, took his course between her and the town, and forced her to go to the other side of the bay ; by which means they landed without opposition, although they found one gunner upon the platform.

“ On landing on the platform, we found six great pieces of brass ordnance mounted upon their carriages, some demy, some whole Culverins : we presentlie dismounted them, the Gunner fledd, the Towne tooke Alarum, (being verie ready thereto by reason of their often disquieting by their neare neighbours the Symerons,) as we perceived not onelie by the noise and cries of the people, but by the Bell ringing out, and drums runninge up and downe the towne. Our Captaine sent some of our men to stay the ringing of the Alarum bell, which had continued all this while, but the Church being verie strongly built, and faste shutte, they could not without firing (which our Captaine forbad) get into the steeple where the Bell hung.”

In the market-place the Spaniards saluted the party with a

volley of shot: Drake returned the greeting with a flight of arrows, "the best ancient English compliments," says Prince. This drove them away, but he himself received a dangerous wound; which he courageously concealed for a long time, "knowing, if the general's heart stoops, the men's will fail; and that if so bright an opportunity once setteth, it seldom riseth again." He left twelve of his men to keep their pinnaces and secure their retreat, and having strengthened the port, sent the rest to reconnoitre the town. He then commanded his brother and John Oxenham with sixteen men to go above the King's Treasure-house, and enter near the east end of the market-place, he himself designing to march with the rest up the broad street, with trumpets sounding and drums beating, to the market-place, the fire-pikes being divided between both companies, which whilst they affrighted the enemy gave light to the English. After a skirmish with the Spaniards, they seized upon two or three, and compelled them to conduct them to the Governor's house; where usually all the mules, which brought the king's treasure from Panama, were unladen, though the silver only was kept there, the gold, pearls, and jewels being carried to the Treasury hard by.

Drake and his party then went to the Governor's house, and found the door open, a fine Spanish horse ready saddled, and a candle lighted on the stairs; by means of this light they saw a vast heap of silver in the lower room, consisting of bars piled up against the wall; as nearly as they could guess, seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height, each bar between thirty-five and forty pounds' weight. If this estimate be correct, the value of the heap must have been about a million sterling. He next proceeded to the King's Treasure-house, telling his people—

"That he had now brought them to the mouth of the Treasury of the World; which if they did not gain, none but themselves were to be blamed."

After this, he ordered his brother, with John Oxenham and their company, to break open the Treasure-house; whilst he with the rest kept possession of the market-place; but as he stepped forward, his strength, and sight, and speech failed him, and he fainted from loss of blood. At this his men were greatly dis-

tressed, and giving him somewhat to drink to revive him, they bound up his wound with his scarf, and urged him to leave the place. On his refusing to do so, they added force to their entreaties, and carried him to his pinnace.

“Divers of his men, besides himself, were wounded, though but one, and he a trumpeter, slain. Many of them got good booty before they left the place. But the wines in a Spanish ship, which they found in the harbour, they took along with them for the relief of their Captain and themselves. They carried off their prize to an island, which they called the Island of Victuals, where they staid two days to cure their wounded men, and refresh themselves in the gardens they found there, abounding with all sorts of roots, fruits, poultry, and other fowls no less strange than delicate.”

During their short stay there, an officer belonging to the garrison came to visit them, protesting that his coming was only to see and admire the courage of those who, with so small a force, had made so incredible an attempt. They had reason, however, for believing that his visit was made by the direction of the governor; for he asked them whether the commander was the same Captain Drake who had been on their coast the two preceding years: he inquired also whether their arrows, with which many of the Spaniards had been wounded, were poisoned, and how the wounds might be cured. Drake made answer,

“That he was the same Drake they meant; that it was never his custom to poison arrows; that their wounds might be cured with ordinary remedies; and that he wanted only some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded, for himself and his company; and that he was resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest, which they got out of the earth, and then sent into Spain to trouble all the world.

“To this answer, unlooked for, this gentleman replied, ‘If he might without offence move such a question, what should then be the cause of our departure from that town at this time, where there was above 360 tonnes of silver ready for the Fleet, and much more gold in value resting in iron chests in the King’s Treasure House?’

“But when our Captain had showed him the true cause of his unwilling retreat on board, he acknowledged that we had no less reason in departing than courage in attempting.

“Thus with great favour and courteous entertainment, besides such gifts from the Captain as most contented him, after dinner he was in such sort dismissed to make report of that he had seen, that he protested he was never honoured so much of any in his life.”

After a short rest at this place, Drake proceeded to the Isle of Pinos, where he had left his ships under the charge of Captain

Rawse; who, being unwilling to continue the enterprise, now that they had been discovered by the enemy, was remunerated by Drake for his services; and they parted on the 7th of August.

The General now dispatched his brother and Ellis Hixon to examine the River Chagre, where he had been the year before, but of which he wished to have some further knowledge. On their return, he departed with his two ships and three pinnaces for Cartagena, where he arrived on the 13th; and the same day took two Spanish ships, one of 240 tons.

Here he came to anchor in seven fathoms water, between the Island of Caresha and St. Barnard's. He led the three pinnaces round the island into the harbour of Cartagena, where, at the very entrance, he found a frigate at anchor, with only one man on board, the rest of the crew having gone ashore to fight about some fair lady. This man inadvertently revealed to Drake that, two hours before, there had passed by them a pinnace, with sail set, and rowing as fast as they could; that the men on board asked them whether there had been any English or French there lately? and upon being told that none had been seen, they bid them look to themselves.

From this account, combined with other circumstances, Drake perceived that he was discovered: but as he learned from the same man that there was a large ship from Seville which was preparing to sail on the morrow for St. Domingo, he resolved to capture it; and this he did with little difficulty. As the presence of his ships was now known at two of the most important places on the coast, Drake abandoned his intended attack in this quarter; and turned his attention to opening a communication with the Symérons: but perceiving that the success of all his future efforts must depend on the efficient state of his pinnaces, and that he had not a sufficient number of sailors to man them fully, in addition to the crews necessary for his two ships, he came to the bold determination of destroying one of the two, the Swan. But knowing the affection of the men for their ships, he was aware that some artifice must be used to accomplish this. He therefore sent for Thomas Moone, the carpenter of the Swan, and taking him into his cabin, and speaking to him privately, ordered him, in the middle of the second watch, to go down secretly into the well of the ship, and with a large spike-gimlet to bore three

holes, as near to the keel as he could, laying something against them, that the rushing of the water might not be heard.

Thomas Moone, although not without much dismay and unwillingness, consented to do so, and kept his promise.

The next morning, August 15, Drake went out early in his pinnace fishing; and, after inviting his brother to accompany him, inquired with a careless air, "Why their ship was so deep in the water?" Upon this the steward, going hastily down, found himself at once up to the waist in water; and in great alarm cried out that "the ship was sinking!"

Immediate recourse was had to the pumps; but, of course, to no purpose: and, after many hours' labour, the crew willingly acceded to Drake's proposal, set the poor Swan on fire, and went on board the pinnace.

The next day they resolved to seek out a place in the Sound of Darien where they might leave their ship at anchor, concealed and safe; and by thus leading the Spaniards to believe that they had quitted the coast, might the better prosecute their design with the pinnaces.

Accordingly, having reached the Sound in five days, Drake selected a convenient spot; and, having cleared away the trees and bushes, and erected huts, they remained here fifteen days; cleaned their vessels, and took in stores of provisions, which were plentiful. To fill up the time, one half the men were allowed to amuse themselves alternate days with shooting at the butt, quoits, and other sports, whilst the rest worked.

On the 5th of September, Drake, leaving the ship and one of the pinnaces with his brother, proceeded with the other two pinnaces to the Rio Grande. Here, cruising about between Cartagena and Tolon, he took six frigates laden with hogs, hams, and maize; and at the end of three days, having arrived at Port Plenty, in the Island of Pinos, he resolved to go with three pinnaces to Cartagena, leaving the rest of the men under the command of his brother, John Drake, who had succeeded in establishing a communication with the Symerons.

On the 16th October he anchored within sight of Cartagena; but deemed it not prudent to land: and, on the 20th, the Spaniards sent out two frigates without any cargo in them, evidently in the hope that Drake would take and man them, and thus weaken

his small force by dividing it : however, he was not to be thus entrapped ; but burnt one of them and sunk the other, in sight of two full-manned frigates, which came out, but were soon forced to retire. He now sprung on shore from one of his pinnaces, in the face of all the troops, which were assembled on the hills and hovering in the woods, but were afraid to come within range of the shot of his pinnaces.

“ To leap upon an enemy’s coast,” says Johnson, “ in sight of a superior force, only to show how little they were feared, was an act that would in these times meet with little applause ; nor can the general be seriously commended, or rationally vindicated, who exposes his person to destruction, and, by consequence, his expedition to miscarriage, only for the pleasure of an idle insult, an insignificant bravado. All that can be urged in his defence is, that perhaps it might contribute to heighten the esteem of his followers ; as few men, especially of that class, are philosophical enough to state the exact limits of prudery and bravery ; or not to be dazzled with an intrepidity, how improperly soever exerted. It may be added, that perhaps the Spaniards, whose notions of courage are sufficiently romantic, might look upon him as a more formidable enemy, and yield more easily to a hero of whose fortitude they had so high an idea.”

On the 27th of November they returned in their pinnaces to the ships, where they found everything in good order, but received the heavy news of the death of John Drake, and another young man called Richard Allen, who were both slain in attempting to board a Spanish vessel.

“ The manner of their death was this. When they saw the frigate at sea, the company were very importunate on John Drake to give chase and set upon this frigate, which they deemed had been a fit booty for them, but he told them that they wanted weapons to assail : they knew not how the frigate was provided ; they had their boat laden with planks to finish what his brother had commanded. But this would not satisfy them : they still urged him with words and supposals ; ‘ If ye will needs (said he) adventure, it shall never be said that I will be hindmost, neither shall you report to my brother that you lost your voyage by any cowardice you found in me.’

“ Thereupon every man shifted as he might for the time, and heaving the planks overboard, they took such few weapons as they had : namely, a broken-pointed rapier, one old fisgee, and a rusty calliver : John Drake took the rapier, and made a gauntlet of his pillow : Richard Allen took the fisgee, both standing at the head of their pinnace, called the Lion : Robert Cluich took the calliver, and so boarded. But they found the frigate armed round about with a close fight of hides, full of pikes and callivers, which were discharged in their faces, and deadly wounded those that were in the foreship : John Drake in his belly, and Richard Allen in his head. But notwithstanding their wounds, they, with care, shifted off the pinnace and got clear of the

frigate, and with all haste recovered their ship; where, within an hour after this, this young man of great hope ended his days, greatly lamented of all the company."

Early in January, six of the company fell sick, and died within two or three days; and at this time there were thirty men ill of a calenture, occasioned by a sudden change from cold to heat, or from the salt or brackish water procured at the mouth of the river, the seamen having been too lazy to go farther up.

"Among the rest, Joseph Drake, another of our Captain's brothers, died in our Captain's arms of the same disease, of which that the cause might be the better discerned, and consequently remedied to the relief of others, by our Captain's appointment he was ript open by the surgeon, who found his liver swollen, his heart as it were sodden, and his guts all fair. This was the first and last experiment that our Captain made of anatomy in this voyage.

"The surgeon that cut him up overlived him not past four days, although he were not toucht with that sickness of which he had been recovered a month before, but only of an overbold practice which he must needs make upon himself, by receiving an over-strong purgation of his own device, after which, once taken, he never spake; nor did his boy recover the health which he lost by tasting it till he saw England. Altogether twenty-eight of our men died here."

Drake now made his arrangements for proceeding by land to Panama. They set out on Shrove Tuesday the 3rd of February, leaving only a few sound men to secure the ships and tend the prisoners. They were in all forty-eight, being eighteen English, and the rest Symerons. In a few days they reached Venta Cruz.

The King, or Chief of these people, dwelt in a city sixteen leagues south-east of Panama, and was able to raise seventeen hundred fighting men. The towns consisted of about sixty families; in which, to use Prince's words, "the people lived cleanly and civilly."

Drake, having been informed by the Symerons that numerous *recoes* conveying treasure would now be coming across the isthmus from Panama, or from Venta Cruz to Nombre de Dios, set out for the purpose of waylaying them on their route. He arrived, on the 11th of February, at the top of a very high hill; on the very summit of which grew a tree of great size, from which both the North and South Seas could be seen. Here one of the chief Symerons, taking Drake by the hand, desired him to ascend "that goodlie and great high tree," as the manuscript

terms it. Having done so by means of steps cut out in the trunk, he found that in the midst of the branches they had constructed a convenient arbour, in which twelve men might sit; and from thence he clearly discerned both the north and south Atlantic Oceans.

Drake having taken a full view of that sea, of which he had heard such 'golden reports,' with great solemnity besought God "to give him life, and leave, once to sail an English ship in those seas;" and, adds the historian, "he was heard in what he asked, as will hereafter appear." Camden gives the following account of this discovery:—

"Drake," he says, "roving for a time up and down in the parts adjoining, discerned from the mountains the South Sea. Hereupon the man, being influenced with ambition of glory and hopes of wealth, was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that falling down there upon his knees, he implored the Divine assistance that he might, at some time or other, sail thither and make a perfect discovery of the same; and hereunto he bound himself with a vow. From that time forward, his mind was pricked on continually night and day to perform his vow."

This, however, was not the first discovery of the great South Sea. In the year 1513, six years previous to the voyage of Magelhaens, Vasco Nunnez de Balboa, a Spanish commander of Darien, to verify the intelligence he had received, marched with a body of Spaniards and Indian guides across the isthmus. He was opposed on the passage by the natives. They demanded who the bearded strangers were, what they sought after, and whither they were going? The Spaniards answered, "They were Christians; that their errand was to preach a new religion, and to seek gold; and that they were going to the Southern Sea." This answer not giving satisfaction, Balboa made his way by force. On arriving at the foot of a mountain, from the top of which he was informed that the sea he so anxiously wished to discover was visible, he ordered his men to halt, and he himself ascended alone. As soon as he had attained the summit, he fell on his knees; and, with uplifted hands, returned thanks to heaven for having bestowed on him the honour of being the first European that beheld the sea beyond America. Afterwards, descending to the sea-shore, in the presence of his followers and of many Indians, he walked up to his middle in the water, with his sword and target; and called upon them to bear testimony that *he took*

possession of the South Sea, and all which appertained to it, for the King of Castile and Leon.

A similar account of Balboa's discovery is given by Southey, but in a more solemn and impressive manner :

" Falling prostrate on the ground, and raising himself again upon his knees, as the manner of the Christians is to pray, lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, and directing his face towards the new-found South Sea, he poured forth his humble and devout prayers before Almighty God, as a spiritual sacrifice with thanksgiving, that it pleased his Divine Majesty to reserve unto that day the victory and praise of so great a thing unto him, being but a man of small wit and knowledge, of little experience, and base parentage. And having beckoned his companions to come to him, he again fell to his prayers as before, desiring Almighty God and the blessed Virgin to favour his beginning, and to give him good success to subdue those lands to the glory of his Holy name, and increase of his true religion; all his companions did likewise, and praised God with loud voices for joy. Then Vasco, with no less manly courage than Hannibal of Carthage showed his soldiers Italy from the promontories of the Alps, exhorted his men to lift up their hearts, and to behold the land even now under their feet, and the sea before their eyes, which should be unto them a full and just reward of their great labours and travails now overpast. When he had said these words, he commanded them to raise certain heaps of stones in the stead of altars, for a token of possession."*

Ramusio says that Vasco, after returning thanks to God and all the saints of heaven, addressed himself to the sea itself, exclaiming "*O mare del sur, Rege gli altri mari, fà che placido et quieto riceva la mià venuta !*"

When arrived within view of Panama, Drake and his party quitted the frequented path, and secreted themselves in a wood near the road between Panama and Nombre de Dios. Thence Drake sent one of the Symérons, in the dress of a native of Panama, to ascertain on what night the *recoes* were expected. These *recoes* consist of fifty, sixty, or seventy mules laden with treasure, and are guarded by a considerable number of armed men. The spy-soon returned with the information that the treasurer of Lima was on his route to Europe, and would pass by that very night with eight mules laden with gold, and one with jewels.

On the receipt of this information they immediately marched towards Venta Cruz; and Drake, selecting a convenient spot,

* Southey, from *Eden's translation of Peter Martyr.*

ordered his men to lie down in some high grass, half on one side of the road and half on the other ; but the one party somewhat in advance of the other, so that the first and last of the string of mules, all of which are tied together, might be seized at the same instant.

When they had lain thus in ambush for at least an hour, they heard the tinkling of the mules' bells, and the rich prize seemed to be within their grasp : but one of the soldiers, heated by liquor, in direct disobedience of Drake's order that no one should stir until the signal was given, would needs signalise himself by anticipating the victory ; and by so doing alarmed one of the Spanish gentlemen who was attending the party, and who immediately apprised the treasurer of the danger. The gold and jewels were sent back, and the whole country was soon up in arms against the English.

This disappointment was great, and the danger still greater ; nor can any situation be imagined more calculated to try the temper, courage, and judgment of a leader. Drake proved himself fully equal to the emergency. Two courses were before him : to retreat by the road on which he had advanced, or to proceed onward, and force his passage to Venta Cruz. To march back would be to confess his own weakness, and to encourage the Spaniards to pursue him : boldly to advance would give his own men confidence, and daunt his enemies. Drake at once resolved to adopt the latter course. He explained his intention to Pedro, the leader of the Symerons, and demanded of him whether he was prepared to follow him. Having received his strong assurance of support, he advanced to the spot where the Spaniards were posted. Their leader called upon the little band to surrender. Drake, with bold pride, defied him. He had commanded his men to receive the first volley of the enemy without returning it, and no one was to fire until he sounded his whistle. They obeyed his directions ; and one man only fell by the volley which the Spaniards fired. The General then gave the signal ; and the English, after discharging their arrows and shot, pressed gallantly forward. The boldness of their bearing appears to have daunted the Spaniards, who attempted no further resistance, but fled into the city ; and were pursued not only by the English, but by the Symerons also ; who, as soon as they

had recovered from the consternation into which the discharge of the fire-arms had thrown them, recalled their courage, animated each other with their war-cries, and fully redeemed the pledge which their leader had given.

On this occasion Drake evinced his accustomed humanity and forbearance. Not only did he treat the inhabitants with clemency, but he himself went to the Spanish ladies, and assured them that every respect should be paid to them. Taking into consideration the mere handful of English by whom this exploit was performed, and all the circumstances attending it, few bolder things have ever been achieved. Its success was complete: the Spaniards appear to have been absolutely paralysed; and Drake pursued his march to his ships without any opposition, or even the fear of any. When within five leagues of their vessels they found some huts which, during their absence, a party of the Symerons had built expressly for their accommodation. Here Drake consented to halt, his men being spent with travel: but being very anxious to ascertain the condition of the men who had remained with the vessels, he sent one of the Symerons to the ships with a gold toothpick as a token. The officer who was in charge knew it; but would not consent to obey the instructions which the Symeron brought him; the General having expressly ordered him not to credit any messenger unless he brought with him his handwriting. At length he perceived that Drake had scratched his name upon it with the point of his knife: on which he immediately sent a pinnace up the river to meet them; and on the 23rd of February the entire company were reunited; and Drake, with his usual piety, celebrated their meeting by thanksgiving to God.

He now turned his thoughts to new enterprises: and although he failed to capture a vessel which was lying in the harbour at Veragua, and which was reported to contain a million in gold, yet ultimately, between Rio Francesco and Nombre de Dios, the English and Symerons, together with a party of Frenchmen under the command of a Captain Teton, who had joined Drake at Cattivas, obtained a rich booty; three recoes, consisting altogether of 109 mules, each carrying 300 pounds' weight of silver, being captured by them with little difficulty, and without the loss of a single man. As they could only carry away a small

portion of this weight of silver, they hid the remainder in holes and shallow pools. But their labour was fruitless, for when at a later period they returned to the place, they found that the Spaniards had discovered nearly all their hiding-places, and recovered their lost treasure.

With that portion, however, of the silver which they were able to take with them, they reached Rio Francesco on the 3rd of April. There, to their great surprise, and to the consternation and alarm of many of their band, instead of finding their own pinnaces, they beheld seven Spanish shallows, well manned and armed, and evidently on the look-out for them. The belief was general that their own ships had been discovered and taken. But here again Drake evinced not only his penetration and judgment, but also his indomitable resolution. Whatever he himself might think of the real circumstances in which they were placed, he showed so much confidence and alacrity, and used such arguments, that he imparted new life and courage into every one around him. His great anxiety was to rejoin his pinnaces before the Spaniards should have completed their arrangements for attacking them: but not only was it a matter of doubt where his vessels were stationed; but the nature of the country (high mountains covered with woods, and intersected by deep rivers) rendered it impossible to seek them by land; and they had not a single boat. In this emergency he ordered a raft to be constructed of the fallen trees which the river had brought down to its mouth; and with no other sail than a biscuit-sack, and no other rudder than a young tree rudely shaped into an oar, he with three others, who volunteered to accompany him, put out to sea. Having sailed upon this raft for six hours, and for a distance of more than three leagues, he and his companions sitting up to their middle in water, and at every wave up to their arm-pits, they at length had the great joy of seeing their pinnaces coming towards them: but soon afterwards, the men on board not perceiving the raft, in consequence of the wind and the approach of night, altered their course, and ran for shelter behind a point of land. Drake, rightly judging that they would anchor there, ran his raft ashore, and walking over land to the other side of the point, found his vessels just where he expected. Great, of course, was the joy on both sides. Proceeding from this place to Rio

Francesco, he took in the rest of his company, with that part of the treasure which they had been able to carry with them through the woods; and then making the utmost expedition, they soon rejoined their other vessels, where Drake divided equally between the English and the French all the gold and silver which had been taken. He now also dismissed the Symerons, who had proved themselves such useful allies. That they might not go away unrewarded, he broke up his pinnaces and gave them the iron—to them by far the most valuable of metals. But he was anxious to give their leader, Pedro, some special token of regard. He desired him therefore to go through the ship, and select whatever object he best liked. It was soon evident that Pedro had taken a great fancy to a rich cimeter which had been given to Drake by the French Captain Teton; but was too modest to ask for it; and fearful also lest Drake should so value it as to be unwilling to part with it. As soon as the General learnt this, he at once presented it to him. Pedro was overwhelmed with joy; and, anxious to show his gratitude, entreated Drake to accept from him, in return, four wedges of gold, as a pledge of his friendship. Drake was unwilling to take them, but the grateful Indian insisted on his doing so. The General, having received them with all courtesy, threw them into the common stock, observing, “That it was only just that those who bore part of the charge with him in setting him to sea, should likewise enjoy their full proportion of the advantage at his return.”

Having now resolved to return to England, and being fully prepared, they set sail, and steered a direct course home; and proceeded with so prosperous a gale that in twenty-three days they passed from Cape Florida to the Isles of Scilly; and arrived at Plymouth on Sunday, the 9th of August, 1573, during sermon time. The news of Drake's return being carried into the church, few of the congregation remained with the preacher: “All,” says the narrative, “hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our gracious Queene and countrey, by the fruite of our Captaine's labour and successe.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.”

This voyage occupied fourteen months and some odd days. It not only excited intense interest at the time, but a hundred years afterwards Sir William Davenant, poet-laureate to

Charles II., took it as the subject of one of his dramas, which he entitled 'The History of Sir Francis Drake, expressed by instrumental and vocal music, and by art of Perspective in Scenes, &c.'

In this drama the incidents of the voyage are pretty correctly told in rhyme; accompanied with appropriate scenery, songs, dances, and choruses by the mariners and the Symerons, Pedro performing a principal part. The first scene is laid at Port Pheasant; the men are busied setting up the pinnaces, &c.; and the arrival of Captain Rause is announced by the Boatswain:—

Boatswain. The Lion Rause is landed here,
I'll run to meet him at the pier.
A ton of yellow gold,
Conceal'd within our hold,
For half my share I scorn to take,
When he is joined with Dragon Drake.

In the fourth "Entry," with "hills, a wood, and a tree of extraordinary compass and height," we have the following dialogue:—

Drake. Is this that most renown'd of Western trees,
On whose main-top
Thou gav'st me hope
To view the North and South *Atlantick* Seas?
Pedro. It is; therefore, with speed,
Thither, my chief, proceed:
And when you, climbing, have attained the height,
Report will grow authentick, by your sight.
Drake. When from these lofty branches, I
The South *Atlantick* spy,
My vows shall higher fly,
'Till they with highest heav'n prevail,
That, as I see it, I may on it sail.
Drake, Jun. No English keel hath yet that Ocean plowed.
Pedro. If prophecie from me may be allow'd,
Renown'd Drake, Heaven does decree
That happy enterprize to thee:
For thou of all the Britons art the first
That boldly durst
This Western World invade:
And as thou now art made
The first to whom that Ocean will be shown,
So to thy Isle thou first shall make it known.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1577—1580.

Preliminary observations—Drake's Services in Ireland—He is patronised by the Queen—Expensive preparations for the Voyage—Secrecy as to its destination—The cause of a rival enterprise—Oxenham's disastrous voyage and death—Drake's squadron—Captures made by it—Misconduct of Doughty—Patagonians—Arrival at St. Julian—Trial and execution of Doughty—Passage through the Strait of Magelhaens—Driven down to Cape Horn—Passage up the North Pacific—Numerous captures of Treasure.

"Five years," says Camden, "after his return from a former voyage, to wit, in the year 1572, when Drake had gotten a pretty store of money, by playing the seaman and the pirate, he, to lick himself whole of the damage he had received from the Spaniards (which a divine belonging to the fleet had easily persuaded him to be lawful), set sail again for America."

There can be little doubt that his late voyage had been greatly profitable to Drake; although the amount gained by him is nowhere stated: and it was not likely that a person of his active and vigorous mind would sit down quietly, and lapse into a state of listless indolence; but would rather be on the look out for some fresh employment congenial with his enterprising disposition. He betrayed no haste, however, to embark on a new voyage. Previous to the last he had made the acquaintance of the Earl of Essex; who had been appointed Governor of the province of Ulster, for the purpose of quelling the rebels, more particularly in the district of Clondeboy, by means of volunteer adventurers, who were to be raised by himself, and to be rewarded by grants of land.

Drake, thinking he might be of material assistance to the Earl, and perhaps with a view to his own interest, "furnished," says Stow, "at his own proper expense, three frigates with men

and munition, and served voluntary in Ireland under Walter, Earl of Essex; where he did excellent service both by sea and land, at the winning of divers strong forts." We are not, however, to suppose that a frigate in those days had any resemblance to the ships now so termed. A *fregata* was a small pinnace moved by sails and oars, of five, ten, or fifteen tons measurement, in use mostly in the Mediterranean. In those days there was no vessel in our navy denominated a frigate.

The Irish project, however, failed. We learn from Rapin that, "in 1573, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had leave to go to Ireland, to conquer the country of Clandeboy, at his own expense. But his enterprise was not crowned with success; because he was privately hindered by the Earl of Leicester, his enemy." The Irish historian, M^o Skimmin, gives us somewhat more precise information.

"In 1573," he says, "came the Right Hon. the Earl of Essex into this land, as Captain-General and Governor of Ulster, and was, at this time, the chief of a band of military adventurers. He drove the Scots out of Clandeboy, and took the Castle of Lifford from Con. O'Donnell: but making little progress, and receiving many angry messages from court, at the instigations of Lord Leicester, who was his greatest enemy, he resigned his command, and retired to Dublin, where he died of a broken heart, in September, 1576, at the early age of 36."

Drake's exertions, however, on this occasion undoubtedly led to the establishment of his future reputation, by the introduction it procured for him to Sir Christopher Hatton, then Vice-Chamberlain, and through him to the Queen; who, being apprised of his adventurous and successful expedition against her bitterest enemy the Spaniard, gave him a most flattering reception, and encouraged him to follow up his brave and successful attacks upon the Indian colonies of Spain: nav, it is asserted by some historians, that she actually gave him a commission to make reprisals. As this would have been equivalent to a declaration of war, it is not credible: and still less can we believe that she should have said to him at his first audience, as the old chroniclers mostly have it, "I account that he who striketh thee, Drake, striketh me." Such an expression might, perhaps, have escaped the royal lips at a later period, and after his return from his voyage of circumnavigation, when she condescended to visit the "Golden Hind" at Deptford; and when Drake "had

been stricken" by certain of his own countrymen: she might then have sought, by an expression of such kindness, to soothe the pain that envy had inflicted; but certain it is that she showed him such a degree of favour as at once to raise his fortune and reputation.

The enterprise, which we are now about to relate, produced a great sensation at the time: nor has it ever ceased to be considered as one of the boldest undertakings which the naval history of England—rich as it is in deeds of courage and energy—has to record. In many respects, indeed, this voyage is memorable: a sea, hitherto unknown, was passed over; a powerful enemy's territory was attacked, with means so scanty and inadequate as to render the attempt apparently one of hopeless peril. Yet was the attack successful, and added new glories to England: and, to crown all, the globe was circumnavigated, a thing never but once performed before: and all this was accomplished by a fleet of five insignificant sized vessels, the largest being only of 100 tons burden; and 164 seamen the complement of the whole.*

From the splendid manner in which Drake fitted out his own ship, it may be concluded that there was no want of funds:—

"He did not omit," says Prince, "to make provision for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musicians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging to the cook-room, being of pure silver) with divers shows of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, among all nations whither he should come, be the more admired."

As Drake is known to have been a man of plain and simple habits, there can be no doubt that this display of wealth and taste was made, not from vanity, but from sound motives of policy; and probably he had in view the similar conduct of the Portuguese in their first expedition to the East.

The account of this voyage was published by Sir Francis Drake (nephew of the Admiral), under the title of 'The World Encompassed,' carefully collected, as the preface tells us,

* The Pelican, 100 tons, Captain Drake; the Elizabeth, 80 tons, Captain John Winter; the Marygold, 30 ditto, Captain John Thomas; the Swan, Flyboat, 50 ditto, Captain John Chester; the Christopher, pinnace, 15 ditto, Captain Thomas Moone.

“Out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this employment, and divers others his followers in the same: Offered now, at last, to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroick spirits, to benefit their countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.”

He begins by informing his readers that

“The main ocean by right is the Lord’s alone, and by nature left free for all men to deal withall, as very sufficient for all men’s use, and large enough for all men’s industry. And therefore that valiant enterprize, accompanied with happy success, which that right rare and thrice worthy Captaine, Francis Drake, achieved, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not only overmatch the ancient Argonauts, but also outreacheth in many respects that noble mariner Magelhaens, and by farre surpasseth his crowned victory. But hereof let posterity judge.”

It is said that such secrecy was observed by Drake in making preparations for this voyage, that its destination was concealed even from his most intimate friends; and that, when his little squadron put to sea, it was given out that it was bound for Alexandria. It was, probably, in part owing to this concealment that the voyage to Nombre de Dios, and the other places about the isthmus of Darien, was anticipated by another adventurer, John Oxenham; who in the late voyage served under Drake as a soldier, sailor, and cook, and was actively and usefully employed by him on various occasions. This man was so attached to Drake, that he declared his readiness to go with him on any future voyage, and to any part of the world: but having waited above two years, and not knowing of Drake’s intentions, he, with some others, scraped together money enough to fit out a ship of 140 tons, with a crew of twenty seamen, and fifty other men; with which they sailed, in the year 1575, for the isthmus of Darien. On arriving at Porto Bello, Oxenham learned from the Indians that a convoy of muleteers was expected to come to that place from Panama: he therefore marched with his company to meet them, having only two small guns and some muskets, with six Indians for their guides; and proceeded about twelve leagues over the mountains, to a small river that falls into the South Sea. Here he built a pinnace; and dropped down in her into the Bay of Panama, and thence to the Pearl Islands, near which place the plate ships from Peru usually pass in their voyage to Panama. Before long a small bark from Quito

arrived at the island; of which Oxenham took possession, and found in her sixty pounds' weight of gold, and a large supply of provisions. At the end of six days he took another bark from Lima, in which he found a hundred pounds' weight of silver in bars. He then went in search of pearls on the island; found a few, and returning to his pinnace, re-entered the river; first, however, dismissing his two prizes.

The delay on Pearl Island was the cause of all his misfortunes. The Indians of the island went, the very night he left them, to Panama, to give intelligence of what had happened: and a Spanish captain named Ortega was dispatched with four barks and 100 soldiers in search of him. In his way to Pearl Island he fell in with the two liberated prizes; from the crews of which he learned that Oxenham had gone up a certain river. This river had three branches; and Ortega was doubtful which of them to take: but having observed a quantity of fowl feathers swimming down one of the streams, he took that branch; and, after four days' rowing, discovered Oxenham's pinnace upon the sands, with only six men in her, of whom his men killed one, but the other five escaped. In the pinnace, however, they found nothing but provisions. Ortega, therefore, left twenty of his men to guard her and his own barks; and, with the other eighty, set out to explore the country. They had not proceeded more than half a league before they discovered a hut, made of boughs, in which they found all the Englishmen's goods, together with their booty of gold, pearls, and silver. Satisfied with having recovered the treasure, Ortega was about to depart, when Oxenham came down upon him with his men and about 200 Symerons; and attacked the Spaniards with great fury: but the latter got the better of the English party; killed eleven of them, together with five Indians, and took seven prisoners; having only two of their own men killed and five wounded. Oxenham escaped, and made the best of his way to his ship.

Information having been sent from Panama, over the isthmus, to Nombre de Dios, of all that had passed, four barks were fitted out: these soon found Oxenham's ship, and carried her back to their port.—In the meantime the Viceroy of Peru had ordered 150 men to scour the mountains in search of the English. When discovered, as they speedily were, some of them were sick,

and were easily made prisoners: the rest fled: but, being betrayed by the Indians, they were soon taken and conveyed to Panama. Here Oxenham was examined as to what authority he had from the Queen: and being unable to produce any power or commission, he and his comrades were sentenced to suffer death, as pirates and common enemies of mankind; and were accordingly executed; with the exception of Oxenham, who, with his master, pilot, and five boys, were carried to Lima; where he and the other two men likewise suffered death; but the boys were pardoned. And thus terminated the ill-conducted and unfortunate adventure of this young man, who deserved a better fate. His old commander Drake had the highest opinion of him; and he was beloved by the whole crew.*

Drake, of course, knew nothing of these events, which occurred while he was employed in fitting out his little squadron for the same scene of action; and with which he left Plymouth on the 15th of November, 1577; but a violent storm overtook them, which obliged them to put into Falmouth; and thence return to Plymouth to have their damages repaired. As soon as they were refitted, Drake set sail from Plymouth, a second time, on the 13th of December. On the 27th they called at Mogador, on the coast of Barbary, for supplies; and here he set up one of his pin-naces which he had carried with him in frame. The inhabitants showed signs of friendship, and promised to bring them, on the following day, sheep, fowls, and other provisions: and accordingly they came down with camels laden with various articles, not only of provisions, but merchandise. But as they approached the coast an unlucky accident occurred. One of the boat's crew, John Fry, leaped hastily on shore, intending to give some of them a hearty shake of the hand: this so surprised and alarmed the Moors that they seized him; and, to prevent his making any resistance, held a dagger to his throat, laid him across a horse,

* Prince says there is a family of considerable standing of the name of Oxenham at South Tawton, near Oakhampton, "of which this strange and wonderful thing is recorded: that at the death of any of them, a bird with a white breast is seen for a while fluttering about their beds, and then suddenly to vanish away;" and Howel quotes the inscription on a tombstone, giving the names of several of the family to whom the bird had appeared—to the mother, a son, two sisters, and some others. "To all these," says Howel, "there be divers witnesses, both squires and ladies, whose names are engraven upon the stone."

and carried him off. The number of Moors was so great that his companions dared not attempt his rescue. It afterwards appeared, however, that their object, in this act of violence, was only to ascertain to whom the ships belonged; and whether they were Portuguese, with whom they were then at war. When the chief, before whom the man was brought, was informed they were English, he immediately sent him back with presents to the captain; but the ships had unfortunately departed before his return. He was afterwards sent home to England by the Moors in a merchant vessel.

In the meantime the little squadron, proceeding along the coast, fell in with three Spanish fishing-craft called *caunters*, which they took, and after that with three caravels at Cape Blanco. Drake restored two of their boats to the fishermen; the third, of about 40 tons, he kept; but gave the owner the Christopher in exchange. Here he remained four days, taking in water and provisions, and mustering and exercising his men.

The squadron next proceeded to the Cape de Verde Islands; and calling at Mayo, they landed, and found a town not far from the water's side, consisting of a great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poor naked chapel or oratory. Having here taken in fruits and refreshments, they next stood in for Porto Praya, in the island of St. Jago; but, from distrust of the inhabitants, did not anchor. Here they fell in with two Portuguese vessels; one of which they captured, laden with wine and other valuable articles. She had also several passengers on board, who requested to remain in her, on learning that the squadron was bound for the Brazils: but he dismissed the crew, and put twenty-eight of his own men into her, retaining the master, Nuno de Silva, in order to make use of him as a pilot on the Brazil coast: and he appointed Mr. Doughty, a friend of his own and a volunteer on the expedition, to the command of this Portuguese prize. To his great mortification, however, a complaint was shortly afterwards preferred against Doughty; of which the General lost no time in making an investigation. Fletcher gives the following account of this transaction:—

“ Into this Shipp the Generall sent one Tho: Doubty, Gentleman, to be Captain; there, not long after his entering into his charge, he was charged and accused by John Brewer, Edward Bright, and some others of their

friends, to have purloined, to his proper use, to deceive the voyage from things of great value, and therefore was not to be put in trust any longer, least he might rob the voyage and deprive the company of their hope, and her Majesty and other adventurers, of their benefit, to enrich himself and make himself greater to the overthrow of all others. In regard whereof, the General speedily went on board the Prize to examine the matter, who finding certain pairs of Portugal Gloves, some few pieces of money of a strange coin, and a small Ring, all which one of the Portugals gave him out of his chest in hope of favour, all of them being not worth the speaking of. These things being found with him, not purloined but only given him, received in the sight of all men, the General, in his discession, deposed him from his place, and yet sent him in his own stead to the Admiral (meaning the ship) as commander of that company for the tyme, in his absence; and placed Thomas Drake, his brother, in the Prize, Captain in the room of Thomas Doubty, yet remained there himself till he had discharged the Portugals.

“ In the mean time the said Thomas Doubty, being aboard the Admirall, was thought to be too peremptory and exceeded his authority, taking upon him too great a command, by reason whereof such as had him in dislike took advantage agaynst him to complain a second tyme, which were heard with expedition to their own contentation; for the Portugals, being set in one pinnace with necessary provisions of victual, whereof they rejoiced that they scaped with their lives, thinking Ships and Goods, as they said, well bestowed, to arrive where they would. The General came aboard the Admiral, and upon the second complaint, removed the said Doubty a prisoner into the flyboat with utter disgrace.”*

They next passed by the island of Fuego, the volcano on which was throwing up flames; and then the island of Brava, where the sea was 120 fathoms deep close to the shore. This island, however, is described as a sweet and pleasant abode; the trees abundant and always green; figs always ripe, and cocos, plantains, oranges, and lemons in abundance; silver streams of sweet and wholesome water, where boats may easily take in water. On the 17th of February they passed the equator; previous to which, Drake, who was always careful of his men's health, had blooded every one of them with his own hand.

Here the ships were becalmed; they had much thunder and lightning; and made little or no progress for the space of three weeks; an occurrence not unfrequent, not only at the time in question, but for two centuries afterwards, owing to the practice then invariably pursued of trying to make a direct and straight course across the line, instead of, as is now done, cross-

* Sloane MSS. in British Museum.

ing it between the 20° and 24° of west longitude, where ships are very rarely becalmed. The consequence was, that Drake saw no land for fifty-five days; at the end of which period he reached the coast of Brazil.

Drake here did little more than look into the great river La Plata; as the object of his voyage did not lie in that quarter. He saw in it multitudes of seals; of which they killed many, and found them good, both as food for present use and as a supply of provisions for the future. Standing to the southward, they anchored in a bay in 47° S. lat.; all but the Swan and the Portuguese prize (now named the *Mary*), which had separated. Some natives were seen, to whom they made a signal by hoisting a white cloth; which they answered by gestures and speech; but kept at a distance.

Near the rocks were places constructed for the purpose of drying fowls for food; and in these they found above fifty ostriches (cassiowaries); the thighs of which were equal in size "to reasonable legs of mutton." Leaving this port, they found a better, somewhat less than a degree to the southward. The General sent the *Elizabeth*, Capt. Winter, with the steward, to look for the missing ships, the *Swan* and *Mary*. Winter met with the former, and brought her in. Here they trafficked with the natives. These people had no other covering than a skin, which, when sitting or lying in the cold, was thrown over their shoulders; but which, when in motion, was bound round their loins. They painted themselves all over; some had one shoulder painted white and the other black: and similar contrasts were exhibited on their sides and legs; in the black parts white moons were painted, and in the white parts black suns.

"Magelhaens," says the 'World Encompassed,' "was not altogether deceived in naming them giants, for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bigness, and strength of body, as also in the hideousness of their voice; but yet they are nothing so monstrous or giant-like as they were reported, there being some Englishmen as tall as the highest of any that we could see; but, peradventure, the Spaniards did not think that ever any Englishman could come thither to reprove them; and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie: the name *Pentagones*, five cubits, namely 7½ feet, describing the full height (if not somewhat more) of the highest of them."

Modern voyagers have described these people as a strong and

powerful race, but by no means exceeding the ordinary size of Europeans.

It is not a little curious to find how differently people view the same objects: ~~Cliffe (the writer of Winter's Voyage)~~ says:—

“The people were of mean stature, well limbed, but very sly. One of them, as the General stooped, snatched off his hat, which was of scarlet, with a gold band, and ran away with it. The General would not suffer his people to hurt any of them by way of resenting the injury.”

Mr. Fletcher, on the contrary, says that these people were of large stature; that the hat was a gift from the General; and that the Indian, proud of the gift, wore it every day: that they were well made, handsome, and strong; their dispositions cheerful, and much addicted to merriment. Commodore Byron calls one of these Patagonians a “frightful colossus,” not less than seven feet. Mr. Cummings, who was 6 feet 2 inches high, he calls by comparison a pigmy among giants, for “indeed,” says he, “they may more properly be called giants than tall men.” But Cook and Sir Joseph Banks decided the question, by ascertaining that the average height was from 5 feet 4 to 5 feet 8 inches.

Leaving Seal Bay, as it was called, on the 3rd of June, they anchored in another on the 12th; where they unloaded the little fishing skiff, and turned her adrift. On the 20th, their whole force being united, they anchored in Port St. Julian. Here, in a foolish trial of skill with bows and arrows, Drake lost two of his most valuable men. Robert Winter, partly in sport, and partly to show English skill, pulling the string of his bow with over-violence, broke it; and while he was busy fixing it again, some natives shot their arrows at him, and wounded him in the shoulder and lungs. On this the gunner, Oliver, took aim at them with his musket; but it missed fire, and he was slain outright by an arrow. It is probable that none of the party would have escaped, had it not been for the coolness and presence of mind of Drake. He animated their courage, and directed their movements; ordering them, by perpetually changing their place, to elude as much as they could the aim of their enemies: and not only to defend their bodies with their targets, but to pick up and break the arrows as they fell; he himself setting

them the example: and this they did with so much diligence, that the Indians soon became short of arrows,

“Which,” says Fletcher, “the General perceiving, he then took the fowling-piece in hand, and priming it anew, made a shot at him which first began the quarrel, and striking him in the pancy with hail shot, sent his guts abroad with great torment, as it seemed by his cry, which was so hideous and terrible a roar, as if ten bulls had joined together in roaring.”

This seems to have dispersed the giants. On recovering the dead body of Oliver, Fletcher says—

“When our men came to him, the enemies had thrust into one of his eyes one of our arrows as deep as they could. A sermon was preached, and the bodies, for Robert Winter died at the end of two days, were buried with such honours as in such case martial men used to have when they are dead; being both laid in one grave, as they both were partakers of one manner of death, and ended their lives together by one and the self-same kind of accident.”

One of the first objects that caught their attention at this place was a gibbet; which had been set up, as was supposed, seventy years before, by Magelhaens, for the execution of certain mutineers. No one, who then viewed it, could have anticipated that a similar occurrence was about to take place in their own fleet, and within the same port. It has already been mentioned that Mr. Doughty, one of the gentlemen volunteers, had been removed from the Portuguese prize for malversation: he now fell under the imputation of much deeper crimes. The melancholy history of this man has been told by all the narrators of Drake's voyages; and various degrees of guilt have been attributed to him. It is now, perhaps, impossible to arrive at the exact truth: but as some versions of the story would seem to leave a blot on Drake's justice and humanity, it is right to repeat what the several writers have told us of the circumstances of this transaction. Camden, the oldest and most respectable of all Drake's historians, says—

“In this very place John Doughty, an industrious and stout man, and the next unto Drake, was called to his trial for raising a mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by twelve men, after the English manner, and condemned to death, which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having first received the holy communion with Drake. And, indeed, the most impartial persons in the fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously; and that Drake

cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself excelled in commendations for sea matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some, who, pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that Drake had in charge from Leicester to take off Doughty, upon any pretence whatsoever, because he had reported abroad that the Earl of Essex was made away by the cunning practices of Leicester."

The next most ancient and authentic authority is that of Hakluyt, who says—

"In this port (St. Julian) our General began to inquire diligently of the actions of Mr. Thomas Doughty, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention of mutiny, or some other disorder, whereby (without redress) the success of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded; whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by Mr. Doughty's own confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true: which, when our General saw, although his private affection to Mr. Doughty (as he then in presence of all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majestie, and of the honour of his countrie, did more touch him (as indeed it ought) than the private respect of one man; so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order, as neere as might be to the course of our laws in England, it was concluded that Mr. Doughty should receive punishment according to the qualitie of the offence. And he, seeing no remedie but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the communion, which he did at the hands of Mr. Fletcher, the minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action; which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he, having embraced our General, and taken his leave of all the companie, with prayer for the Queen's Majestie and our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life,"

In speaking of the evil disposition of the people of St. Julian, which is ascribed to the cruelties of the Spaniards, who had visited this place, the narrator, in the 'World Encompassed,' says—

"To this evil, thus received at the hands of the infidels, there was adjoined and grew another mischief, wrought and contrived closely among ourselves, as great, yea, far greater, and of far more grievous consequence than the former; but that it was, by God's providence, detected and prevented in time, which else had extended itself, not only to the violent shedding of innocent blood, by murdering our General, and such others as were most firm and faithful to him, but also to the final overthrow of the whole action intended, and to divers other most dangerous effects.

"This plot was laid before the departure of the expedition from England, and which was made known to the General at Plymouth, who would not

believe that a person* whom he so dearly loved would conceive such evil purposes against him ; till, at length, perceiving that the manifold practices grew daily more and more, even to extremities, and that lenity and favour did little good, he thought it high time to call these practices into question, and before it were too late to call any question of them into hearing ; and therefore, setting good watch over him, and assembling all his captains, and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will and inward affection, more than brotherly, which he had ever, since his first acquaintance, borne him, not omitting the respect which was had of him among no mean personages in England ; and afterwards delivered the letters which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time which had been observed, not so much by himself, as by his good friends ; not only at sea, but even at Plymouth ; not bare words, but writings ; not writings alone, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making away of his person.

“ Proofs were required and alleged, so many, and so evident, that the gentleman himself, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and unkind dealing, acknowledged himself to have deserved death, yea, many deaths ; for that he conspired, not only the overthrow of the action, but of the principal actor also, who was not a stranger or illwiller, but a dear and true friend unto him ; and therefore, in a great assembly openly besought them, in whose hands justice rested, to take some order for him, that he might not be compelled to enforce his own hands, against his own bowels, or otherwise to become his own executioner.

“ The admiration and astonishment hereat, in all the hearers, even those which were his nearest friends, and most affected him, was great, yea, in those which, for many benefits received from him, had good cause to love him : but yet the General was most of all distracted ; and therefore withdrew himself, as not able to conceal his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter to give their judgments, as they would another day answer it unto their prince, and unto Almighty God, judge of all the earth.

“ They all, after duly weighing the evidence, above forty in number, the chiefest in place and judgment in the whole fleet, with their own hand, under seal, adjudged that he had deserved death ; and that it stood by no means with their safety to let him live ; and therefore they remitted the manner thereof, with the rest of the circumstances, to the General. Therefore they then proposed to him this choice : Whether he would take to be executed in this island ? or to be set upon land on the main ? or return into England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her Majesty’s Council ? He most humbly thanked the General for his clemency extended towards him in such ample sort ; and craving some respite, to consult thereon and so make his choice advisedly ; the next day he returned answer that, ‘ Albeit he had yielded in his heart to entertain so great a sin, as whereof he was now

* Throughout the whole of this account in the ‘World Encompassed,’ particular care has been taken to avoid stating the name of the guilty individual.

justly condemned; yet he had a care, and that excelling all other cares, to die a Christian man, and therefore besought the General most earnestly he would not counsel him to endanger his soul by consenting to be left among savage infidels; and as for returning to England, he must first have a ship, and men to conduct it, with sufficient victuals, if any men could be found to accompany him on so disgraceful an errand; yet the shame of return would be more grievous than death; and therefore he preferred that, with all his heart, he did embrace the first branch of the General's offer, desiring only this favour, that they might once again receive the holy Communion together before his death, and that he might not die other than a gentleman's death.'

"No reasons could persuade him to alter his choice: seeing he remained resolute in his determination, his last requests were granted; and the next convenient day a Communion was celebrated by Mr. Francis Fletcher, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The General himself communicated in this sacred ordinance with this condemned penitent gentleman, who shewed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart. After this holy repast they dined also at the same table together, as cheerfully in sobriety, as ever in their lives they had done aforetime, each cheering up the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey only had been in hand.

"After dinner, all things being ready prepared by the provost-marshal, Mr. Doughtie, without any dallying or delaying the time, came forth, and kneeled down, preparing at once his neck for the axe, and his spirit for heaven, which having done, without long ceremony, as one who had before digested this whole tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and willed the executioner to do his office, not to fear nor spare."

Such is the account given of this transaction by Mr. Thomas Drake, who is believed to have been the chief compiler or, at least, reviser of the 'Voyage Round the World,' although it was published by his son, Sir Francis; but there is a strong testimony against a very essential part of the story. The account given in Fletcher's MS. differs materially from it, and is wholly omitted in the printed history of the voyage. In the MS. nothing appears as to any choice being given to Mr. Doughty, between death and life, upon any terms.

But it is best to give Mr. Fletcher's account of this melancholy event in his exact words, and from his own manuscript, or, to speak more correctly, from the certified manuscript copy of it contained in the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum.

After narrating the conflict with the Patagonians, in which Robert Winter and Oliver were killed, he says:—

"This bloody Tragedie being ended, another more grievous ensueth. I call it more grievous because it was among ourselves begun, contrived, and

ended; for now, Thomas Doubty, our countryman, is called in question, not by giants but by Christians, even ourselves. The original of dislike against him you may read in the storye off the Iland of Cape Verde, upon the coast of Affrick, at the taking of the Portugal prize, by whom he was accused—and for what? But now more dangerous matter, and of greater weight, is layed to his charge, and that by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the General's garden in Plymouth, long before our departure thence, which had been their parts and duties to have discovered them at that tyme, and not to have consealed them for a tyme and place not so fitting; but how true it was wherewith they charged him upon their oathe, I know not; but he utterly denied it upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for. Of whom I must needs testifye the truth for the good things of God I found in him, in the tyme we were conversant, and especially in the time of his afflictions and trouble, till he yielded up the spirit to God—I doubt not, to immortality: he feared God, he loved his word, and was always desirous to edify others, and conforme himselfe in the faith of Christ. For his qualities, in a man of his tyme, they were rare, and his gifts very excellent for his age: a sweet orator, a pregnant philosopher, a good gift for the Greek tongue, and a reasonable taste of Hebrew; a sufficient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and in Zealand an aproved soldier, and not behind many in the study of the law for his tyme; and that with it a sufficient argument to prove a good Christian, and of all other things, a most manifest witness of a child of God to men, that he was delighted in the study, hearing, and practice of the word of God; daily exercising himselfe therein by reading, meditating to himselfe, conferring with others, instructing of the ignorant, as if he had been a minister of Christ, wherein he profitted so much, that long before his death he seemed to be mortified, and to be ravished with the desire of God's kingdom, yea to be dissolved and to be with Christ, in whose death so many vertues were cutt off as dropps of blood new shedd,—who being dead was buried neer the sepulchre of those which went before him, upon whose graves I set up a stone, whereon I engraved their names, the day of their buriall, and the month and the yeare, for a monument to them which shall fall with that place in tyme to come.

“These thinges, with dropps of blood from the hartes of some, thus ended, wee went about our other business and necessarie affaires.”

It is evident that Fletcher speaks of Mr. Doughty in terms of more than common regard; and describes him as a man of extraordinary virtue and endowments. It seems most improbable that such a man should attempt the crime attributed to him; and supposing him to have succeeded, what next could he have done? He does not appear to have had any confederates in the ship nor in the squadron; and Drake was beloved by the whole crew; all

that he could possibly have expected after such a deed, would have been to be instantly torn in pieces by the crew. On this transaction Dr. Johnson has made the following reflections:—

“ How far it is probable that Drake, after having been acquainted with this man’s designs, should admit him into his fleet, and afterwards caress, respect, and trust him; or that Doughtie, who is represented as a man of eminent abilities, should engage in so long and hazardous a voyage, with no other view than that of defeating it, is left to the determination of the reader. What designs he could have formed with any hope of success, or to what actions worthy of death he could have proceeded without accomplices, for none are mentioned, is equally difficult to imagine. Nor, on the other hand, though the obscurity of the account, and the remote place chosen for the discovery of this wicked project, seem to give some reason for suspicion, does there appear any temptation from either hope, fear, or interest, that might induce Drake, or any commander in his state, to put to death an innocent man upon false pretences.”

Blame has been attached to the mode of proceeding; but it should be recollected that no court of martial-law existed in Queen Elizabeth’s time, nor was there any court established for the trial of high criminal offences committed at sea; the existing court dates no further back than the 13th year of the reign of Charles II., when an Act was passed “for establishing Articles and Orders for the Regulating and better Government of His Majesty’s Navies, Ships of War, and Forces by Sea,” on which the “Articles of War” are grounded. In ancient times great power must have rested with the captain of every ship; and it is to be presumed, therefore, that he would take care, as a principal point of his naval education, to obtain a competent knowledge of the law or custom of the sea. The crew had to look to him only for their protection; but to protect them he must have the power to keep them in order; and to effect this, he must also have the power of punishment.

“The seaman is willing,” says Sir William Monson, in his ‘Naval Tracts,’ “to give or receive punishment deservedly, according to the laws of the sea, and not otherwise, according to the fury or passion of a boisterous, blasphemous, swearing commander.”

and he adds, what has only been recently ordained in our Navy—

“Punishment is fittest to be executed in cold blood, the *next day* after the offence is committed and discovered.”

Sir William moreover specifies what the ordinary punishments were in his time :—

“A captain,” he says, “is allowed to punish according to the offence committed ; to put men in the bilbows during pleasure ; keep them fasting ; duck them at the yard-arm ; or haul them from yard-arm to yard-arm, under the ship’s keel ; or make them fast to the capstan, and whip them there ; or at the capstan or main-mast, hang weights about their necks till their hearts and backs be ready to break ; or to gag or scrape their tongues for blaspheming or swearing. This will tame the most rude and savage people in the world.”

These are indeed most brutal punishments, and such as would not be tolerated at the present day : and though they were in use in Drake’s time, we have no reason to suppose that they were ever practised by him, or in any ship that he commanded. He was a mild, indulgent, and humane man, universally beloved by the seamen ; in all his expeditions volunteers crowded to join under his command. Some imperious necessity must therefore have governed his conduct in the case of Doughty.

But it has been said that his putting him to death was a great stretch of his authority. In mutiny this has at all times been lawful. Sir William Monson, the highest naval authority for the time to whom we can appeal, tells us, that

“a Captain under a General has lawful authority to punish offences committed within his ship ; or if his company grow mutinous or stubborn, he may have recourse to the General, who will inflict more severe punishment, as *death*, if they deserve it, which no private captain can do.”

Kindness and benevolence, we repeat, were the characteristics of Drake’s disposition ; and it is utterly impossible to believe that he would basely sacrifice a friend, for whom he took the very earliest opportunity on the voyage to show his esteem, by appointing him to the command of the very first prize they took. ~~It is far more probable that Doughty, from a feeling of pique and resentment at his removal from this command, and at the disgrace of being sent back to his former ship, may have contemplated the crime of which he was accused.~~ It is also a strong circumstance in Drake’s favour that there was not any public feeling manifested against him or in favour of the deceased, either on the spot or on the return of the ship to England. Still some degree of mystery hangs over the whole proceeding, against

which can only be set Drake's unimpeachable character in all the other transactions of his life.

In concluding the account of this event the Narrative says—

“In the island, as we digged to bury this gentleman, we found a great grinding-stone, broken in two parts, which we took and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the feet, building up the middle space with other stones, and turfs of earth; and engraved on the stones the names of the parties buried there, with a memorial of our General's name in Latin, that it might the better be understood of all that should come after us.”

At Port St. Julian the Portuguese prize, the *Mary*, being leaky, was unloaded and broken up, and the fleet reduced to three, the *Pelican*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Marigold*; and, on the 20th of August, Drake came to the mouth of the Strait of Magelhaens, being an inland sea, thick set with islands, and enclosed with high cliffs and mountains, which in that latitude render the air extremely cold, the summits being covered with snow. At the Cape forming the entrance,

“Our General,” says the Narrative, “caused his fleet, in homage to our sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, to strike their topsails upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad mind, to shew his dutiful obedience to her highness, whom he acknowledged to have full interest and right in that new discovery; and withal in remembrance of his honourable friend and favourer, Sir Christopher Hatton, he changed the name of the ship, which himself went in, from the *Pelican* to be called the ‘Golden Hind.’ Which ceremonies being ended, with a sermon and prayers of thanksgiving, they entered the narrow strait with much wind, frequent turnings, and many dangers. They observed on one side an island like Fogo, burning aloft in the air in a wonderful sort without intermission.”

The passage of this strait was a memorable event; Drake having been the second person who accomplished it.

Crooked and narrow in many places, with creeks and rivers branching off in all directions, the tides irregular and rapid, the shores steep and rocky, a burning island, like Fuego, on their left, flaming without intermission, peaks of snow on all sides, no chart to guide them in the right direction, the tide rising and falling thirty feet, and running like a rapid torrent,—such were the formidable obstacles they had to contend with; and it is a remarkable fact that they passed through, in sixteen days, this most intricate and troublesome navigation, which, on an average, requires a fortnight for one of our square-rigged vessels to accom-

plish, with all the advantages of modern knowledge, improvements in ships, nautical instruments, and the theory of navigation.

Observing, near the western outlet, a cluster of three islands that appeared large and fruitful, the General, with some of his people, went on shore, and called the island they landed on Elizabetha, and took possession of it in the Queen's name. The crew amused themselves with taking penguins, of which they killed three thousand in one day. They observed "many fruitful valleys, full of grass, and herds of very strange creatures feeding there. The trees were green, and the air temperate, the water pleasant, and the soil agreeable for any of our country grain; and nothing wanting to make an happy region but the people's knowing and worshipping the true God." Among the anomalies of creation, in this wild and desolate region, surmounted with ice and snow, were found valleys full of evergreens; of these we may mention the evergreen beech-tree, and the winter bark; and above all other curiosities, in such a situation, thousands of little humming-birds.

On the 6th of September (that is, in sixteen days), having passed the strait, they entered into the open South Sea, which, despite its name of Pacific, they found extremely rough and turbulent; and a terrible tempest carried the fleet about a hundred leagues westward, and separated them. Here it is noticed, that an eclipse of the moon happened on the 15th of September, at six o'clock in the afternoon, "which," says Camden, "I note for the mathematicians' sakes."

"It was observed also," he adds, "contrary to what some had written, that that part of the heaven next to the southern pole was bedecked with but few stars, and those of a smaller magnitude; and that there were but only three of any remarkable bigness to be seen in that hemisphere, which England hath not beheld. But two small clouds were noticed, of the same colour with the *Via lactea*, and far distant from the pole, which the men called Magelhaens's clouds."

The General now finding the health of some of the men impaired, had resolved at once to hasten towards the line and the warm sun; but a terrific tempest arose, and the ships were driven to the south of Cape Horn, and thus Drake saw the union of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. On trying to regain their lost

ground, the wind still blowing strong, the *Marigold*, Captain John Thomas, parted and was no more heard of; in fact, she was lost, and all on board must have perished.

On the 7th of October, the Admiral and the *Elizabeth* under slow sail stood into a bay near the western entrance of the strait, where they hoped to have found shelter from the bad weather; but in a few hours after coming to an anchor, the cable of the Admiral parted, and she drove out to sea, and was thus separated from the *Elizabeth*, which remained in the port without making any attempt to follow her. The account given by Cliffe, one of the crew of the *Elizabeth*, is that Winter, the next day, after having been in great danger among the rocks, re-entered the strait, and, anchoring in an open bay, made great fires on the shore in the hope that Drake might see them; that he remained there ten days, then went further, and stayed for three weeks in a sound which he named "The Port of Health;" and that then, being in despair both as to Drake's existence and as to favourable winds for Peru, he "gave over the voyage, full sore against the mariners' minds." Winter arrived safe in England, but he was censured by many for having abandoned his commander.

The General being now left with only the little pinnace, was driven back once more into the latitude of 55° south, in which he got among some islands, perhaps some of those to the north of Terra del Fuego; where the ship was anchored, and the crew were refreshed with wholesome herbs and good water. After two days, however, they were driven from their anchorage, and the little shallop or pinnace lost sight of the ship, nor did it ever again rejoin her. There were eight men in her, who had provisions only for one day; they, however, reached the shore, procured water and roots, and in the course of a fortnight entered the Strait of Magelhaens. Here they salted and dried penguins, and proceeded to Port Julian, and thence to Rio de la Plata. There six of the party went into the woods to seek for food. A party of Indians met them, wounded them all with their arrows, and took four of them prisoners; the other two escaped to their companions who had remained in the boat. They moved to an island two or three leagues from the shore, where the two wounded men died: the shallop was dashed in pieces against the rocks. The remaining two, Peter Curder and William Pitcher, stayed

on this island two months, subsisting on small crabs, eels, and a fruit like an orange, but they had no water. The misery they endured for want of this indispensable necessary of life induced them to endeavour, by means of a plank and a couple of paddles, to reach the mainland. This they accomplished in three days and two nights, and found a rivulet of sweet water—

“where,” says Curder, “Pitcher, my only comfort and companion, (although I endeavoured to dissuade him,) being pinched with extreme thirst, over-drunk himself; and, to my unspeakable grief, died within half an hour, whom I buried as well as I could in the sand.”

Curder, the only survivor of the party, was kindly treated by some Indians, and at the end of nine years returned to England.

The Golden Hind was now left completely alone, and with a reduced crew. Another storm arose, and the vessel was driven to the very southern extremity of the American continent, and thus Drake was the first to discover Cape Horn.

On the 30th of October the storm abated, and enabled Drake to proceed to the northward, towards the place he had appointed for the rendezvous of his squadron, namely in 30° south; but every search for them was unavailing. He fell in with two islands well stocked with fowls, of which he laid in a quantity for the crew, and thence coasted along till he came to 38° ; and finding no traces of his companions, nor any convenient place to anchor in, he proceeded to the island Macho. This island was inhabited by native Indians of the same race as the Patagonians of St. Julian's, whom the cruelties of the Spaniards had driven from the mainland. Here he intended to water his ship, and entered into friendly communication with the natives, treating them with small presents such as he thought might best please them. In return they presented him with fruits, and two sheep, and pointed out a place where he would obtain fresh water.

The next morning, according to agreement, the men landed with their water-casks, and sent a couple of the crew forward towards the place. These two men were suddenly attacked by the Indians, and immediately slain; and all the other persons in the boat were in great danger, as four or five hundred men, springing up from behind the rocks, discharged a volley of arrows into the boat, and wounded every man in her before they could get ready

their weapons; Drake himself was shot in the face by an arrow, under his right eye, which pierced him almost to the brain, and he received another wound in the head. None of the men died of their wounds, although the only surgeon was a mere boy, the chief surgeon being dead, and the other in Winter's ship. The only reason which can be assigned for this treacherous conduct on the part of the natives was, that one of the crew having made use of the word *aqua*, they mistook them for Spaniards, against whom, in consequence of their cruelty and injustice, they entertained an inveterate hatred, and rejoiced in every opportunity of taking revenge.

On the 30th of November Drake dropped anchor in a bay called St. Philip, when a boat's crew having landed, brought away an Indian they had fallen in with. He was clothed in a long white gown, and his manners were exceedingly mild and gentle. Drake treated him kindly, and, dismissing him with presents, ordered his boat to set him safe on shore. This man gave his countrymen so flattering a description of the reception he had received, that within a few hours they came down to the boat with fowls, eggs, and a hog; and one of them, who was a man of consequence among them, desired to be conveyed on board the English ship. This chief lamented that he was unable to furnish the English with such supplies as they stood in need of; but volunteered to pilot the ship to a port a little to the southward, where they could procure all that they wanted. Drake assented to this, and the man accordingly took the ship to a place named by the Spaniards Volpariza, where the English obtained everything they needed, stores, provisions, and wine; and also seized a Spanish ship, richly laden, which they rifled of a great quantity of gold and other valuables. After spending three days in taking on board the necessary supplies, Drake landed the Indian where he first came on board, after rewarding him amply for his good services.

On the 19th of December Drake entered a bay near a town named Cyppo, where, as soon as he was discovered, there came down above one hundred Spaniards well mounted, and two hundred Indians "running as dogs at their heels, all naked, and in most miserable bondage." The English retreated to their boat, with the exception of one man, who, in a spirit of foolish daring, refusing to retire with the rest, was shot by the Spaniards, and

was drawn by them in brutal triumph to the shore, his carcass placed in full sight of his companions, his head and hands cut off, the heart torn out; and then the Indians were ordered to shoot their arrows into every part of the body.

Proceeding thence, a little further to the north, Drake found a convenient and quiet harbour, where he caused a pinnace to be set up, to enable him to search the creeks for his missing ships. They next landed at Tarapaca, in about 20° S. lat.; where, whilst seeking for water, they found a Spaniard asleep, with a bundle consisting of thirteen silver bars lying by his side, to the value of about four thousand ducats. Drake would not suffer any violence to be done to the man, but allowed his people quietly to carry away the treasure. In another place a Spaniard was found driving eight Peruvian sheep, or lamas, each laden with a hundred pounds' weight of silver: these lamas they seized, and drove down to their boats. Further on was a small Spanish town, where the Spaniards agreed to traffic with Drake, and supplied him with provisions of different kinds.

Coasting along, still in the hope of meeting with his friends, Drake arrived, on the 7th of February, before Arica, where he took two barks, on board of one of which was about eight hundred-weight of silver. On the 15th he arrived at Callao, the port of Lima, and entered the harbour without resistance, though about thirty ships were lying there, seventeen of which were prepared for their voyage. Whether these ships were manned and armed, or what was their size, is not stated; but it appears most strange that Drake, with his single ship, should have been able to strike such dismay into the Spaniards, that they suffered the plunder of their seventeen loaded ships to be carried on without the least attempt at resistance.

In one of these ships they found fifteen hundred bars of silver; in another, a large chest of coined money; and valuable lading in the rest, from all of which they leisurely selected what they pleased; and, had they been so disposed, they might have set fire to the whole of the ships; but Drake was satisfied in obtaining booty for himself and his crew, in compensation for the former wrongs he had received from the Spanish people.

The General, however, in order to secure himself against an immediate pursuit, ordered the cables of the ships to be cut, and

let them drive. He had here received intelligence of a very rich ship, that was laden with gold and silver, and had sailed from hence just before his arrival, bound for Panama. Her name was the Cacafuego, and she was termed 'the great glory of the South Sea.' As he was in full chace of this vessel he fell in with and boarded a brigantine, out of which he took eighty pounds' weight of gold, a crucifix of the same metal, and some emeralds. In a few days after, near Cape St. Francis, in 1° lat., he got sight of the Cacafuego, about one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama. On coming up with her, a shot or two carried away one of her masts, when she was boarded and easily carried. Besides a large quantity of pearls and precious stones, they took out of her eighty pounds' weight of gold, thirteen chests of coined silver, and rough silver enough to ballast a ship. Having transferred all this to the Golden Hind, the total amount of which was calculated at three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of eight, or nearly ninety thousand pounds, they let the Cacafuego go.

Standing out to the westward to avoid Panama, where probably they considered that they were too well known, they fell in with another ship, from which they obtained some linen, cloth, porcelain dishes, and silk. The owner of this ship, a Spanish gentleman, was on board her, from whom Drake is said to have received a falcon, wrought in pure gold, with a large emerald set in its breast; but whether by seizure, by purchase, or as a present, is not mentioned. After taking out the pilot for his own service, he suffered the ship to proceed on her voyage.

He now continued his course; and keeping close to the coast of North America, on the 15th of April came to the port of Aguapulca, in latitude about 15° 30' N. Having here taken in some bread and other provisions, he prepared to depart northwards; but, as the Narrative says,

"Not forgetting, before we got a shipboard, to take with us also a certain pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of ryalls of plate, which we found in the towne, together with a chaine of gold, and some other jewels, which we entreated a gentleman Spaniard to leave behind him, as he was flying out of the towne."

At this place the Admiral set on shore Nuna de Silva, the Portuguese pilot, whom he had taken from the Cape de Verde

Islands, and who, on his arrival at Mexico, gave to the governor a narrative of all the circumstances that had happened on the voyage, which was correct in most particulars; and it was published by Hakluyt. There was here a ship proceeding to the southward, and Drake, ever anxious and mindful about his missing ships, earnestly requested the captain to search for them, and to take charge of a letter he had written, of which the following is a copy:—

“MASTER WINTER, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with the ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise given unto them; and if you want any thing that is in this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt; and what composition or agreement we have made, at my return into England, I will by God's helpe performe; although I am in doubt that this letter will never come to your hands: notwithstanding, I am the man I have promised to be, beseeching God, the Saviour of all the world, to have us in his keeping, to whome only I give all honour, praise, and glory.

“What I have written is not only to you, Master Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube, and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friends, whom I commit to the tuition of him that, with his blood, redeemed us, and am in good hope that we shall be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe us in adversitie, desiring you, for the passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of God's mercy, for he will defend you and preserve you from all danger, and bring us to our desired haven, to whom be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. Amen.

“Your sorrowfull captain, whose heart is heavy for you,

“FRANCIS DRAKE.”

CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1577—1580.

Drake proceeds to the Northward—A North-East Passage round America suggested—Intense cold—Interview with the natives of the west coast of North America—Drake takes possession of New Albion in the Queen's name—Crosses the Pacific to the Moluccas—Calls at Java—Voyage home.

WHILE Drake's little bark of 100 tons, which had sustained so many perils, was undergoing a complete refit at Aguapulca, he was anxiously revolving in his mind what course it would best behove him to pursue. His ship was already nearly laden with treasure alone. In addition to this, he was about to take in stores and provisions for a voyage of uncertain duration, but which in its extent, whatever track he might pursue, was nearly equal to half the circumference of the globe. If he returned by the way he had advanced, he would have to repossess Magelhaens' Strait; for Cape Horn, which is now the usual route, had never yet been doubled; and the Spaniards had industriously given it out that a return by the strait from the westward was next to impossible. Little did he then suppose that one of his own inferior ships had actually repossessed it. Besides, he wisely considered that his voyage, and the fame of his exploits, must have reached Spain, or at all events be well known throughout her Indian colonies; and that the natural consequence would be the sending a fleet to guard the entrance of the Strait, preparations for which purpose were indeed actually made.

What then was to be done? The people began to manifest signs of uneasiness: they had lost all hopes of finding their associates, and having become rich beyond their expectations, it was natural they should begin to desire ease and pleasure, and be anxious speedily to return home. Drake did not require much time to make up his mind. He had seen the two great oceans

united at the southern extremity of America: why then should they not be also united at the northern?

This conjecture was supported by the opinion of some of the most learned cosmographers of the day, who had written to prove that a communication existed between the Northern Atlantic and the Pacific; and Martin Frobisher, the friend, and subsequently the colleague, of Drake, had actually attempted the voyage, and returned at the end of 1576, a whole year before Drake left England—

“highly commended,” says the historian of his voyage, “of all men for his greate and notable attempt, but specially famous for the greate hope he brought of the passage to Cathaia.”

Drake boldly resolved to try whether he could not reach home by proceeding in a contrary direction—that is to say, by the North-East. He failed in the attempt, as did Cook, or rather the survivors of Cook, in after times; nevertheless his anticipations may sooner or later be realized.

It has now been proved, beyond a doubt, that there is a clear water communication between the Northern Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, with the partial intervention of patches of ice in some parts of the mid-sea, and perhaps not much there. The openings at the two extremities in Baffin’s Bay and Behring’s Strait have been passed; and the remaining parts consist, there is every reason to believe, of sea unbroken by any land.

It is probable that the attention of Drake, even before he set sail from England, had been directed to the question of an eastern passage from the northern part of the Pacific, by which his return voyage would be greatly shortened. But even if the existence of such a communication had been actually ascertained, the attempt, under his circumstances, would have been a bold and daring undertaking. With a single small vessel, a diminished and feeble crew, destitute of medical aid, and cut off from all communication with civilized countries, and that ship too containing a mine of wealth, such an attempt must be considered as one of the most daring and courageous undertakings in the records of navigation: the more so as, up to that time, it appears never to have been contemplated that such a passage should be searched for *on that side of America*, though it is most likely that by taking ~~that course~~ it may be found. Now

that we know that a sure and certain open passage exists through Lancaster Sound into Baffin's Bay, the attempt would be justifiable; but without such knowledge it would have been madness to have entered Behring's Strait, without knowing what course to steer, or whether there was any opening at all, and in what quarter, to the eastward. But that it will be done from one side or the other may still be confidently hoped; and among many individuals in the British navy well qualified for the task, there is one whose long-continued and most meritorious exertions in these regions would especially point him out as the fittest explorer of the North-West Passage.

The endeavour which Drake made to effect this object was singularly thwarted by the unexpected and very unusual severity of the weather at a comparatively low latitude. Fletcher's account of this is as follows:—

“From Guatulco we departed the day following, namely, April the 16th, setting our course directly into the sea; whereupon we sailed 500 leagues in longitude to get a wind, and between that and June 3rd, 1400 leagues in all, till we came in 42 degrees of north latitude, wherein the night following we found such an alteration of heat into extreme and nipping cold, that our men in general did *grievously* complain thereof; some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not only the marks, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all; for besides that the pinching and biting air was nothing altered, the very ropes of our ship were stiff, and the rain which fell was an unnatural and frozen substance: so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen zone than anyway so near unto the sun, or these hotter climates.

“Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemed indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heat of the sun prevails not; for it came to that extremity, in sailing but two degrees further to the northward in our course, that though seamen lack not good stomachs, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us, whether their hands should feed their mouths, or rather keep themselves within coverts from the pinching cold that did benumb them.

“Neither could we impute it to the tenderness of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremity of heat, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold, insomuch that the dead and senseless creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves. Our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen up; and our ropes and tacklings in a few days were grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able with them to perform, now six men, with their best strength, and utmost endeavours, were hardly able to accomplish;

whereby a sudden and great discouragement seized upon the minds of our men, and they were possessed with a great dislike and doubting of any good to be done that way : yet would not our General be discouraged ; but as well by comfortable speeches of the Divine Providence, and of God's loving care over his children, out of the scriptures, as also by other good and profitable persuasions, adding thereto his own cheerful example, he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to acquit themselves like men, to endure some short extremity to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtain the greater glory ; that every man was thoroughly armed with willingness and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

“ The land in that part of America bearing farther out into the west than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware, and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5th day of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us ; which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thick, and stinking fogs, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

“ In this place was no abiding for us, and to go further north, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged all our men) would not permit us, and the wind being directly against us, having once gotten us under sail again, commanded us to the southward whether we would or no.

“ From the height of 48°, in which now we were, to 38°, we found the land, by coasting it, to be but low and reasonably plain ; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high), though it were in June, and the sun in the nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow.”

“ The inhabitants of this place,” [he is speaking of a harbour in 38° 30' latitude,] “ who had never been acquainted with warmer climates, in whom custom of cold was as it were a second nature, used to come shivering in their warm furs, crowding close together, body to body, to receive heat one from another, and to shelter themselves under lee banks ; and afterwards (when they became more familiar with the English) they endeavoured, as often as they could, to shroud themselves for warmth under the garments of the Englishmen.”

This account is the more extraordinary, as all our navigators, from Cook and Vancouver downwards, speak of the mildness of the Californian climate.

All the accounts of Drake's voyage state that the natives of the north-west shores of America regarded him and his people as gods.

“They returned our presents,” says the ‘World Encompassed,’ “because they thought themselves sufficiently enriched and happy that they had found so free access to see us. They stood as men ravished with admiration at the sight of such things as they had never before heard of, nor seen, seeming rather to reverence us as deities than mortal men.”

Drake having been driven to the southward, and finding a convenient harbour on the 17th of June, in lat. 38° 30' north—the land inhabited, and the houses of the natives close to the water's side—decided on remaining there to put his ship to rights, and to refresh his crew. At the moment of their arrival, numbers of the natives had been seen on shore, and one man came off to the ship in a canoe. On approaching, he made a long oration; and having finished his harangue, with great show of reverence, returned to the shore. The ship had sprung a leak on her passage, which made it necessary to lighten her, and bring her as close to the shore as could be done with safety. Tents were landed for the men, and something like a fort erected for the protection of the stores and the crew.

The people of the country looked on for a time: when they saw that the strangers were establishing themselves, they came down in great numbers; but on approaching within a small distance, remained perfectly quiet, looking attentively at what was going on, and, though armed, manifested not the least symptom of hostile intentions. Signs were made to them to lay down their bows and arrows, which they at once did. The General, with the view of securing their good will, distributed little presents among them; and they, in return, presented him with feathers, net-work, and skins. In the evening they returned quietly to their village, near a mile distant, where they kept up a loud clamour for some time, the women shrieking fearfully.

“For two days,” says the Narrative, “after the night mostly spent in lamentations, none of them came near the tents; but on the third day, a much more numerous assemblage than before appeared on the summit of the hill, which was nearest to the English fort. Here one of them made a loud and long oration, at the end of which they all laid down their bows and arrows, which they left upon the hill, and came down to the tents. The women, however, remained on the hill, ‘tormenting themselves lamentably, tearing the flesh from their cheeks, whereby we perceived they were about a sacrifice.’ In the meantime our General with his companie went to prayer, and the reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, and seemed to be greatly affected with it: but when they were come unto us,

they restored again unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them.

“ Presently came down from the country a great multitude, and among them a man of goodly stature, and comely personage, who was the King himself, accompanied by many tall and warlike men. Before his majesty advanced, two ambassadors presented themselves to the General to announce his approach, but continued speaking for about an hour; at the end of which the Hioh or King, making as princely a show as he possibly could, with all his train, came forward; in the course of which they cried continually, after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. As they drew nearer and nearer towards us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certain comeliness and gravity in all their actions.”

Indeed, they appear to have been a harmless and inoffensive people, the Chief and all the other men joining in a song, and moving in a kind of dance. The harmless manner of their approach took from the General all suspicion; and he gave directions for their being admitted within the enclosure of the tents without interruption, and they entered the fort singing and dancing. Amid this festivity, the King or Chief placed a feathered cap of net-work on the General's head, and a chain around his neck, and saluted him by the name of *Hioh*. By this act Drake not unreasonably supposed it was meant to convey the whole country and themselves to the new-comers; and he gave them to understand, in the best way he was able, that he accepted them in the name, and for the use of, the Queen of England.

“ After they had satisfied, or rather tired themselves in this manner (singing and dancing, and the women tearing themselves, till the face, breasts, and other parts were bespattered with blood), they made signs to our General to have him sit down. Both the King and divers others made several orations, or rather, indeed, if we had understood them, supplications, that he would take the province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king and patron; making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities; which, that they might make us indeed believe that it was their true meaning and intent, the King himself, with all the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, set the crown upon his head; enriched his neck with all their chains; and offering unto him many other things, honoured him with the name of *Hioh*; adding thereto, as it might seem, a song and dance of triumph: because they were not only visited of the gods, (for so they still judged us to be,) but that the great and chief god was now become their god, their king and patron, and themselves were become the only happy and blessed people in the world.”

Admiral Burney seems to have some doubt, and well he may, whether this ceremony was so clearly understood as to warrant the interpretation put upon it by the writer of the Narrative:—

“The invariable custom,” he observes, “adopted by Europeans, of claiming and taking formal possession of every new land they meet with, whether it is inhabited or uninhabited, never entering into the consideration, no doubt disposed Drake to credit (if it is true that he did credit it) that these people simply and for no cause, value received, or other consideration, made a voluntary gift of themselves and their country to him, a perfect stranger. Such is stated to have been the fact; and against allegations of fact incredulity is no proof.

“The English were certainly regarded by the natives here with an uncommon degree of favour, for which two very natural reasons may be assigned. This part of the American continent had been visited by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, and by no other European. His interview with the natives was of the most friendly kind. No intervening circumstance could have occurred to change the nature of the impressions left by Cabrillo; and this disposition, so favourable to Europeans, the conduct of Drake, friendly and humane towards them, confirmed.”*

The men were naked, but their bodies painted with different colours. They are thus described in the ‘World Encompassed:’

“They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery. Their bows and arrows would do no great harm, being weak, and fitter for children than for men; and yet the men were so strong of body, that what two or three of our people could scarcely bear, one of them would take upon his back, and, without grudging, carry it up hill and down hill, an English mile together. The women were very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

“Before we went from hence, our General caused a post to be set up on shore, a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesty’s and successor’s right and title to that kingdom, namely, a plate of brass, fast nailed to a great and firm post; whereon is engraven her Grace’s name, and the day and year of our arrival there, and of the free giving up of the province and kingdom, both by the king and people, into her Majesty’s hands; together with her Highness’s picture and arms in a piece of sixpence, current English money, showing itself by a hole made of purpose through the plate: underneath was likewise engraven the name of our General, &c.”

To show respect to his own country, and because white cliffs were observed on the coast, Drake gave to all the land he had seen in this part of America the name of *New Albion*. They remained thirty-six days in port; and when the time approached

* Burney’s ‘South Sea Discoveries.’

for their departure the friendly natives appeared to be deeply affected, and to wish for their speedy return; and the separation was accompanied with every token of mutual good will towards each other.

"There is reason," says Burney, "to conclude that the *Port of Drake* was that which is now known by the name of *Port San Francisco*, the latitude of which is $37^{\circ} 48' \frac{1}{2}$ N. For, as the latitude given in the *Famous Voyage* is 38° N., and in the '*World Encompassed*' $38^{\circ} 30'$, and the latitude of *Port San Francisco* is $37^{\circ} 48' \frac{1}{2}$ N.; there can be little doubt they are one and the same." Burney adds in a note—"Allowing them to be the same, it is remarkable that both the most northern and the most southern ports at which Drake anchored in the course of his voyage, should afterwards by the Spaniards, doubtless without any intended reference to the name of *Francis Drake*, be named *San Francisco*."

Thus we may observe that this portion of the west coast of America was indeed discovered, and taken possession of in the usual manner, by an Englishman, in the name of his sovereign, full two hundred years before the United States of America had any existence; and yet they have the modesty to lay claim to it on the assumption that an American discovered it some few years ago. But discovery, or prescription, as Queen Elizabeth justly said, "is little worth without actual possession." If it were not so, what indeed would become of our title to Australia and Van Diemen's Land, where a host of Dutch names stare us in the face?

On the 23rd of July the Golden Hind left the western coast of America, and, as long as she was in sight of it, the kind natives kept up fires on the hills. Whatever the original intention of Drake had been in attempting an eastern passage round the northern part of America, if no other motive induced him to abandon it, the advanced season of the year, and the extreme degree of cold they had already experienced in so low a latitude as 48° , no doubt determined him to cross the Pacific, which however was a long ocean voyage, as unknown to him as the passage of the Strait of Magelhaens had been. Fortunately, however, he had obtained from the master of a trading ship from Panama to the Philippine Islands, "a sea-card" (no doubt a chart of the route), and therefore the best they could do was to direct their course for the Philippines.

They continued their course, without sight of any land, for

the space of sixty-eight days ; and on the 30th of September fell in with certain islands lying in about 8 degrees to the northward of the line. The natives came off in their canoes, each hollowed out of a single tree, bringing cocoa-nuts, fruits, and fish. The first that came appeared to be well disposed ; but others acted dishonestly, carrying off whatever articles were once put into their hands. The English therefore would have nothing to do with them in the way of trade ; on which, to manifest their resentment, they began to attack the ship with stones, with which they had provided themselves. A gun was fired over their heads, the noise of which frightened them ; but none being hurt they returned, and were more insolent than before. The patience of Drake was now exhausted, and he ordered some muskets to be fired at them ; for they could not be got rid of till they were made to feel some smart as well as terror. Drake gave these islands the name of the *Islands of Thieves*. Admiral Burney thinks, from the description of the natives, the time of the passage to them, and the latitude, that they are the islands which in our time have been called the Pellew Islands.

Leaving these islands, they sailed westerly, from the 3rd to the 16th of October, without seeing any land till they made the Philippine Islands, and coasted them until the 21st, when they anchored and watered the ship at the largest of the group, called Mindanao ; and sailing thence about eight leagues, they passed between two islands south of Mindanao, and on the 3rd of November had sight of the Moluccas, and steered for Tidore ; but having received information that the Portuguese had been driven out of Ternate, and had taken up their quarters at Tidore, Drake determined to proceed to the former place.

On anchoring at this city, the capital of the Moluccas, Drake sent a messenger with a velvet cloak to the King, with a request to be supplied with provisions, and allowed to purchase various kinds of spices. The King himself came off to the ship, preceded by three large and magnificent canoes, each having eighty rowers, who paddled to the sound of brass cymbals. On each side of these canoes was a row of soldiers, every one having a sword, dagger, and target ; and in each there was also a small piece of ordnance, mounted on a stock. Drake received the King in great state, himself and all his officers being dressed in their

richest clothes, guns firing, and trumpets sounding. The King was a tall, corpulent man, with a good countenance. His attendants showed him great respect, speaking to him only in a kneeling posture.

On taking leave, he promised to visit the General on the following day, and that the ship should be supplied with provisions. Abundance of rice, fruits, and poultry were sent off, together with a small quantity of cloves. The King, however, instead of visiting them as he had promised, sent his brother with an excuse and an invitation to the General to land. This Drake declined, but some of his officers waited on the King, the brother being detained on board as a pledge for their safety. The King, who was covered with a profusion of gold ornaments and jewels, received them with much parade.

“The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60 grave personages, all of which were said to be of the king's counsel. There were besides 4 grave persons, apparalled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keep continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also 2 Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12 lances covered over with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their captaines called Moro, rising to meet him, he graciously did welcome and entertaine them. He was attired after the manner of the country, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste down to the ground, was all clothe of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feet were a paire of shooes, made of Cordouan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had sixe very faire' jewels, and sitting in his chair of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the king. The fanne was in length two foote, and in breadth one foote, set with 8 saphyres, richly embroidered, and knit to a staffe 3 foote in length, by the which the page did hold, and moove it. Our gentlemen having delivered their message, and received order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the king's counsell.”

Drake appears to have gained by his conduct golden opinions from all he had to deal with here. The son of this King of Ternate, after the death of his father, wrote to King James, soliciting his friendship and aid, and said—

“Hearing of the good report of your Majesty by the coming of the

great Captain, Francis Drake, in the time of my father, which was about some fifty years past; by the which Captain my predecessor did send a ring unto the Queen of England, as a token of remembrance between us; which, if the aforesaid Drake had been living, he could have informed your Majesty of the great love and friendship of either side; he in behalf of the Queen, my father for him and his successors; since which time of the departure of the foresaid Captain, we have daily expected his return, my father living many years after, and daily expecting his return; and I, after the death of my father, have lived in the same hope, 'til I was father of eleven children; in which time I have been informed that the English were men of so bad disposition, that they came not as peaceable merchants, but to dispossess us of our country; which, by the coming of the bearer hereof, (Captain Middleton,) we have found to the contrary, which greatly we rejoice at, &c."*

He then goes on to say that, as the English failed them, they were obliged to call in the Dutch to expel their enemies the Portuguese out of the forts they held at Amboyna and Tidore—a bad exchange for English aid, we may add, when the horrible massacres by the Dutch at Amboyna are called to recollection.

What the King states in his letter, concerning the promises of Drake, is probably true; for we find from Hakluyt that the General received many offers of friendship from the King, who proposed, if he would enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with him, that the trade of Ternate should be reserved exclusively for England. It was in fact this sovereign who dispossessed the Portuguese of the dominion they had so long enjoyed at Ternate.

Drake having furnished his ship with provisions, and procured a large supply of cloves, on the 9th of November sailed from the capital of the Moluccas; and on the 11th anchored at a small island near the eastern part of Celebes, where he repaired his ship. The island was uninhabited, and they remained there for some weeks undisturbed, erected tents, and set up a forge on shore. The island was one continued forest; and most of the trees were large, lofty, and straight, without a branch till near the top. No fresh water was found on the island, but they obtained a supply from an adjoining one.

“ Among the trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselves an infinite swarm of fiery wormes flying through the ayre, whose

* Purchas—East India Voyage.

bodies being no bigger than our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if every twigge or tree had been a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderful store of bats, as bigge as large hennes; of cray-fishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for four hungry stomachs at a dinner, being also very good and restoring meate, whereof we had experience; and they dig themselves holes in the earth like conies."

They left this island on the 12th of December, and steered westward; but on their course they got so entangled among the small islands and shoals of the Celebes, that in order to extricate themselves they stood off to the southward, where there appeared to be a more clear sea. On the night of the 9th of January, 1580, whilst running under all sail set, and the wind blowing moderately fresh, the Golden Hind all at once struck on a rocky shoal, and stuck fast.

Here the ship remained firmly fixed all night. At daybreak every exertion was made to get her off. The water was of such a great depth on every side of the shoal as to make it impossible to heave her off by getting out an anchor. In this state of distress the whole ship's company was summoned to prayers—

"commending ourselves into the merciful hands of our most gracious God: for this purpose we presently fell prostrate, and with joined prayers sent up to the throne of grace, humbly besought Almighty God to extend his mercy unto us in his son Christ Jesus; and so preparing, as it were, our necks unto the block, we every minute expected the final stroke to be given unto us."

That duty performed, it was determined to lighten the ship of part of her lading. Three tons of cloves, eight of the guns, and a quantity of meal and beans, were thrown overboard, but without effect; but although the danger was so imminent, the idea of lightening the ship by throwing out any of the treasure on board, which was the heaviest part of their cargo, appears never to have been entertained. Fortunately at low water, as the ship fell over on one side, she slipped off from the ledge of the rock, and floated into deep water.*

* Fuller gives a different account; on what authority does not appear: but the passage is too characteristic and too striking to be omitted:—"The ship struck twice on a dangerous shoal, knocking twice at the door of death, which no doubt had opened the third time. Here they struck, having ground too much, and yet too little to land on; and water too much, and yet

On the 14th of March they arrived at some port at the south side of Java, where they remained till the 26th, and procured every kind of supply they stood in need of. Their time was here passed in feasting and friendly intercourse with the native chiefs, who then were not fettered by any Dutch masters.

From Java they put to sea for the Cape of Good Hope, which they passed without stopping, though it was the first land they fell in with.

On the 22nd of July they reached Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa, where they stopped two days to take in water, and obtained there oysters and fruit. On the 24th they again put to sea; and on the 26th of September, 1580,

“which,” says the Narrative, “was Monday in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home, in one place or country, (but in our computation was the Lord’s day or Sunday,) we safely, with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God, arrived at Plimouth, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent two years, ten months, and some odd days beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discerning so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties, in this our encompassing of this nether globe, and passing round about the world, which we have related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,
Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,
Soli suorum Conservatori,
Soli Deo sit semper gloria.”

too little to sail in. Had God, who, as the wise man saith, holdeth the winds in his fist, but opened his little finger, and let out the smallest blast, they had undoubtedly been cast away: but there blew not any wind all the while. Then they, conceiving aright that the best way to lighten the ship was first to ease it of the burden of their sins by true repentance, humbled themselves by fasting under the hand of God: afterwards they received the communion, dining on Christ in the sacrament, expecting no other than to sup with him in heaven. Then they cast out of their ship six great pieces of ordnance: threw overboard as much wealth as would break the heart of a miser to think on’t; with much sugar and packs of spices, making a caudle of the sea round about. Then they betook themselves to their prayers, the best lever at such a dead lift indeed; and it pleased God that the wind, formerly their mortal enemy, became their friend.”—*Holy State*, 127.

CHAPTER V.

DRAKE IN ENGLAND.

1580—1585.

Drake is well received at Plymouth—Neglected in London; and at the Court—Restored to the favour of the Queen, who visits his ship at Deptford—Confers Knighthood on him—Honours paid to the ship—Amount of Treasure brought home.

As soon as Drake's arrival with his single ship at Plymouth was known, the inhabitants hastened in crowds to the shore to welcome their old friend. On landing he was received by the Mayor and civic authorities, the bells of St. Andrew's church ringing a merry peal, which was prolonged during the whole day. The general joy was extreme, for after the arrival of Captain John Winter, who was always considered as having deserted him, a strong impression had arisen that some fatal disaster had befallen Drake. The day was spent in feasting and rejoicing. On the morrow his first visit was to his native village near Tavistock; for this brave and right-minded man considered it an act of pious devotion to visit the residence of his old parents, in which most probably he first drew his breath, and from which those parents had been driven by religious persecution.

Having been fêted for some days by the authorities of Plymouth and the neighbouring gentry, he rejoined his little bark, the Golden Hind, which had borne him through so many perils and adventures, and with which, as one of the old writers observes, "he had ploughed up a furrow round the world," and in her set sail for Deptford. The report of his return had of course preceded his appearance in London; where not only his adventures were the topic of conversation, but the most exaggerated accounts were circulated as to the immense wealth he had brought

back, and various were the opinions as to whether it had been lawfully and honestly acquired. But that which must have the most annoyed him, was the total inattention of the Court, where, before his departure, he had been so cordially received, and where his projected enterprise had met with such flattering encouragement. No intimation was now given that his appearance there would be acceptable; and although the first Englishman, and the second man of any country, who had circumnavigated the globe, he was not considered worthy of his sovereign's special notice. It is said, indeed, that even in less dignified circles the cool reception that Drake met with was too marked to be misunderstood; and that some were squeamish enough to refuse the acceptance of any trifling curiosity at his hands, lest it might not have been honestly come by. Stow's account of the matter is not uninteresting. He says, in his Chronicles—

“The newes of this his great wealth so far fetcht, was miraculous strange, and of all men held impossible and incredible, but both proving true, it fortun'd that many mislik'd it and reproach'd him: besides all this there were others that devis'd and divulg'd all possible disgraces against Drake and his followers, deaming him the master thiefe of the unknowne world; yet neverthelesse, the people generally, with exceeding admiration, applauded his wonderful long adventures and rich prize, chiefly for some such reasons following.

“The Queene, not yet persuaded to accept and approve his unknowne purchase, paused a while and heard every opinion, which at that time were many; the principal points whereof were, that if this action of Drake should be justified, it would call in question the late piracy of Captayne Christ-masse: the staying of the Spanish king's treasure by Martine Frobisher: hinder commerce: break the league: raise reproach: breede warre with the house of Burgundy: and cause imbargo of the English shippes and goodes in Spayne. Whereunto answer was made, that it was neither prize, nor piracy, nor civill policy, to cast so much treasure out of their possession: neither could any prince or private subject rightly challenge it: nor by it any offence committed, or intended to any christian prince or state.

“And that it was very necessary to retaigne it, as well for further triall of the Spanish malice, shewed to the English merchants in Spayne; as for the descrying of secret enemies at home, against both which, it would prove a present remedy: as also that if warres ensued, which the Spanyards long threatened, then the same treasure of itself would fully defray the charge of seaven yeares warres, prevent and save the common subject from taxes, loanes, privy seals, subsidies and fifteenes, and give them good advantage against a daring adversary: the which said opinion strongly prevayled.

“Yet Captaine Drake, all this while, being therewithal, and by his friends

much encouraged, rested doubtful of the event, untill the day that the Queen's Majesty came aboarde his weather-beaten barke; where being as highly graced as his heart coulde wish, with knightly honors, princely commendations and encouragements, he forthwith visited his friendes in courte, towne and countrey, his name and fame became admirable in all places, the people swarming dayly in the streets to beholde him, vowing hatred to all that durst mislike him. Books, pictures and ballades were published in his prayse, his opinion and judgment concerning marine affayres stooode currant."

It must be noticed, however, that Drake had for five months been held in suspense, as to the view which the Queen would take of the business, upon which, of course, his future fame would mainly depend. He was now, however, to be highly honoured and amply gratified.

"They came home into England," continues Stow, "in the year 1580; and in the year next following, to wit, 1581, on the 4th of April, her Majesty dining at Deptford, after dinner entered the ship which Captain Drake had so happily guided round about the world, and being there, a bridge which her Majesty had passed over, brake, being upon the same more than two hundred persons, and no man hurt by the fall; and there she did make Captain Drake knight, in the same ship, for reward of his service; his armes were given him, a ship on the world, which ship, by her Majestie's commandment, is lodged in a dock at Deptford, for a monument to all posterity, of that famous and worthie exploite, whereof a worshipfull gentleman, Maister William Borough, in his preface to a book entitled 'A discourse of the variation of the compasse or magnetical needle,' hath these words: 'So now at length (saith he) our countrieman Sir Francis Drake, for valorous attempt, prudent proceeding, and fortunate performing his voyage about the world, is not only become equal to any of them that live, but in fame farr surpassing.'"

The Queen, it appears, commanded that the Golden Hind should be preserved, as a striking monument of Drake's services and his country's glory; and for a long series of years it remained in Deptford dock-yard as an object of curiosity and admiration. When it was too far decayed to receive repairs, a sufficient quantity of sound wood was selected out of it, and converted into a chair, which was presented to the University of Oxford, with the following appropriate verses written by the celebrated Cowley:—

"To this great ship which round the globe has run,
And match'd in race the chariot of the sun;
This Pythagorean ship, (for it may claim,
Without presumption, so deserv'd a name,)

By knowledge once, and transformation now,
 In her new shape, this sacred port allow.
 Drake and his ship could not have wish'd from fate
 An happier station or more blest estate.
 For lo! a seat of endless rest is given
 To her in Oxford, and to him in heaven."

Among other verses in praise of the circumnavigator the following, said to be written by some of the scholars of Winchester School, were set up upon the main-mast of the Golden Hind :—

"Plus ultra, Herculeis inscribas, Drace, columnis,
 Et magno dicas Hercule major ero.
 Drace, pererrati novit quem terminus orbis,
 Quemque semel mundi vidit uterque Polus,
 Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum ;
 Sol nescit Comitis non memor esse sui.
 Digna ratis quæ stet radiantibus inclyta stellis ;
 Supremo cœli vertice digna ratis."

"But these things," says Camden, "may seem too light, and to proceed from an idle brain, and not beseeeming the gravity of an historian." D

This *grave* historian, however, deals in queer stories occasionally. Speaking, in his 'Britannia,' of the shire of Buchan, in Scotland, he says—

"It is hardly worth while to mention the *clayks*, a sort of geese, which are believed by some, with great admiration, to grow upon trees on this coast, and in other places; and, when they are ripe, to fall down into the sea, because neither their nests nor eggs can anywhere be found. But they who saw the ship in which Sir Francis Drake sailed round the world, when it was laid up in the river Thames, could testify that little birds bred in the old rotten keels of ships, since a great number of such, without life and feathers, stuck close to the outside of the keel of that ship. Yet I should think that the generation of these birds was not from the logs of wood, but from the sea, termed by the poets, 'the parent of all things.'"

~~Camden evidently was not acquainted with the fact of there being a barnacle *shell*,* as well as barnacle *goose*.~~

It would appear that after a time the Golden Hind became a resort of holiday people, the cabin being converted into a sort of banqueting-house.

Among the indiscriminate captures that Drake had made there was a considerable amount of property belonging to private individuals, and he could not doubt that, as soon as it should be

discovered he had returned home, these individuals personally, or through their agents, would attack him for indemnification; and such very shortly was the case. The Spanish Ambassador, Don Barnardin de Mendoza, was instructed by his Government to make representations to Queen Elizabeth regarding the enormities committed by Drake in his late voyage, and the depredations on the inhabitants of the territories in America, which belonged exclusively to his nation; and to demand, in the name of his Sovereign, full restitution for the property so seized, and punishment of the offender. Mendoza carried his insolent demand to such a length, as to imply that the English had no right to navigate the Indian Ocean. To whom the Queen returned this spirited reply:—

“That the Spaniards, by their ill treatment of her subjects, to whom they had prohibited commerce, contrary to the law of nations, had drawn these mischiefs upon themselves. That Drake should be forthcoming to answer according to law, if he were convicted by good evidence and testimony to have committed anything against law and right. That the goods in question were purposely laid by, that satisfaction might be made to the Spaniards, though the Queen had spent a greater sum of money than Drake had brought in, against those rebels whom the Spaniards had raised and encouraged against her, both in Ireland and England. Moreover, she understood not why her, or any other Prince's, subjects should be debarred from the Indies, which she could not persuade herself the Spaniards had any just title to, by the Bishop of Rome's donation (in whom she acknowledged no prerogative, much less authority, in such cases, so as to lay any tie upon Princes which owed him no obedience or observance, or, as it were, to infeoff the Spaniard in that new world, and invest him with the possession thereof), nor yet by any other claim, than as they had touched here and there upon the coasts, built cottages, and given names to a river or a cape; which things cannot entitle them to a propriety. So that this donation of that which is another man's, which is of no validity in law, and this imaginary propriety, cannot hinder other princes from trading into those countries, and, without breach of the law of nations, from transporting colonies into those parts thereof where the Spaniards inhabit not (forasmuch as prescription without possession is little worth), neither from freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing the use of the sea and air is common to all. Neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people, or private persons: forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitted any possession thereof.”

A certain sum of money was however ordered to be paid by Drake to a person of the name of Pedro Lebura, whom the Ambassador presented as an accredited agent for certain individuals, who had made good their claims on account of private property.

This money, it afterwards turned out, was never paid to the proper owners; but was, by order of the King, employed against Elizabeth in paying the Spaniards serving in the Netherlands.

What the sum was does not appear; but there is a minute of the Lord High Treasurer of certain sums of money paid by Sir Francis Drake into the Royal Mint, of which the following is a copy extracted from the State Papers of Lord Burleigh:—

“ A Briefe Note of all such Silver Bullion as was brought into the Tower by Sir Fras. Drake, Knight, and laid in the Vaute under the Jewel-House, as also what hath been taken out, and what remaineth, (viz.) 26 Dec., 1585:—

	Weight.						
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.			
In ingotts of silver, being fine and coarse } by tale, 650, which waieth in gross weight }	22,899	5	}	23,411 11			
More in small pieces called corento, } which is coarse silver that hath been ga- } thered in the mines without refining and } melting thereof, weighing in gross weight }	512	6					
There hath been coyned, as by her Ma- } jesty's Warrant appeareth, for the Right } Hon. Sir Christopher Hatton, knight, to the } sum of }	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
	2,300	0	0	}	39,925	15	9
<i>Item</i> , As by another Warrant of her } Majesty, there hath been coyned for the } Right Hon. Sir Fras. Walsingham, knight, } to the sum of }	4,000	0	0				
<i>Item</i> , by another of her Majesty's War- } rants there hath been coyned for the Right } Hon. the Earl of Leicester, to the sum of . }	4,000	0	0				
<i>Item</i> , there is refined and molten of the } said silver into clean ingotts to the sum of }	29,625	15	9				
Total Sum taken out of the vaute is							
More in gold bullion brought in by the said Sir Fras. } Drake, knight, in cakes and ingotts of severall fines, weigh- } ing 101 lb. 1oz., which said gold is refined, molten and } coyned into 30s. and 15s. pieces, the charges being deducted } to the sum of }				£.	s.	d.	
				205	0	0	
There remaineth in coarse ingotts of silver in the vaute } under the Jewel-House, by tale, 243, which are to be refined } and molten, weighing in gross weight }				lb.	oz.		
				8544	11½		
More remaineth in the said vaute, the small pieces called } corento, which is coarse silver as above said, weighing in } gross weight * }				512	6"		

* Burleigh's State Papers.

The following passage occurs in Purchas :—

“ Captain Drake carried from the coast of Peru, eight hundred sixtie-six thousand pieces of silver, which is eight hundred sixty-six kintals, at a hundred pound waight the kintal, and every kintal is worth twelve hundred duckets of Spaine, which is a million, thirty-nine thousand and two hundred duckets. Besides this, he carried away a hundred thousand pieces of gold, which is ten kintals, and every kintal is worth fifteen hundred duckets of Spain, which amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thousand duckets, besides that which he had in the ship that was not customed, which I do not know of; as well pearls, precious stones, and other things of great value, besides the money he had in coine.”

Whether the money mentioned by Purchas be any part of the bullion adverted to in the preceding account would probably be shown by the inaccessible documents of the Lord Treasurer at Hatfield House. We see by this account in what manner something above 10,000*l.* was disposed of, but there is no statement showing how the balance of 29,625*l.* was accounted for, nor of the additional gold and silver brought in by Drake, amounting to about 27,160*l.*, and which, taken together, amounts to the sum of 56,800*l.*, or thereabouts. It is not clear, however, that any part of this was appropriated to meet the claim of the Spanish agent, who nevertheless did, from some fund or other, receive and misapply a certain sum of money; nor does it appear that all or any part of it was restored to Drake.

There is, however, an old volume, ‘The Merchant’s Mappe of Commerce, by Lewes Roberts,’ printed in 1638; and now very little known, but highly esteemed at the time, which states the amount of profit obtained by the adventurers who assisted in fitting out and joining Drake’s expedition. The volume is dedicated to Sir Maurice Abbot, Governor of the East India Company, and Mr. Alderman Garraway, Governor of the Levant Company; of both which Companies Mr. Roberts was a member. He says—

“ This voyage made profit to himself (Drake) and merchants of London, his partners and fellow-adventurers, according to an account made up at his return, all charges paid and discharged, which I have seen, subscribed under his own hand, 47*l.* for 1*l.*; so that he who adventured with him in this voyage 100*l.*, had 4700*l.* for the same, by which may be gathered the benefit that redounded thereby; though accompanied with many rubbes, delaies and dangers.”*

* Communicated by Mr. Bolton Corney, from whom much valuable information has been received by the Author.

It does not appear that any inquiry was made, after Drake's arrival in England, regarding the extraordinary trial and execution of Doughty at Port St. Julian. The whole affair must have been well known at home from the report of Captain Winter and his ship's crew; and if, during the five months that Drake was excluded, as it were, from the Court, and various attempts were made to disparage his fame, no case was got up against him on the score of this transaction, we may consider him to have been fully acquitted in public opinion of any impropriety in the proceedings regarding this unfortunate business.

Prince, in his 'Worthies of Devon,' gives the following story, which, although it appears to be unsupported by any evidence, and is highly improbable, has obtained so great a degree of credit that we do not deem it right to pass it by unnoticed:—

"It was about this time," says Prince, "that there fell out a contest between Sir Bernard Drake, and the immortal Sir Fras. Drake: chiefly occasioned by Sir Francis his assuming Sir Bernard's coat of arms, not being able to make out his descent from his family; a matter in those days, when the court of honour was in more honour, not so easily digested. The feud hereupon increased to that degree that Sir Bernard, being a person of a high spirit, gave Sir Francis a box on the ear; and that within the verge of the court. For which offence he incurred her Majesty's displeasure; and most probably it proved the occasion of the Queen's bestowing upon Sir Fras. Drake a new coat of everlasting honour to himself and posterity for ever; which hath relation to that glorious action of his, the circumnavigating the world, which is thus emblazoned by Guillim:

"Diamond, a fess wavy, between the two pole-stars, arctic and antarctic, pearl; as before.

"And what is more, his crest is a ship on a globe under ruff, held by a cable rope with a hand out of the clouds; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a wivern gules, Sir Bernard's arms; but in no great honour, we may think, to that knight, though so designed to Sir Francis. Unto all which Sir Bernard boldly replied: 'That though her Majesty could give him a nobler, yet she could not give an antienter coat than his.'

"This relation, I had from Sir John Drake, of Trill, knight and baronet, my honourable godfather."

This story is as absurd as it is improbable. Sir Francis Drake was not the man to be struck with impunity, nor was Elizabeth the woman to have rewarded him had he done so. Drake's arms were given to him immediately after his knighthood in 1581: over the globe was the motto *Auxilio divino*, and underneath the words *Sic parvis magna*. The fact probably was, that Sir Francis

Drake, being ignorant of the family arms, asked his relation Sir Bernard for such information as the Heralds' College required.

Some time after Drake's return from his circumnavigation voyage, he received the following letter from Davis, the celebrated Arctic voyager:—

“Right honourable, most dutifully craving pardon for this my rash boldness, I am hereby, according to my duty, to signify unto your honor that the north-west passage is a matter nothing doubtful; but at any time almost to be passed by a sea navigable, void of ice; the ice tolerable, the waters very deep. I have also found an isle of very great quantity, not in any globe or maps discovered, yielding a sufficient trade of furs and leather. Although this passage hath been supposed very improbable, yet, through God's mercy, I am in experience an eye witness to the contrary; yea, in the most desperate climates, which, by God's help, I will very shortly more at large reveal unto your honor, so soon as I can possibly take order for my mariners and shipping. Thus depending upon your honor's good favour, I most humbly commit you to God. This 3rd October.

“Your honor's for ever

“Most dutiful,

(Signed) “JOHN DAVIS.”

Strype, in introducing this letter, says—

“I have one note more to make of one Davys, a mariner, sometime belonging to Sir Francis Drake, who being employed to find out a north-west passage into those seas in that part of the world, came back this year (in 1585), and upon his return, in a letter, acquainted the said Drake with some account of those seas, and how navigable they were. The letter shewing the first discovery of that passage, and wrote to so eminent a seaman, may deserve to be preserved, and is, as I take it from the original, to this tenor.”

From this statement it is probable that Davis had served under Drake, and perhaps on the circumnavigation voyage, when the latter contemplated a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic; which was at the time, and has been since, so vigorously attempted in a contrary direction by Frobisher, Davis, Baffin, Gilbert, and many others—“men,” as old Purchas describes them, “of heroike courage, marine worthies, beyond all names of worthinesse.” The Straits which Davis discovered still bear his name.

Drake was always kind to his followers, and ever ready to assist them. The following letter, among many others, affords proof of this:—

“ Good Mr. Doctor Cæsar,

“ This bearer, Roger Roffe, is like to have some cause in question before you: it is supposed that he hath wronge, therefore I presume the rather to intreat your favour towards him, prayinge that for my sake you will shew yt in his behalf, being willinge, in that he will becom one of my companie to steed him in any honest cause. And so with my right hertie commendations do bid you farewell.

“ From your father’s howse in Chepside, this 24 June, 1585.

“ Your assured friend,

“ FRA: DRAKE.*

“ To the Worshipful my very

“ lovinge friend, Mr. Doctor Cæsar,

“ Judge of the Admiraultie.

“ With speede.”

Sir Francis remained on shore for the next four or five years, but not without active employment. In 1582 he was mayor of Plymouth; but the records of that place contain no entries of any transactions during his mayoralty beyond the ordinary routine of business, unless his “having caused the compass to be put upon the Hoe,” and having put in execution the order for wearing scarlet gowns, be considered such.

* Lansdowne MSS., British Museum.

CHAPTER VI.

DRAKE'S VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES.

1585—1586.

Drake receives command of a Squadron—Sir Philip Sydney—The squadron and troops employed—Land on the island of St. Jago—Attack on St. Domingo—And on Cartagena—Sickness in the fleet—The intention of taking Nombre de Dios and entering the Isthmus abandoned—Destroy St. Augustine—Return homewards—Call at Virginia—Bring away the Governor and Colonists, who abandon the Colony—Introduction of Tobacco.

THE complete success of the circumnavigation voyage gave an additional spur to the military spirit of England,—eager to humble the arrogant pretensions of Spain, and punish the authors of the cruelties inflicted on our countrymen in her Indian possessions. Her Majesty, who had been greatly pleased with the result of that voyage, now, as a proof of her good opinion, advanced Sir Francis Drake to the rank of Admiral; and signified her pleasure that he should take the command of a fleet, which she destined for the West Indies. She had strong motives for adopting this measure: she was well aware that the treaty she had just concluded with the United Netherlands would be considered by the King of Spain as little short of a declaration of war, and that she ought to be prepared accordingly. He had, in fact, already laid an embargo upon all the English ships, goods, and men found within his territories, which was in itself a hostile measure, and the first step towards a declaration of war. The Queen was moreover fully aware what little chance there was of restitution, or of obtaining any satisfaction for her subjects whose property had been seized, unless she adopted hostile measures; and therefore she wisely resolved to attack the King of Spain in the West Indies, from whence his chief supplies were derived.

“The Queen and kingdom,” says Strype, “had the greatest apprehensions from abroad of the King of Spain: with whom she could obtain no good understanding: and of whom especially it concerned her to beware, considering his power, which at that time was formidable; and thus set forth by our historian (Camden:) ‘All the Princes of Italy were at his beck: the bishop of Rome was wholly addicted and engaged to him; the Cardinals were, as it were, his vassals; all the ablest persons, for matters both of war and peace, were his pensioners. In Germany, the house of Austria, a house extending and branching far and wide, and other houses allied unto the same by marriages, did, as it were, attend upon him and his service. His wealth also and his strength were so much increased, both by sea and land, since the late addition of Portugal and East India, that he was far more powerful and formidable than ever his father Charles V. was. And if he should once reduce the Netherlands under his power, there was nothing to hinder, but that the rest of the princes of Christendom must of necessity stoop to his greatness, unless it were prevented.’

“This powerful prince then the Queen had to deal with. It was judged therefore the best course to favour the Netherlanders, with whom he was now at war, and towards whom he had exercised great barbarities. It was now under deliberation concerning the doing of this weighty matter. The lord-treasurer had consulted with Hawkins, a brave seaman and treasurer of the Navy, upon this affair; and what means might be used in this undertaking, requiring to know his thoughts thereof. He soon after showed that statesman, in writing, the means to offend that king, and the reasons to maintain that faction.”

The King of Spain's hostility to England was avowed, and he had, as it were, thrown down the gauntlet. The Queen therefore saw plainly that nothing was left to meet this insolence but to authorize all such of her subjects as had suffered from the measures taken by Spain, and all others who might feel disposed to resent the hostile proceedings of that nation, to be furnished with letters of marque and reprisal, with power to seize all ships and merchandise, wherever found, belonging to the subjects of the King of Spain. At the same time she ordered a powerful fleet of her own ships to be equipped. The whole of this armament was to be employed under the command of Sir Francis Drake, whom, from his experience and success in naval matters, she considered as the fittest officer in her dominions to strike a blow against Spain.

On this occasion a volunteer presented himself, whose offer Drake could neither well reject nor prudently accept. This was no less a person than the gallant and most accomplished Sir Philip Sydney, the friend and favourite of Queen Elizabeth, of

whom one about the Court said, when he was about to leave her on another occasion, "that she was afraid to lose the jewel of her times." In a life of this celebrated man, written by his friend Sir Fulke Grevil (Lord Brooke), it is stated that this expedition was of Sir Philip's own projecting—

"Wherein he fashioned the whole body with purpose to become the head of it himself.—I mean the last employment but one, of Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies, which journey, as the scope of it was mixt both of sea and land service, so had it accordingly distinct officers and commanders, chosen by Sir Philip out of the ablest governors of those martial times."

He then tells us that it was arranged between themselves, that he and Sir Francis should be equal commanders when they had left England; that the preparations should be made in the name of Sir Francis, and that everything should be abundantly supplied by the credit of Sir Philip. All this, however, was to be kept secret, as Sir Philip well knew it would be next to impossible to obtain the Queen's consent to his taking an employment so remote and of so hazardous a nature; but when once it was ready, he presumed "the success would put envy and all her agents to silence." And Sir Francis, on his part, "found that Sir Philip's friends, with the influence of his excellent inward powers, would add both weight and fashion to his ambition; and consequently, either with or without Sir Philip's company, yield unexpected ease and honour to him on this voyage."

The preparations went on: everything that Drake required was at once procured. He repaired to Plymouth, and waited only the arrival of Sir Philip to put to sea. At length the gallant knight arrived at Plymouth, and was feasted the first night by Sir Francis, with a great deal of pomp and compliment.

"Yet, I," says Lord Brooke, "being his [Sydney's] loving and beloved Achates in this journey, observing the countenance of this gallant mariner, more than Sir Philip's leisure served him to do, acquainted him with my observation of the discountenance and depression which appeared in Sir Francis; as if our coming were both beyond his expectation and desire."

Lord Brooke's conjecture might probably have been correct. Drake might not much relish such high company, and might in fact be playing a game assigned to him.

"For," says Lord Brooke, "within a few days after, a post steals up to the court, upon whose arrival an alarm is presently taken; messengers sent

away to stay us, and, if we refused, to stay the whole fleet. The Queen in her affection, conveyed her royal mandate by a peer of the realm, carrying with it in the one hand, grace, and in the other, thunder."

How Drake contrived to settle this ticklish affair does not appear. It is not improbable that he was all the while in communication with Sir Francis Walsingham, or some other person at Court; and that he was desired to indulge the scheme of the romantic knight until the expedition should be ready to depart. Everything in fact had been already settled as to the officers and men, and the preparations were completed. The fleet consisted of twenty-one sail of ships (some say twenty-five sail) and pin-naces, and had on board two thousand seamen and soldiers.

The principal officers were—

Sir Francis Drake, Admiral or General.	}	Elizabeth Bonaventura.
Thos. Fenner, his Captain.		
Martin Frobisher, Vice-Admiral.	}	Primrose.
Francis Knollis, Rear-Admiral.		
	}	Gallion, Leicester.

To whom were added—

Lieutenant-General Carleill, Tyger.
(This officer had the command of the troops, with one major, three corporals of the field, and ten captains under him.)

The other ships were probably taken up as transports. Although Drake was the chief, or General, of the expedition, yet the military part of the operations, of course, devolved upon Lieutenant-General Carleill; and in point of fact the whole account of their proceedings, as given in Hakluyt, is taken from the narrative drawn up partly by Captain Walter Biggs, who died on the voyage, and completed by Lieutenant Cripps, who gave it to Lieutenant Cates, to be prepared by him for publication—all three being officers of the army serving in the Lieutenant-General's company.

On the 14th of September, 1585, the expedition left Plymouth; and near the coast of Spain fell in with several French ships of small burthen, mostly laden with salt; one of which, having no person in her, the General took for the use of the fleet. To this bark he gave the name of Drake, and on his return paid¹

value to the owners. A few days after this they fell in with a stout Spanish ship, having on board a great quantity of dry Newfoundland fish, which the sailors called "*Poor John*," that was of great use during the voyage.

Coming before Bayonne, a message was sent to the Governor to ask if there was war between Spain and England, and why our merchants were embargoed and arrested? Being satisfied on these points, and receiving from the Governor a present of bread, wine, oil, apples, grapes, and marmalade, they took their leave, but had scarcely returned to their ships before a storm arose which scattered the fleet.

Being again collected, they sent their pinnaces to see what might be done above the harbour of Vigo; where they succeeded in taking several boats and caravels laden with things of small value. One, however, had on board it "stuff of the high church or cathedral of Vigo, among which was a cross of silver doubly gilt, having cost a great mass of money."

The Spaniards declared that the property taken here amounted in value to thirty thousand ducats.

At Palma, in the Canary Islands, "by the naughtiness of the landing place, well furnished with great ordnance, we thought fit to depart with the receipt of many of their cannon shot, some into our ships, and some of them besides being in very deed full cannon high."* But their calling first at Bayonne was imprudent, as it had enabled the Governor of that place to send a dispatch to their several possessions, to warn them of the approach of the English force, the strength of which he greatly exaggerated.

At Ferro they found the inhabitants so poor that they spared them; and proceeding to the Cape de Verde Islands, anchored near Porta Praya (which is called Playa by Cates), where they put on shore a thousand men. Here they dallied for fourteen days, between the towns of St. Jago and Porta Praya, two wretched Portuguese villages. The Governor, the Bishop, and the better sort, all ran away into the mountains; and the only booty obtained was two pieces of ordnance, one of iron and one of brass. The inhabitants met with one of the English boys straggling, whom they killed, and mangled in a brutal manner;

* Cates.

in revenge of which the expedition consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the country as in the town of St. Jago, the hospital excepted, which was left uninjured.

The Portuguese had their revenge: for before the fleet was many days at sea a fatal sickness broke out among the people, occasioned doubtless by the long stay at that most unhealthy place St. Jago, and between two and three hundred men died. They are described as having been marked with small spots like those which appear in the plague. They next proceeded to Dominica, which they reached in eighteen days. The island was at this time inhabited by a savage people (the Caribs), who were naked, having their skins painted: they were well made, handsome and strong, very civil, and ready to assist in watering the ships. That being done, the fleet made sail for St. Christopher's, where they refreshed the men with what they could find, and spent their Christmas; but saw no inhabitants, and had reason to believe there were none on the island.

A council being held, it was decided they should next proceed to the great island of Hispaniola, being allured thither by the fame of the city of St. Domingo, the most ancient and chief place in all that region. On arriving there, they were informed that the Spaniards were in great force in that quarter, particularly at St. Domingo. On new year's day, by the advice of a pilot whom they had captured in a frigate, they landed twelve hundred men at a convenient spot, about ten or twelve miles from the city. The General, after seeing all the men safely landed, returned to the fleet, "bequeathing them to God and the good conduct of Maister Carleill."

On approaching the town, about a hundred and fifty horsemen came out to oppose them; but were received by the invaders so gallantly, with pikes and small shot, that they retreated hastily within the two seaward gates, both of which were manned and planted with ordnance, and other troops were placed in ambuscade by the road side. Carleill divided his force into two parties, giving Captain Powell the command of one division. It was settled that they were to enter at both gates at the same time, the General swearing to Powell "that with God's good favour they would not rest till they met in the market-place." Powell with his company pushed through one of the gates, and the

General through the other; and after some fighting they both gained the market-place, or square, in which was the great church. Here they quartered themselves; and by making trenches and planting ordnance, held the town for the space of a month without loss. One day, however, the General had occasion to send a message to the Spaniards by a negro boy carrying a flag of truce: an officer of the King of Spain's galley meeting the boy, struck him through the body with a staff, and the poor fellow, having crawled back to the General, and told him what had happened, died on the spot.

"The General," says Cates, "being greatly passion'd, commanded the provost martial to cause a couple of Fryars, who were among his prisoners, to be carried to the same place where the boy was stricken, accompanied with a sufficient guard of our soldiers, and there presently to be both hanged, despatching at the instant another poor Spanish prisoner, with the reason wherefore this execution was done; and with this message further, that until the party, who had thus murdered the General's messenger, were delivered into our hands, to receive condign punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed, which were in our hands."

~~The murderer of the boy was delivered up the next day, and the General compelled the Spaniards to execute him with their own hands.~~

The English demanded a ransom for the city; and as the inhabitants were very slow in coming to terms, every morning, for several successive days, the suburbs were set on fire.

"But the invaders," says Cates, "found it no small travail to ruin them, being very magnificently built of stone, with high lofts. Two hundred sailors from daybreak till nine o'clock, when the next began, did nothing but labour to fire these houses; yet we did not consume so much as one-third part of the town; and so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, we were glad to take, and they at length agreed to pay, a ransom of five and twenty thousand ducats. In the gallery of their King's house, there was painted, on a very large escutcheon, the arms of the King of Spain, and in the lower part of the 'scutcheon a terrestrial globe, containing upon it the whole circuit of the sea, and the earth, whereon is a horse standing on his hind legs as in the act of leaping from it, with a scroll proceeding from his mouth, whereon was written, '*Non sufficit Orbis.*' We looked upon this as a very notable mark and token of the unsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and nation, and did not refrain from pointing it out to the Spaniards, who were sent to negotiate with us; nor from sarcastically enquiring what was meant by such a device? at which they would

shake their heads and turn aside their faces, in some smiling sort, without answering any thing, as if ashamed thereof."

Having amply supplied themselves with strong wine, sweet oil, vinegar, olives, and other provisions, together with woollen, linen, and silk cloths (of plate or silver they found but little), they put to sea, and stood over to the mainland, keeping along the northern coast till they came in sight of Cartagena; and entered the harbour about three miles westward of the town. To enter the town it was necessary for the troops to pass along a narrow isthmus not above fifty paces wide, having the sea on one side and the harbour on the other; and at the extremity was a stone wall built across it, with an opening just wide enough for the horsemen or a carriage to pass. This was barricadoed with wine-butts filled with earth, and placed on end. Against this part the assault was made.

"We soon," says Cates, "found out the barricadoes of pipes or butts to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was, without staying, attempted by us: down went the butts of earth, and pell-mell came our swords and pikes together after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemy's nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer than their's, and our bodies better armed, with which advantage our swords and pikes grew too hard for them, and they were driven to give place. In this furious entrée, the Lieutenant-General slue with his owne hands the chief ensigne-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his live's end."

They rushed together into the town, and gave the enemy no time to breathe until they got to the market-place, when they were suffered to remain quietly, and lodge in the town—the inhabitants going into the country to their wives. During the fight the Indians made use of poisoned arrows, the least scratch of the skin with which caused death.

They kept possession of Cartagena for six weeks, and pursued the same course to obtain a ransom as they had done at St. Domingo;

"and though," continues Cates, "upon discontentments and for want of agreeing in the first negociations for a ransom, they touched the town in its outposts, and consumed much with fire, yet the other miseries of war were suspended; and there passed divers courtesies between us and the Spaniards, as feasting and using them with all kindness and favour. The Governor, the Bishop, and many other gentlemen of the better sort, visiting the General and Lieutenant General."

The only loss the English sustained from the enemy, during their stay here was that of Captain Varney and Captain Moon, and five or six other persons, who were killed by the discharge of some muskets from the bushes, when standing on the deck of a vessel they had boarded.

But the disease which they had brought with them from the Cape de Verde Islands never left them: they suffered much from sickness, which carried off a great number of men, and of those who survived very few ever recovered their strength; they lost their memory, and became imbecile in mind. The name given to the disorder was the calenture, which is "a verie burning and pestilent ague." The continuance of this disease, which was doubtless what is now called the yellow fever, and the great mortality resulting from it, obliged them to give up their intended enterprise against Nombre de Dios, and from thence overland to Panama, where the blow was to have been struck for the treasure. Their first resolution to return homewards was taken at Cartagena; but after "a little firing of the town," in consequence of some disagreement touching the ransom, it was concluded that one hundred and ten thousand ducats should be paid.

At a consultation respecting this ransom it was stated that they might at first have demanded a great deal more; but now the above-mentioned sum was deemed sufficient—

"Inasmuch," says Cates, "as we have taken our full pleasure, both in the uttermost sacking and spoiling of all their household goods and merchandise, as also in that we have consumed and ruined a great part of their town with fire. And whereas we had in the expedition a great number of poor men who had ventured their lives, suffered much from sickness, wasted their clothing, and what little provision their slender means had enabled them to lay in, with the best intention of punishing the Spaniard, our greatest and most dangerous enemy, we cannot but have an inward regard to help toward their satisfaction of this their expectation; and, by procuring them some little benefit, to encourage them, and to nourish this ready and willing disposition both in them and in others, by their example, against any other time of like occasion."

The officers did still more for their men. In the official document drawn up on the occasion they state—

"But because it may be supposed that therein we forgot not the private benefit of ourselves, and are thereby the rather moved to incline ourselves to this composition, we declare hereby, that what part or portion soever it be of this ransom for Cartagena, which should come unto us, we do freely give and bestow the same wholly upon the poor men who have remained with us

in the voyage, meaning as well the sailor as the soldier, and wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much, as might seem a sufficient reward for their peaceful endeavour."

On the 1st of March the expedition left Cartagena, and on the 27th of April reached Cape St. Antonio, the westernmost part of Cuba. Finding no fresh water there, they made for Matanzas; but the weather being boisterous, were driven back to Cape St. Antonio, where their water was exhausted; and, after much search, they found only some pits of rain-water.

"Here," says Cates, "I do wrong if I should forget the good example of the General, who, to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of water aboard, took no less pains than the meanest. Throughout the expedition, indeed, he had everywhere shown so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his fleet, accompanied with such wonderful travail of body, that doubtless, had he been the meanest person, as he was the chiefest, he had deserved the first place of honour. And no less happy do we account him for being associated with Master Carleill his lieutenant-general, by whose experience, prudent counsel and gallant performance, he achieved so many and happy enterprises, and by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting down the needful orders, laws and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions."

From hence they continued their course for the coast of Florida, keeping the shore in sight. On the 28th of May they discovered a scaffold raised upon four high masts, as a look-out station towards the sea. Upon this, Drake manned the pinnaces and landed, to see what place of strength the enemy held there, no one in the armament having any knowledge of it. Having gone up the river St. Augustine, they came to the fort of St. Juan de Pinos, newly erected by the Spaniards, and not yet completed. On their approach the engineers took the alarm, and, abandoning the work, made the best of their way to the city of St. Augustine, where there was a garrison of 150 men. When the English landed the next day to storm this fort, they found nobody there. There were fourteen great pieces of brass ordnance placed on a platform, which was constructed of large pine-trees laid across one on another, with some little earth between. The garrison, which, as they learned from a French fifer, who was a prisoner in the fort, consisted of 150 men, had retired in such haste that they left behind them the treasure-chest, containing about 2000*l*.

In like manner, on the English marching to the city of St. Augustine, the Spaniards, after they had fired a few shot at

them, all ran away. Anthony Powell, the serjeant-major, leapt upon one of the horses they had left behind, and pursued them; but having advanced rashly beyond his company, over ground covered with long grass, a Spaniard, laying wait for him, shot him through the head; and before any of the party could come to rescue his body, it had been pierced with many wounds. The Governor had withdrawn to St. Matheo, and all the inhabitants had deserted the city. It was considered as wearing the appearance of being a prosperous settlement, having its council-house, church, and other edifices, and gardens all round about. All the public buildings were burnt, and the gardens laid waste by the invaders, in revenge for the death of Captain Powell. It was intended, on leaving this place, to visit another Spanish settlement, about twelve leagues farther on, called St. Helena, and attack and destroy it also; but they found the shoals too dangerous for them to attempt an entrance without a pilot, and under unfavourable circumstances of wind and weather. Abandoning therefore this design, they continued coasting along, proceeding in sight of the shore, in search of Sir Walter Raleigh's recently planted colony in Virginia, which, by her Majesty's command, Sir Francis Drake was directed to inspect, and to afford it any assistance and encouragement he might be enabled to do. Finding the shore, like that of St. Helena, inaccessible to their ships, on account of the shoalness of the water, they were constrained to anchor, in an exposed situation, two miles from the shore; from whence the General sent a message to Mr. Ralph Lane, the Governor, who was then at his fort at Roanoak, to offer him such supplies as his squadron would afford.

Mr. Lane, with some of his company, waited on the General, and requested him to grant his little colony a reinforcement of men and a supply of provisions, and also a small vessel and boats, in order that, should they be put to distress for want of supplies from home, they might have the means at hand to embark for England. This request was immediately complied with: a ship was selected for the use of the colony, and orders were given for it to be fitted up and plentifully furnished with all manner of stores for a considerable period. While this, however, was in preparation, a storm arose which continued three days, and drove the ship that had been selected, and some others, from their

anchors to sea. These vessels were never seen again till Drake's arrival in England, whither all of them had directed their course, instead of facing the storm.

Sir Francis then proposed to give the settlers another of his ships; but the late accident, and the previous hardships which Mr. Lane and his fellow-colonists had undergone, had so depressed their spirits, that they concluded Providence was not favourable to their design of establishing themselves on the shores of America; and considering, moreover, that the promised supplies from England had failed them, they, after some consultation, petitioned Sir Francis to take them home with him. The number that embarked was 103, five of the 108 who had originally landed having died. Mr. Lane is reported to have been the first to introduce tobacco into England, that detestable weed having been so called from the island on which it was first found—

Tobago.

"These men," says Camden, "who were thus brought back were the first that I know of that brought into England that Indian plant which they call tabacca and nicotia, or tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward, it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, which, in a short time, many men everywhere, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness, sucked in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils: insomuch that tobacco-shops are now as ordinary in most towns, as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmen's bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, seem as 'twere to be degenerated into the nature of barbarians, since they are delighted, and think they may be cured, with the same things which the barbarians use."

Still more energetic were the feelings which King James expressed respecting this abominable herb when he wrote the 'Counterblast to Tobacco;' and such, it may be added, are the feelings of many people regarding the practice, every day increasing, of blowing out "*stinking smoke*" in public places; until Richmond Hill, and every other rural scene about London, have all the effluvia of a cigar-shop; and the entire Continent has become one vast "smoking divan."

Thus ended this expedition, very inferior in profit, and in the interest of the transactions, to Drake's two former enterprises. The booty brought home was valued at 60,000*l.*; and 240 pieces

of cannon were taken, of which 200 were of brass. The loss of men was about 750; almost all of them died of calenture. Of these, four were captains of the army, two of the navy, four lieutenants of the army, and six masters of merchant ships. Of the money brought home, 20,000*l.*, as they had resolved in council, were divided among the soldiers and sailors, being about 6*l.* per man. They arrived at Portsmouth on the 28th of July, 1586.

Sir William Monson, speaking of this expedition, says—

“ This fleet was the greatest of any nation but the Spaniards, that had ever been seen in those seas since the first discovery of them. And if it had been as well considered of, before their going from home, as it was happily performed by the valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the King of Spain than all other actions that ensued during the time of the war.

“ But it seems our long peace made us incapable of advice in war; for had we kept and defended these places, when in our possession, and provided to have been relieved and succoured out of England, we had diverted the war from this part of Europe; for at that time there was no comparison betwixt the strength of Spain and England by sea, by means whereof we might have better defended them, and with more ease encroached upon the rest of the Indies, than the king of Spain could have aided or succoured them.

“ But now we see, and find by experience, that those places which were then weak and unfortified, are since so fortified that it is to no purpose to us to annoy the king of Spain in his West Indies. And though this voyage proved both fortunate and victorious, yet considering it was rather an *awakening* than a *weakening* of him, it had been far better to have wholly declined than to have undertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so inconsiderable forces.”

To this it might have been replied, ‘ If we could not support the little colony of Virginia, unmolested by an enemy of any description, how should we have been able to support three or four populous districts, every inhabitant of which was in bitter hostility against us, and not merely national and political hostility, but religious also—regarding us, from the highest to the lowest, with a hatred incapable of conciliation?’

Queen Elizabeth’s policy was of a higher order, we conceive, than Sir William Monson’s. She said to her Parliament—

“ It may be thought simplicity in me, that, all this time of my reign, I have not sought to advance my territories, and enlarge my dominions; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect; but though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I

doubted how to keep the things so obtained : and I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any ; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just princess."

The real causes of failure appear to have been the unfortunate and ill-judged landing of 1000 men at St. Jago, the delay there of fourteen days, the fever they caught at that most unhealthy and miserable place, and the subsequent delay at Dominica and St. Christopher, making it full thirteen weeks before they reached St. Domingo, owing to which the Spaniards had ample time to prepare for them, and were accordingly on their guard at Nombre de Dios, Panama, and other places, where the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico are usually deposited.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITION TO CADIZ.

1587.

Designs of Philip—Insolence of the Spanish Ambassador—Drake appointed to command an expedition—Letter of Sir F. Drake—Arrives at Cadiz; burns, sinks, and carries away about 100 sail of ships—Dispatches Capt. Crosse with letters—Leaves Cadiz—Destroys a number of ships in the Tagus—Drake stands over to Terceira and captures a large and rich carrack—Case of Capt. Burroughs.

In the course of the year 1587, the intentions of Spain with regard to England could no longer be concealed. Philip, while affecting an earnest desire to come to an amicable adjustment of the differences that had so long existed between the two nations, was secretly preparing to invade England with an overwhelming force. In the mean time Catholic priests were employed as spies, both in Great Britain and on the Continent, to learn the feelings of the Queen and her ministers on the question of war; and also to ascertain the extent and efficiency of the warlike preparations in England. They had besides what they termed seminary priests in England, whose business it was to seduce the people from their allegiance to the Queen and the established religion, and to entice them into the body of the Catholic church. The Queen, on her part, was well informed of all the designs of Spain, and vigorous measures were taken to counteract them. The intention to invade England is said to have been first discovered in consequence of a letter written by Philip to the Pope, asking the blessing of his Holiness on the intended project; a copy of which letter Mr. Secretary Walsingham procured from a Venetian priest, whom he retained at Rome as a spy. The original letter was stolen from the Pope's cabinet by a gentleman of his bed-chamber, who took the keys out of the

pocket of his Holiness while he slept, and furnished the priest with a copy.

One favourite object of Philip was to get possession of the person of Queen Elizabeth, and to deliver her into the hands of the Pope; in the hope, no doubt, that he would consign her to the Inquisition. This he conceived would give a death-blow to heresy in England; and as Elizabeth was the chief safeguard of the Protestants, he hoped, by subduing that princess, to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the Roman communion. It is said that the King of Spain gave special charge to the commander of the Expedition and to all the captains that in no wise they should harm the person of the Queen; but, upon taking her, show all reverence towards her, looking well, however, to her safe custody; and further, that order should be taken as speedily as possible for the conveyance of her person to Rome, that his Holiness the Pope might dispose of her as it should please him.

An English papist priest, of the name of Allen, traitorously circulated the Pope's bull excommunicating the Queen, de-throning her, and absolving her subjects from allegiance, and granting plenary indulgence for her murder. He even went to the Duke of Parma, and preached to him the meritorious doctrine of putting to death heretical sovereigns; but the Duke gave him no encouragement, and openly declared his respect for Elizabeth.

It appears that Philip was fully persuaded by his priests and courtiers of the certain success of the invasion of Great Britain. He was led to believe that England, by a long peace, had lost all military discipline and experience both in the army and navy; that the papist population, which was numerous, would be ready to a man to join his forces on their landing; and that one battle by sea, and one on land, would decide her fate. In the mean time, however, the ambassador of Spain affected to express a strong desire on the part of his sovereign to maintain a state of peace. But when he discovered that their plans were detected, and that England was also preparing her forces, he assumed a more haughty tone, and put forward such demands, in the name of Philip, as he well knew never would be complied with. He required that the Queen should withdraw her protection from the Netherlands, replace the ships and treasure seized unlaw-

fully by Drake, restore the abbeys and monasteries destroyed by Henry VIII., and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope.

Acquiescence in these demands was of course never for an instant thought of by the lion-hearted Queen or her brave subjects: one spirit animated the whole nation: but the emergency was great, and strenuous measures were to be adopted. The first steps to be taken were to ascertain, by the personal inspection of some able officer, the actual state of the enemy's preparations in the ports of Spain and Portugal; to intercept any supplies of men, stores, or ammunition, that the Duke of Parma might dispatch from the Low Countries; also to lay waste the enemy's harbours on the western coast; and not only destroy all the shipping that could be met with at sea conveying stores and provisions, but even to attack them in port. For services such as these no one was considered so fit as Drake. He was sent for; and, always ready to undertake any duty which the Queen might command, he did not hesitate a moment to accept the appointment, and immediately busied himself in the preparation of a fleet suitable to the occasion. The Queen told him he should have four of her best ships, and she doubted not her good city of London would cheerfully furnish the rest. The Queen's ships were—the Elizabeth Bonaventure, Commander Sir Francis Drake; Golden Lyon, Capt. Wm. Burroughs; Rainbow, Capt. Bellingham; Dreadnought, Capt. Thos. Fenner. These ships, together with twenty others, supplied chiefly by the Londoners—some accounts say twenty-four—were ordered by Drake to assemble at Plymouth, to which port he repaired to hasten their equipment. The chief adventurers in this voyage were, as the Queen had anticipated, her good citizens of London, who however are said to have sought their own private gain more than the advancement of the service; nor were they deceived in their expectation. Lord Charles Howard, Earl of Effingham, who had been appointed Lord High Admiral of England in 1585, put himself in communication with Drake, whose movements are detailed in the following letter:—

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

RIGHTE HONORABLE,

April 2d, 1587.

THIS last nyght past came unto us the Ryall Marchant, with 4 of the rest of the London flett, the wynd would permitt them no sooner. We have

since ther comyng agreed upon all condycyons between us and them, and have found them so well affected, and so willing in all our good proceedings, as we all persuad ourselves there was never more lykely in any flett, or a more loving agreement, then we hope the one of the other. I thanck God I fynd no man but as all members of one body, to stand for our gracyous Quene and country agaynst anty-Christ and his members.

I thanck God these gentellmen of great place, as Captayne Burrowghes,* Captayne Vennard, and Captayne Bellengham, which are partakers with mee in this servis, I fynd very dyscret, honest, and most suffycient.

Yf your honor did now see the flett under sayell, and knew with what resollucyon men's myndes dow enter into this accyon, as your Honor would rejoyce to see them, so you would judge a small fforce would not devyde them.

I assure your honor upon my credytt ther are manye suffycient men in this accyon, yeat ther hath dyvers start from us within this tow dayes past, and we all thinck by some practys of some adversaryes to the accyon, by letters written; they are most maryners, we have soldyers in ther place.

I have written to the Justysse for the sending of som of those that are ronne awaye in our countries, to send them to the gayell, and ther to be punyshed by the dyscresyon of the judges which are now in the Serqwett here with us.

I have written more largely to my Lord Admerall in this matter, for yf ther should be no punyshment in so greate a matter, in this so dangerous a tyme, it may dow mych hurt to her Majestie's servis.

I assure your Honor here hath byne no tyme lost, nether with the grace of God shall be in any other place. I have upon my owne credytt supplied such vittual as we have spent, and augmented as moch as I could gett, for that we are very unwylling to retorne arrantlesse.

Lett me beseeche your honor to hold a good opynyon, not of myself only, but of all the reste servytors in this accyon, as we stand nothing doubtfull of your honor, but yf ther be any yll affected, as ther hath not wanted in other accyons, and it is lykely this will not go free, that by your honorable good meanes, whether it be to her Majestie or unto your Honor, that the partyes may be known. Yf we deserve yll, lett us be punyshed; yf we dyscharge our dutes in doing our best yt is a hard measure to be reported yll by those which will ether keep their fynger out of the fyer, or too well affect to the alteratyon of our Government, which I hope in God they shall never live to see.

The wynd commaunds me away, our shipe is under sayell, God graunt we may so live in his feare, as the enemy may have cawse to say that God doth fight for her Majestie as well abroad as at home, and geve her long and happy lyfe, and ever victory agaynst God's enemyes and her Majestie's.

God geve your honor perfect helth in bodye, and all yours, and let me

* He had great cause to alter his opinion of this officer, as will presently be shown.

beseche your honor to pray unto God for us that he will direct us the right way, then shall we not doubt our enemyes, for they are the sonnes of men. Haste, from aboard her Majesty's good shipe the Ellyzabethe Bonaventure, this 2th. Apprell, 1587.

By hym that will allwayes be commanded by you, and never leave to pray to God for you and all yours,

FRA: DRAKE.*

To the Right Honourable

Sir ffrancis Walsingham, Knight,

Principall Secretary to Her Majestie and of Her Majestie's

Moste Honorable Pryvie Counsell at the Courte.

With speede.

Drake accordingly left Plymouth on the day his letter was written, and on the 16th of the same month, in the latitude of 40°, fell in with two ships of Middleburgh, which had come from Cadiz, and by them was informed that there was a great quantity of military stores at Cadiz, which they were busily employed in embarking, and which were to be conveyed to Lisbon as soon as possible. Upon this information, the General, with all possible speed, directed his course to Cadiz with the view of destroying these supplies and shipping before they could get out of the port. On the 19th of April he entered the harbour; and when opposite the town was assailed by five galleys, which, after a short conflict, he compelled to retire under the guns of the Castle.

There were lying in the road sixty ships and many smaller vessels, under the protection of the fortress; there were also about twenty French ships and some small Spanish vessels; but the latter, being able to pass the shoals, made the best of their way into Porto Real. Drake's squadron, on coming in, sunk with their shot a large ship of Ragusa, of about 1000 tons, furnished with forty pieces of brass cannon, and very richly laden. Two other galleys came out from St. Maryport, and two from Porto Real; they fired some guns at the General's ships; but with little effect, and were compelled to retreat, well beaten for their pains.

Before night Drake had taken, burnt, and destroyed about a hundred sail of ships, and become complete master of the road; the large galleys so vaunted by the Spaniards being unable to

* MS. State Paper Office.

withstand him. There remained at Porto Real, and in sight of the squadron, about forty ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

The squadron were much harassed during the time they remained before Cadiz, by the continual firing kept up by the galleys, which were under the protection of the fortress, and from the guns which were planted on every point of the shore. The English were much annoyed also by the number of the Spanish ships, which, when they could no longer defend themselves, the enemy set on fire, and sent adrift into the squadron. On the turn of the tide, it required great exertion to keep clear of these.

“This, nevertheless,” says one of the narrators, “was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals and other provisions of the enemy. Thus by the assistance of the Almighty, and the invincible courage and industry of our General, this strange and happy enterprize was achieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spain’s officers, and bred such a chagrin in the heart of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the High Admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed a good day after, but within five months died (as may justly be supposed) of extreme griefe and sorrow.

“Thus having performed this notable piece of service, the General with his squadron came out of the road of Cadiz, on Friday morning the 21st of the said month of April, with very small loss on his side, so small as not worth the mentioning.

“After his departure, ten of the great galleys that were in the road came out, as it were in pretence of making some exercise with their ordnance, at which time the wind grew scant; whereupon the English cast about again and stood in with the shore, and came to an anchor within a league of the town; where the said galleys, for all their former bragging, at length suffered the squadron to ride quietly.”

The English had already had some little experience of these galleys, the favourite ships of the Spaniards, who were accustomed to place their chief reliance upon them; but Drake assures us that the four ships only of her Majesty which he then commanded, would have made “very little account of the galleys,” if they had been alone and not busied in taking care of the others that were attached to them. On this occasion the galleys, although they had every advantage on their side, were soon forced by the English to retire.

The General dispatched Captain Crosse to England with letters, giving him also in charge to declare personally unto her Majesty all the particulars of this enterprise.

One of the letters was addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham. It is here copied from the original in the State Paper Office:—

SIR F. DRAKE TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

27th April, 1587.

THESE are to geive to understande that on the seconde of this moneth we departede out of the Sound of Plymouth. We had sighte of the Cape Venester the 5th. We were encountrede with a violente storme, duringe the space of five daies, by which meanes our fleete was putt a sonder and a greate leake sprange uppon the Dreadnoughte: the 16th we mette all together at the Rocke, & the 19th we arrivede into the roade of Cales (Cadiz) in Spaigne, where we founde sondrie greate shippes, some laden, some halfe laden, and some readie to be laden with the King's provisions for Englande. We staid there untill the 21st, in which meane tyme we sanke a Biskanie of 12 C (1200) tonnes, burnt a shippe of the Marques of Santa Cruse of 15 C (1500) tonnes and 31 shippes more, of 1000: 800: 600: 400, to 200 tonnes the peice, and carried awaie fower with us laden with provision, and departede thence at our pleasure with as moch honor as we coule wishe, notwithstanding that duringe the tyme of our aboade there we were bothe oftentimes foughte withall by 12 of the Kinges gallies (of whome we sanke two) and allwaies repulsed the reste, and were (without ceassing) vehementlie shotte at from the shoare, but to our little hurte, God be thanked. Yeat at our departure we were curteouslie written unto by one Don Pedro, generall of those gallies. I assure your Honor the like preparacion was never hearde of, nor knowen, as the Kinge of Spaigne hathe and dailie makethe to invade Englande. He is allied with mightie Prynces and Dukes in the Straits, of whome (besides the forces in his owne domynyons) he is to have greate aide shortlie: and his provisions of breade and wynes are so greate as will suffice 40,000 men a wholle yeere, which if they be not ympeached before they joyne, will be verie perillous. Oure intente therefore is (by God's helpe) to intercepte their meetings by all possible meanes we maye, which I hope shall have such goode successe as shall tende to the advauncemente of God's glorie, the savetie of her Highnes' royall person, the quyett of her countrie, and the annoyance of the enemye. This service which by God's sufferance we have done, will (without doubte) breade some alteracyon of their pretences, howbeit all possible preparacions for defence are verie expediente to be made. Thus moch touchinge our proceedings, and farther entente in this actyon, I have thoughte meete to signifie unto your Honor, & would also more larger discourse, but that wante of leisure causeth me to leave the same to the reporte of this bearer. And so in verie greate haste, with remembrance of my humble dutie, doe take my leave of your Honor. From

aboarde her Highnes' good shippe the Elizabeth Bonaventure, the 27th of April 1587.;

Your Honor's
redye allwayes
to be commaunded,

FRA : DRAKE.

I leave the report of dyvers partycullers to the bearer hereof, and pray pardon for not writtyng with my owne hand. I am overcome with busynesses.

Your Honor's ever redy,

FRA : DRAKE.*

The Right Hon.
Sir Fras. Walsingham.

The General next shaped his course towards Cape Sacre (Sagres), and in the way thither captured and burnt nearly a hundred ships, barks, and caravels, laden with warlike stores. On arriving at Cape Sacre (Sagres) the troops were landed, and the castle and three other strongholds assaulted; all of which were either taken by force or surrendered.

Hence the squadron proceeded towards Lisbon, and anchored near Cascais, where the Marquis of Santa Cruz was then lying with his galleys. The marquis appears to have looked on very quietly whilst the English were destroying the shipping; and ultimately to have run away without exchanging a single shot with them.

The following letter from Drake, which, like the former, is copied from the original in the State Paper Office, is both characteristic and interesting:—

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

17 May, 1587.

SENCE the departyng of Captayne Crosse, Right Honorable, ther hath happened betweene the Spanyards, Portyngalls, and ourselves, dyvers combatts, in the which it hath pleased God that we have taken forty shipes, barks, carvelles, and dyvers other vesselles, more than a hundreth, most laden; som with oorse for gallyes, planke, and tymber, for shippes and penaces, howpes and pype-staves for casks, with many other provytions for this great army. I assuer your honor the howpes and pype-staves were above 16 or 17 C tonn (1600 or 1700) in wayght, which cannot be lesse than 25 or 30 thousand tonn if it had bynn made in caske redy for lyqwyer; all which I comaunded to be consumed into smoke and ashes by fyer, which

* MS. State Paper Office.

will be unto the King no small waste of his provcyons, besyds the want of his barks. The nets which we have consumed will cawse the people to curse ther governours to ther fface.

The Porttyngalles I have allwayes comaunded to be used well, and sent them ashore without the wantyng of any ther apparrell, and have mad them to know that it was unto me a great greffe that I was dryven to hurtt of these to the vallew of one ryall of platt, but that I found them employed for the Spanyards servesses which we hold to be our morttall enemyes, and gave som Porttyngallers som mony in their purses, and put them aland in dyvers places, upon which usage, yf we staye here any tyme, the Spanyards which are here in Porttyngall, yf they com under our hands, will become all Porttyngalles, and play as Petter dyd, forswear ther master, rather then to be sold as slaves. I asssure your honor this hath breed a great fear in the Spaynard.

I spake with the Marques of Santa Cruse, at Cast Calles (Cascayes) nere Lysbona, by messenger, wher he was abourd his gallyes, to know whether he would redeme any of his Master's subjectts, which I had som fear of, for suche of my Mystryes' people as he had under his government. The Marques sent me word, that as he was a gentleman he had nonne, and that I should asshuer myselfe that yf he had had any he would shurly have sent them me; which I knew was not so, for that I had trew entellegence by Ynglyshemen and Porttyngalles that the Marques had dyvers Ynglyshemen bothe in his gallyes and prysons; but in trewth I thinck the Marques durst not release our Ynglyshmen before he have order from his King, and lyberttye from the persecutting clergey.

I sent lykwyse to the Generall of the K. gallyes at Calles, and to all such Governours as I convenyently myght for the redemyng of ther Spaniards—they all aunsered me kyndly, but som had bowght a plow of oxen, others had taken a farme, and the rest had maryed wyffes; the former prayed to be held excused, and the latter could send us no Ynglyshmen,—whereupon it is agreed by us all, her Majestie's captaynes and masters, that all such Spaniards, as yt shall please God to send under our hands, that they shall be sold unto the Mowres, and the mony reserved for the redemyng of such of our contryemen as may be redemed therwith.

For the reveng of these things, what forces the contry is abell to make, we shall be suer to have browght upon us, as ffar as they may, with all the devyces and trappes they cann devyse; I thancke them much they have stayed so long, and when they com they shall be but the sonnes of morttall men, and for the most part enemyes to the truthe and upholders of balles to Dagon's imag, which hath alredye fallen before the arke of our God, with his hands, armes, and head stroken of.

As long as it shall please God to geve us provcyons to eat and drinke, and that our shipes and wynd and wether will permitt us, you shall surly hyer of us nere this Cape of St. Vencent; wher we dow and will exspecte daylly what her Majestie and your honors will farther comaund.

God make us all thanckfull that her Majestie sent out these ffewe shipes in tyme.

If ther were here six more of her Majestie's good shippes of the second sort, we should be the better abell to kepe ther forces from joyning, and happelly take or impeache his fletts from all places in the next monthe, and so after which is the chefest terms of their retornes home, which I judge in my power opynyon will bring this great monarchye to those condycyons which ar meett.

There must be a begynnyng of any great matter, but the conteneuing unto the end untill it be thoroughly ffynysht yeldes the trew glory. Yf Hanybull had followed his victoryes, it is thought of many he had never byne taken by Sepyo.

God mak us all thanckfull agayne and agayne that we have, althowghe it be lettell, mad a begenning upon the cost of Spayne. If we can thorowghly beleve that this which we dow is in the defence of our relygyon and contrye, no doubt but our mercyfull God for his Christ, our Savyour's sake, is abell, and will geve us victory, althowghe our sennes be reed. God geve us grace we may feare hym, and daylly to call upon hym, so shall nether Sattan, nor his menesters prevayell agaynst us; although God permitt yow to be towched in body, yeat the Lord will hold his mynd pure. Lett me be pardoned of your honor agayne and agayne for my over myche boldnes, it is the confiecyon of my owne concyence, my dutty in all humbellnes to your honor, my good lady your yocke partener and all yours, beseching you all to pray unto God hartelly for us, as we dow daylly for all you. Hast, from her Majestie's good shipe the Ellyzabeth Bonaventure, now rydyng at Cape Saker, this 17th May, 1587.

Your honor's most redy to be comanded,

FRA: DRAKE.

The Right Hon :

Sir Fras. Walsingham.

With all speede.

Most of the historians of this voyage state, that the General sent a message to the marquis to say that he was there ready to exchange shot with him, and that the marquis refused the challenge, returning for answer, that he was not at that time ready to meet him, nor had any such commission to do so from his king. The letter just given disproves this statement.

One of the narrators of this expedition states—

“ Our General, seeing no more good to be done in this place, having destroyed every kind of craft near the mouth of the Tagus, thought it expedient to spend no longer time upon this coast; and therefore, with the approbation of the next officer in command, and to the great satisfaction of the merchant adventurers, who were not at all pleased with the destruction of so much valuable property before Calais and Cascais, he shaped his course for the Isles of Azores, and, in making for the Isle of St. Michael, and coming within twenty or thirty leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to fall in with

a Portuguese carrak called Saint Philip, being the same ship which, in the voyage outward, had carried back the three princes of Japan, who had visited Europe, into the Indies. This carrak, without any great resistance, was captured, and the people thereof were transferred into certain of the merchant vessels well furnished with victuals, and sent away courteously home into their own country. This was the first carrak that ever was taken on a return voyage from the East Indies; and her fate was considered by the Portuguese as an evil omen, because the ship bore the King's own name.

"The wealth of this prize seemed so great unto the whole company (as in truth it was), that they assured themselves every man would receive a sufficient reward for all his trouble and expenses; and thereupon they all resolved to return home, without further delay in looking for prizes, in which they were gratified by the approbation of the General, who was fully aware of the very great value of the prize he had captured. He therefore ordered his squadron to bear up for England, which they all most cheerfully obeyed; and happily arrived in Plymouth the same summer, with their whole fleet of merchant ships, and this rich booty, to their own profit and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdom, and the extreme care and anxiety of her Majesty's government to secure that 'rich booty' for future appropriation, as we shall presently see.

"And here, by the way, it is to be noted that the taking of this carrak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others that carraks were no such non-descripts but that they might easily enough be taken (as since indeed it hath turned out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and firing and sinking of others); and secondly, in acquainting the English nation, and the merchants more particularly, with the detail of the exceeding great riches and wealth of the East Indies; whereby the Portuguese and their neighbours of Holland have long been encouraged; both being men as skilful in navigation, and of no less courage than the Portugals, to share with them in the traffic to the East Indies, where their power is nothing so great as heretofore hath been supposed."

Elizabeth granted a charter to certain merchants of the city of London to trade to the East Indies, with certain exclusive privileges, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies," which has continued ever since.

The enormous wealth brought into England by this carrak was deemed of so much importance that the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council appointed Commissioners to go down forthwith to Plymouth, for the express purpose of examining it and regulating the disposal of it. It is more than probable that details of all the riches she contained, and the mode in which they were disposed of, are given in the Burleigh MSS., which, unfortunately, are still inaccessible. The carrak, after she was

unladen, was sent up to Saltash, and there accidentally destroyed by fire.

Altogether the results of this expedition were most satisfactory; and even Sir William Monson, prone as he is to censure, has no fault to find with it. He says—"This voyage proceeded prosperously, and without exception; for there was both honour and wealth gained, and the enemy was greatly endamaged:" and yet there were circumstances connected with it which might have afforded him ample scope for very stringent remarks on naval discipline. Not only did the crew of one of the ships mutiny, and go off with her to England; but the second officer in command, Captain Burroughs, was guilty of such insubordination that Drake was obliged to displace him, and put him under arrest.

The accessible documents regarding this transaction are very imperfect: whether the ~~Burleigh Papers~~ at Hatfield would supply the deficiency is still unknown.

The officer in question was Captain William Burroughs, who was next in rank to Drake, and was on board the Golden Lyon, the ship in which the mutiny subsequently occurred. Feeling himself aggrieved by the Admiral's conduct towards him, and dissatisfied with his plans for the future conduct of the expedition, he addressed the following most improper and unofficer-like letter to him:—

FROM CAPTAIN BURROUGHS TO SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

MY VERY GOOD ADMIRALL,

30 April, 1587.

FOR that hitherto in all this voyadg since our coming forthe (albeit there have bin often assemblies of the Captains of this fleete aboard of you, called by a flag of counsell, which I have judged had bin chiefly for such purpose) I could never perceive any matter of counsell or advice touching the accion, & service for her Majestie, with the fleete nowe under your chardge, to be effectually propounded, & debated, as in reason I judge there owght to have bin, as well for the better ordering of the affaires, busynes & attempts, as also for your owne securitye (for when you shoulde deale by advice and counsell of suche as are appointed for your assistaunce, & such other of experience as may be woorthye to be called thereunto, howsoever the succes fall out, yt shall be the better for your dischardge). But at all and every suche assemblye you have either shewid briefly your purpose what you wolde doe, as a matter resolved in yourself and of yourselfe, for oughte that I know, unlesse you have called unto you suche as happelye will soothe

you in any thinge you shall saye, & so concluded the matter with his or their consents before hande, in such sorte as no reason made by any other, not fullye agreeing with your owne resolucion, coolde be accepted to take any place wherein we (I speake chiefly for myne owne parte) have servid but as witnesses to the woordes you have delivered; Or els you have used us well by entertaining us with your good cheare, & so most tymes after our staye with you most part of the daye, we have departed as wise as we came, without any consultacion or counsell holden. This manor of assemblies (albeit it maye please you to terme them either counsellors or courts) are farre from the purpose & not suche as in reason they ought to be. You also neglected giving instructions to the Fleet in tyme and sorte as they ought to have had, and as yt owght to be,—for which I have bin sorye, & wolde gladlye yt had byn otherwise. But I have founde you alwaies so wedded to your owne opinion & will, that you rather disliked and shewed us that it were offensive unto you that any should gyve you advice in anything (at least I speake it for myself) for which cause I have refrained often to speake that which otherwise I woold, and in reason in discharge of the duetye I owe to Her Majestie and the place I serve in, I ought to have don: which place you make no accompte of, nor make any difference between it & the other Captains, naye you deale not so with me as you doe to other, your affection maye leade you therein, & to love and use any man better then you doe me ys no cause of reason whye I shulde dislike it,—for myself, or any man, maye be likewise affected to one man, more then another, but I looke to be well used by you, in respect of, and according to, my place, which I fynde not. I have servid in place as I doe nowe, viz Admirall at the sea, unto the nowe L. Admirall of Englande; yt pleased his Lordship to use me well; and accompted of me according to the place for the tyme. I have served Her Majestie as her Admirall at the Seas, as you are nowe (& doe thinke that I shold not have bin appointed for this service, & in this place, with suche woordes from Her Highness, except I had bin thought meet to take chardge of suche a Fleet, yf you should miscarye).

I have had instructions (for comission) for divers services comitted to my chardge, with as large and ample woordes in effect as you have nowe. ffor, as I take it, the substaunce of the skope that is geven you is this, ffor that by informacion the King of Spaine is preparing a great army by sea, parte at Lisbone, & other in Andellozia, and within the Strayts; all which was judged shuld meete at Lisbone, & the same to come for England or some parte of Her Majestie's dominions, Her Majestie's pleasure is, by advice of Her Highnes' Counsell, that you, with these ships nowe under your chardge, shuld come hyther to this Cape, & upon this coast; & seeke, by all the best meanes you can, to impeache their purpose, and stop their meting at Lisbone, if it myght be, whereof the manor howe, is referred to your discretion. This is the effect of your Instructions (as I remember) and suche like in effect I have received, divers which I can shew.

Nowe that you should conster these woordes to go whether you will, and to attempt and do what you lyst, I thinke the woordes will not beare you owt in it. And therefore I praye you (for your owne good) advize yourself

well in these matters you purpose to attempt, which may not well be maintained by the wordes of your Instructions.

The chief cause that moov'd me to write you thus muche, is, for that it pleased you yesterdaye, to tell me that you purposed to lande at the Cape, for surprising the Castell of Cape Saker or the Abye to the eastwards of it, (or both). I heard speaches and debaiting of suche matter intended by you, by divers as they weare standinge in troopes upon the decke, before the steridge of your ship, before you told it me; and I heard the lyke ther amongst them also after you had told it me. I could not perceive any of them to lyke there should be any landing upon this coast nere those places, neyther for taking the Castell or Abye, nor yet for freshe water, for that there is no wating place nerer then half a myle from the water syde, which is but a poole, to the which the waye is badd: I doe not finde by your Instructions, any advice to lande, but I remember a speciall caviat and advice geven you to the contrarye by the Lord High Admirall.

Nowe to land at this place for the attaining of 3 or 4 peces of ordinance that maye be in the castell, & perhaps as manye in the abye, yf you should atchieve your purpose, as yesterdaye it was reasoned & alledged amongst them, What have you of it? No matter of substance! neither shall any man be bettrid by it, but a satisfying of your mynde that you maye saye, Thus I have don upon the King of Spaine's land.—But Sir, I wolde have you to consider, that though you have a good mynde to attempte the thinge in hope of good successe, yet you maye mysse of your purpose, for (some) of your owne Captaines that shoulde serve for the lande have said, that yf they were in eyther of those 2 places (beinge suche as they are reported) with one hundredth of good men they woulde not dowbt to keepe you out with all the force you can make.

And shall we thincke that the people of this contrye are so symple that upon suche advertisements of us as they have, & our beinge continuallye in their sight thus many daies as we have bin, that they will not seeke to provide for those places, & for the Coast hereabowt as well as they can? Surelye I doe not thincke so of them, & therefore the getting of them maye be dowbtfull, and so maye it be dowbted of your safe landing & safe retorninge backe to the ships, without great losse of men, or overthrowe by the power that maye be raised in the lande, which God keepe you from.

Besydes, you knowe what galleis we lefte at Caels, & of 20 more that are come from Gibraltar; let us thinke that the gonnors under the King have a care for keeping of his Coasts, and whye maye there not be part, or the most part of those galleis sent to lye upon this coast, to wayet oportunytye to take the advantage upon us (as this night divers of my company said they sawe 3 betweene us and shore, even at the verye instant as the gale began) you knowe they may be upon the coast nere at hande, where they maye see us, or have intelligence where we are, and what we doe from tyme to tyme, and yet we not to see them, nor have any knowledg of their being, so maye they wayet for your landing, & cut you off, and indanger the flecte (yf it be calme and the ships at anker, where they cannot travers to make playe with them)—yea, they maye trouble us, and doe some mischief to our fleet, being

calme as of late it hath bin, yf we keepe so nere the shore, scaterid, as yesterdaye, & in former tyme we did, albeit we attempt not to lande.

Moreover, to land men, requireth a land wind, or calme wether & smothe water, that the ships may be brought at anker nere the shore; when men are landed, yt is uncertaine when they shall retorne; yf in the meane the winde sholde chop off into the sea upon the sodden, what then, do you thinke it mete that the ships shold remaine at ancker, & put all in hazard to be lost and cast away?

Consider, I praye you, effectually of these points, for I hav don so, and thereupon am resolved in opinion that it is not meete nor convenient that you attempte to lande hereabowt: which I thought good to advertise rather by writing which you may keepe to yourself, or manifest it at your pleasure (for I have done it as I will answere to everye pointe thereof) then to have sayd so muche openlye, or in hearinge of some, which happellye might have bin to your dislikinge. I praye you to take this in goode parte as I meane it; for I protest before God, I doe it to none other ende, but in dischargd of my duety towards Her Majestie and the service, and of good will and well meaninge towards you.

Aboorde the Lyon in sight of Cape St. Vincent this Sodaye morne the 30th of Aprill: 1587.

Yours at commaunde,

(Signed)

W: B:

To the Right Worshipfull

Sir ffrancis Drake, Knyght,

Her Majestie's Admirall of the Fleet here present
at the Seas. Aboord the Elsabeth Bonaventur.

In this, as in many similar instances where an inferior officer is discontented with his commander, the individual's own statement of his case is in itself sufficient to disprove his charge. When we consider Drake's established reputation, it seems astonishing that any man could have been so far wanting in judgment as to have addressed such a letter to him; and there is also in parts of it a tone of timidity, and a wish to keep as much out of danger as possible, which are as unusual as they are unbecoming in a British sailor.

Whether Drake gave any written reply to this letter does not appear; but that he took proper notice of it, and that Burroughs perceived the necessity of submission, is evident from a second letter which he addressed to the Admiral:—

2d Maye, 1587.

SIR,

I AM sorye that you make suche construction of my lettre. I protest I did it only in dischargd of my duetye, and for the better performance of Her Majestie's service; yf you shall willingly accept it soe, yt

is that wherof I shall be very glad, and you shall finde as muche good will and forwardnes in me, for the execution of Her Majestie's service in this accion, as shall become that place and credit that Her Majesty, and her Highnes' counsell, have thought me woorthye of, and myself as readye to followe your directions, as at any tyme I have don, or any man shall doe. And for furder satisfying of you I will doe such furder matter, as these gentlemen shall relate unto you.*

Aboord the Lyon, this Tewsdaye the 2d of Maye, 1587.

Yours to Comande,

(Signed) W. B.

To the Rt. Worshipfull

Sir ffancis Drake, knyght,

Her Majesty's Admirall of the fleet here present
at the seas. Aboord the Elsabeth Bonaverter.

* "That was to burne, or deliver hym the coppye of my lettre."

These two letters are copied from the Burghley Papers, forming part of the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum: among the Cottonian MSS., also in the British Museum, is a part of a letter on this subject addressed by Drake to Lord Burleigh. It is as follows:—

with the other w

I thank God

My good Lord, I am very unwe complayne, especiallye by writtying; Borrowghes hath not carried hymself (in this) accyon so well as I wyshe he had don (for) his owne sak, and in his persistynge hath committed a dubbell offence (not) only agaynst me, but it towcheth further; I dysmest hym of his place: Captayne Parker yf your honor reqwyre it, will advertise your honor of muche of the matter. I humbly take my leave of your honor. From som what to estwards of Cape Saker (Sagres) this 21 May 1587.

Your Lordship's ever redye
to be commanded,

FRA: DRAKE.*

The Right. Hon.

Lord Burleigh.

It appears that Captain Burroughs, after he was placed under arrest, remained in his own ship, the Golden Lyon, and was carried in her to England when the crew mutinied. What steps Drake took on his return home are nowhere stated; but that he brought the business before the proper authority is evident

* This letter was one of the many papers of the Cottonian Collection which were injured by the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731.

from Burroughs' answer to the Admiral's charges which is among the Lapsdowne MSS. ; but the documents do not show what was the result of the proceedings. Captain Burroughs, however, was employed against the Armada as captain of the galley Bonavolio, 250 men ; but he is not mentioned in the account of the destruction of the Spanish fleet ; he obtained neither honours nor promotion, and does not appear to have been ever again employed.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

Pretence of treating for peace—Unworthy conduct of Spain—Predictions of triumph—Naval and military forces—Lord High Admiral puts to sea—Correspondence of Lord C. Howard and Sir F. Drake with the Queen, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lords of the Council.

~~Drake's last expedition, which he facetiously called "singeing the King of Spain's beard," had rendered it impossible for the Spaniards to attempt the invasion of England during that year, as they had fully intended, and for which they had considered themselves prepared, whilst England certainly was not. The number of transport-shipping, and the quantity of stores, provisions, and other equipments, which Drake had destroyed in their ports, was so great that it required a year to replace them. In the meantime, the Prince of Parma in behalf of Philip, and certain commissioners on the part of Elizabeth, were continuing, in the Netherlands, the farce of negotiating for a treaty of peace; a mere pretence on both sides, begun, as was said, by the device of the Queen of England, to divert the hostile preparations of Spain, and continued by the Spaniard for the sake of concealment, and in order to take England by surprise; striving, as Camden says, on both sides, "to sew the foxe's skin to the lion's."~~

But long before the commission was dissolved, all attempt at concealment on the part of Spain had ceased; and it was publicly known that, encouraged by the Pope, Philip had avowed his determination to make the conquest of England, by which the true church of God and the Roman Catholic religion would be restored, and heresy abolished. It was asserted that the cause was just and meritorious, the Queen being already excommuni-

cate, and contumacious against the church of Rome; and also supporting the King of Spain's rebel subjects in the Netherlands, annoying the Spaniards by constant depredations, surprising and sacking their towns in Spain and America, and having, not long before, put to death the Queen of Scotland, thereby violating the majesty of all sovereign princes.

Among the most active promoters of the invasion of England was Bernardin Mendoza, formerly ambassador from Spain at the court of London, and now at Paris. His hatred of Elizabeth for having got rid of him was inveterate; and by means of the press, which was at his disposal, he disseminated every species of falsehood and invective against England; and confidently proclaimed the overthrow of that kingdom, by the immense forces of Philip then in preparation; asserting also the weakness of Elizabeth in her naval and military establishments, and withal the disaffection of her subjects. There was resident in London at this time an English Catholic missionary (or seminary) priest, who took the trouble to write a voluminous letter to Mendoza, to disabuse him and his partisans of the erroneous opinions they were propagating respecting England; stating to him at the same time what he conceived to be the more proper conduct for Spain to pursue. He asserts that the success of a foreign invasion of England depended less on a large army being landed, than on a strong Catholic party in England, ready to join the foreign forces on their landing; he recommends a more politic line of conduct than that of having recourse to the Pope's excommunication of the sovereign, or his usurped power of absolving subjects from their allegiance, and disposing of kingdoms by violence, blood, slaughter, and conquest; above all, he points out the necessity of concealing their intentions till the time comes for striking the blow effectually:—

“For,” says he, “when such things are published without reserve, they only induce the Queen to strengthen her kingdom, by calling out the military, and to guard those parts of the coast where a landing is feasible. Besides,” he adds, “every nobleman, knight, and gentleman of fortune, immediately took the alarm, and thought it time, for their own and the public safety, by arming their servants and dependents.”*

There is reason to suppose that this letter never reached Men-

* Harleian Miscellany.

doza: had he received it, however, he was not the man to have been moved by such arguments. This *honest* priest—an Englishman, be it remembered—is said to have been executed for treason, committed during the time that the Armada was on its way to England.

Not only Mendoza and his partisans, but all the priests, politicians, and poets of Spain, were sedulously employing their pens in proclaiming her approaching glorious triumph, of which they said it would be little short of impiety to entertain a doubt. In almost all these effusions the two great points insisted upon were to take the Queen and kill the Drake.

The enthusiasm which prevailed in Spain the preceding year, did not appear to have been in the least diminished by the destructive operations of Drake, or the delusive negotiations in the Netherlands: on the contrary, the Spaniards were more eager than ever to make the attempt. Alphonso Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, was appointed to the chief command, and John Martinez Recaldé, an experienced seaman, to be second in command under him. The Duke of Paliano and the Marquis of Santa Croce were originally designed to fill these offices, but they both died before the preparations were completed; and it was said that the marquis received his death-blow from Drake, at Cascais, the preceding year; at least he fell sick almost immediately after those transactions, and never recovered.

On putting to sea, the Duke of Medina Sidonia was instructed to keep as near to the coast of France as wind and weather would permit, in order to avoid falling in with the English fleet; and to proceed to Calais, where he might expect to meet the Duke of Parma, with a fleet of small vessels and 40,000 men: if the duke were not arrived, he was to come to anchor in a place of safety thereabouts, and wait his joining; when the whole were to stand over and enter the Thames, directing their course for London; which it was presumed would be taken by a sudden assault, or fall after a single battle. In laying down this plan of operations, they were not aware that Lord Henry Seymour had already taken his station, with a fleet of sixty English and Dutch ships, to prevent the Duke of Parma from coming out of harbour.

The Duke of Sidonia, however, on his arrival in the Groyne, to which port the fleet had been driven for refuge by stress of

weather, was induced to deviate from the king's instructions, in consequence of false information received from the master of an English barque, that the English fleet were lying inactive in Plymouth Sound, and were unprepared to meet such an armament. Relying on this information, the general Don Diego de Valdez, an able and experienced seaman, on whose opinion the greatest reliance was placed, and who in fact was the chief adviser of the original plan, prevailed on the duke to deviate from it, and proceed direct to Plymouth in order to attack the British fleet unprepared in that port; which, he said, if once destroyed, would lay all England open to their victorious arms.

Here again they evinced how ill they were informed: England was now fully prepared to receive them. The Queen had appointed Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, to the chief command: his good qualities had placed him very high in her favour; she knew him to be brave, and if not eminently skilled in sea affairs, that he was wary and provident, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem among the officers of her navy. Sir Francis Drake was next sent for, and received from the Queen his commission as Vice-Admiral, next in command to Lord Charles Howard: his established fame for seamanship, resolution, and forethought, filled every English breast with confidence. Lord Henry Seymour, second son of the Duke of Somerset, was already in command of a squadron of ships, English and Netherlanders, sent to watch the Prince of Parma, and prevent his putting to sea with his forces to join the Armada.

Her Majesty was not disappointed in the activity displayed by her two commanders, Lord Charles Howard and Sir Francis Drake. Lord Charles immediately hoisted his flag in the Ark Royal, and having obtained information of the movements of the enemy, addressed the following letter to Sir Francis Walsingham:—

LORD C. HOWARD TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

SIR,

9th March, 1587-8.

As I had maed up my other letter, Capten Fourbysher dowthe advertyse me that he spake with 2 shyys that chame presently from Lysbone, who declared unto him that for certenty the King of Spaynse flyte dowthe parte from Lysbon unto the Groyne, the 15 of this monthe by ther acounte. Sir,

ther is non that comse from Spayne but bryngse this advertysment, and yf it be trew I am afrayd it wyll not be helped when the tyme sarveth. Surly this charge that heer Majestie is at is ether to muche er to lyttell, and the stay that is maed of Sir Francys Drake going owt I am afrayd will bred graet parell, and yf the King of Spayne dow send forces ether into this Relme, Irland, or Scotland, the Queene's Majestie shall say, the Duke of Parme is trefyng of a pece, and therfor it is not pryncly downe of his master to dow so in the tyme of Trete, but what is that to the pourpos yf we have by that a Casado. And yf her Majestie chanot show the King's hande his sarvant's hande wyll be but a bad warant, yf they have ther wyshe. Sir, for my selfe I am detarmyned to end my lyfe in it, and the matter is not graet: I protest my graetest care is for heer Majestie's honour and surte. I send you a letter that now as I wryght, I receved from a man of myne, wyche afyrmeth the lyk. And so, Sir, I tak my leave from aboarde the Ark Rawly (Royal), the 9 Ma. at 12 o'clock at nyght.

Your very lovynge frend,

C. HOWARD.*

To the Righte Honorable my verie

lovinge freinde Sir frances Walsingham, Knighte:

Principall Secretare unto Her Majestie.

Drake was equally ready, and proceeded to Plymouth, where he hoisted his flag in the Revenge.

The following is an abstract of the several squadrons composing the English and Spanish naval forces:—

No. of Ships.	ENGLISH.	Tons.	Mariners.
34	Her Majesty's Ships under the Lord High Admiral	11,850	6,279
10	Serving by tonnage with the Lord High Admiral	750	239
32	Serving with Sir F. Drake	5,120	2,348
38	Fitted out by the City	6,130	2,710
20	Coasters with the Lord High Admiral	1,930	993
23	Coasters with the Lord Henry Seymour	2,248	1,073
18	Volunteers with the Lord High Admiral	1,719	859
15	Victuallers	—	810
7	Vessels not mentioned in the King's-Library list	—	474
197		29,744	15,785†

* MS. State Paper Office.

† Lediard's Naval History.

No. of Ships.	SPANISH.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
12	Squadron of Portuguese Galleons under the Generalissimo	7,739	389	1,242	3,086
14	Fleet of Biscay, Captain General Don Juan Martinez de Recaldé	5,861	302	906	2,117
16	Fleet of Castile, General Don Diego de Valdez	8,054	474	1,793	2,924
11	Andalusian Squadron, General Don Pedro de Valdez	8,692	315	776	2,359
14	Squadron of Guypuscoa, Don Mighel de Oquendo	7,192	296	608	2,120
10	Eastern fleet or Levantiscas, Don Martin Ventendona	8,632	319	844	2,792
23	Fleet called Urcas or Hulks, Don Juan Lopez de Medina	10,860	466	950	4,170
24	Pataches and Zabras, Don Antonio de Mendoza	2,090	204	746	1,103
4	Galiasses of Naples, Don Hugo de Moncada	—	200	477	744
4	The Galleys of Portugal, Don Diego de Mendrana	—	200	424	440
132		59,120	3,165	8,766	21,855

Besides 2088 Galley Slaves.*

The comparison then of the two forces will stand thus:—

	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.
English	197	29,744	837	15,785
Spaniards	132	59,120	3,165	8,766
				21,855 soldiers
				30,621 men
	65 more E.	29,376 more S.	2,328 more S.	14,836 more S.

So that the Spaniards had double the force of the English, except in the *number* of ships; and in guns nearly four times the

* The author, after consulting the best authorities and several manuscripts, does not hesitate to say that these lists of the two fleets are the most complete and perfect that have hitherto appeared. They also very nearly agree with an average obtained from demi-official returns.

force. The only cannon of 60 lb. shot, in the whole of the English fleet, being nineteen pieces, and twenty-eight pieces of demi-cannon of 33 lb. shot. The rest of their armament consisted of culverins, demi-culverins, sakers, mynions, falcons, and other small pieces.

How the merchant-ships were armed does not appear; but, looking at their tonnage, two-thirds of them at least would have been of but little, if any, service; and, indeed, it must have required uncommon vigilance to keep them out of harm's way.

Even the best of the Queen's ships, placed alongside one of the first class of Spanish line-of-battle ships, would have been like a sloop-of-war by the side of a first-rate. Their high forecastles, always well manned, and bearing one or two tiers of guns, and their high poops equally well fortified, made it extremely difficult to board them; as the musketry from these castles would pick the men off on reaching the main-deck: and it was an article in the general Instructions of the Spanish fleet, that every ship should be supplied with a chest or cask full of stones to hurl down upon the boarders. The odds therefore were great against the English. But the English heart and English seamanship made ample amends for all deficiencies. The danger, however, was formidable. Spain at this time possessed the first navy in Europe; and her numerous and well disciplined army was inferior to none. In addition to their large ships, galleons and galiasses, they had a fleet of hulks stored with provisions and ammunition, and every article that could be required for establishing themselves on shore. So certain were they of success, that there were in the fleet upwards of 100 (some say 180) monks, or friars, and Jesuits, *ad propagandam fidem* among the heretics; and there were English papist traitors among them to instruct the others in the language. Every device was adopted to give a sacred character to the invasion; twelve of their ships were named after the twelve Apostles: and such was the prevailing enthusiasm, that every noble family in Spain had a son, or brother, or nephew, serving in the fleet as a volunteer.

Nor was the enthusiastic spirit of the sons and relatives of the English nobility and gentry less strong. A great number of them joined the auxiliary ships, which poured in to reinforce

the fleet from all quarters. The citizens of London, in the first instance, requested they might send fifteen stout ships, with 5000 men, to the fleet; and ultimately they supplied no less than thirty-eight ships, and 10,000 men, of whom 2700 were seamen.

Nothing, indeed, could exceed the general expression of love and duty towards the Queen; who, with a dignity of spirit equal to the wisdom of her measures, gave a striking example of devotion to her country and her faith; boldly placing herself at the head of her troops, and taking her stand at Tilbury Fort, to arrest the progress of the enemy, should they dare to approach her capital. The speech she delivered on the occasion was worthy of a great and noble mind:—

“My loving people,” she said, “we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a King, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms: I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.”

The number of troops that attended the Queen at Tilbury were—56,000 foot and 3000 horse; and 20,000 soldiers were stationed along the coast.

Early in March the Lord High Admiral, having made his arrangements, hoisted his flag, as already stated, on board the Ark Royal; and proceeded to visit the stations on which his fleet was placed, beginning with that of Lord H. Seymour in

the Downs, which was appointed to watch Dunkirk; and then intending to proceed to Plymouth, where Drake was preparing the Western Squadron.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

30 March, 1588.

RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORDES,

Understandinge by your good Lordships' letters her Majestie's goode inclynacion for the speedye sendings of these forces here unto the seas, for the defence of the enemye, and that, of her Majestie's greate favor, and your Lordship's good opynyon, you have made choice of me (althoughe the least of manye) to be as an actor in so greate a cause, I am moste humblie to beseeche my moste gracious Sovereaigne and your good Lordships to heare my poore opynyon with favor, and so to judge of it accordinge to your greate wisdomes.

If her Majestie and your Lordships thincke that the King of Spaigne meaneth any invasyon in Englande, then doubtlesse his force is and will be greate in Spaigne, and thereon he will make his groundworke, or foundation, whereby the prynce of Parma maye have the better entranche, which in myne owne judgements is most to be feared: but if there maye be suche a staye or stoppe made, by any meanes of this fletee, in Spaigne, that they maye not come throughe the seas as conquerors (which I assure myselfe they thincke to doe) then shall the Prince of Parma have suche a checke there-by as were meete.

To prevent this I thincke it goode that these forces here shoulde be made as stronge as to your Honors' wisdomes shall be thoughte convenyente, and that for two speciall causes: firste, for that they are like to strike the firste blowe, and secondlie, it will putt greate and goode hartes into her Majestie's lovinge subjectes bothe abroade and at home, for that they will be perswaded in consyence that the Lord of all strengthes will putt into her Majestie and her people coraige & boldness not to feare any invasyon in her owne countrie, but to seeke God's enemyes and her Majesties' where they maye be founde: ffor the Lorde is on our side, whereby we may assure ourselves our nombers are greater than theirs. I muste crave pardon of your good Lordships againe and againe, for my conscience hath caused me to putt my pen to the paper, and as God in his goodnes hath putt my hande to the ploughe, so in his mercy he will never suffer me to turne backe from the truth.

My verie good Lords, next, under God's mightie proteccion, the advantage and gaine of tyme and place, will be the onlie and cheife meane for our goode, wherein I most humblie beseeche your good Lordships to persever as you have began, for that with feiftie saile of shippinge we shall doe more good upon their owne coaste, then a greate manye more will doe here at home, and the sooner we are gone the better we shall be able to ympeache them.

There is come home, synce the sending awaie of my laste messenger one bark (whome I sente out as an Espiall), who confyrmeth those intelligences

whereof I have advertized your Lordships by him; and that divers of those Biskaines are abroad upon that coaste, wearinge Englishe flagges, whereof there are made in Lisbonne three hundreth, with the redde Crosse, which is a great presumptcons proceedinge of the hautynes & pride of the Spaynierde, and not to be tollerated by any true naturall Englishe harte.

I have herein enclosed sente this note unto your Lordships, to consider of our proporcions in powder, shotte, and other munycion, under the hande of the surveyor's clerke of the ordynaunce: the which proporcion in powder and shotte for our greate ordynaunce in her Majestie's shippes is but for one daie and halfe's servyce, if it be begonne and contynued as the service may requyer; and but five lastes of powder for 24 saile of the marchaunte shippes, which will scante be suffytient for one daie's service, and divers occasions maye be offred.

Good my Lords, I beseeche you to consider deeplie of this, for it importeth but the losse of all.

I have staid this messenger somewhat the longer for the hearinge of this Ducheman who came latelie out of Lisbonne, and hath delivered theise advertisements herein enclosed under his hande the 28th of this Marche before myselfe and divers Justices.

I have sente unto your good Lordships the note of such powder and munytion as are delivered unto us, for this great service, which in truthe I judge to be just a thirde parte of that which is needefull: ffor if we should wante it when we shall have moste neede thereof it will be too late to sende to the Tower for it. I assure your Honors it neither is or shall be spente in vaine. And thus restinge at your Honors' farther direccion, I humblie take my leave of your good Lordships.

From Plymouth this xxxth of Marche, 1588.

Your good Lordships'
verie ready to be commaunded,
FRA: DRAKE.*

To the righte Honorable & my verie
goode Lordes the Lordes of Her Majestie's
Most Honorable Previe Counsell.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE QUEEN.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

13 April, 1588.

I have receaved from Mr. Secreatary som particuller notes and withall a commandment, to awnswere them unto your Majestie.

The first is that your Majestie would willyngly be satisfied from me how the forces nowe in Lysbone myght best be dystressed.

Trewly this poynt is hardly to be awnswered as yeat, for tow specyall cawses, the fyrst, for that our intelligences are as yeat uncertayne. The second, is the resolucyon of our owne people, which I shall better understand when I have them at sea. The last insample at Calles is not of dyvers yeat forgotten, for one such flyinge nowe, as Borrowghes dyd then, will put

* MS. State Paper Office.

the whole in perille ffor that the enemyes strengthe is now so great gathred together and redy to invade;—but yf your Majestie will geve present order for our proceeding to the sea, and send to the strengthening of this flectt here, fower more of your Majestie's good shippes, and those 16 saill of shipes with their penaces which ar preparing in London, then shall your Majestie stand assured, with God's assistance, that yf the flectt come out of Lysborne as long as we have vittuall to leve withall, upon that cost, they shall be fowght with, and I hope, throwghe the goodnes of our mercyfull God, in suche sort as shall hynder his qwyett passage into Yngland, for I assure your Majestie, I have not in my lyffe time knowen better men and possessed with gallanter myndes then your Majestie's people are for the most parte, which are here gathred together, vollontarylye to put ther hands and hartts to the fynyshing of this great piece of work, wherein we ar all perswaded that God, the gever of all victoryes, will in mercye lowke upon your most excellent Majestie, and us your power subjects, who for the defence of your Majestie, our relygion, and natyve country, have resolutely vowed the hassard of our lyves.

The advantage of tyme and place in all marciall accyons is half a victory, which being lost is irrecoverable, wherefore, if your Majestie will comaund me away with those shipes which ar here alreddie, and the rest to follow with all possible expedycon, I hold it in my power opynyon the surest and best cownse, and that they bring with them vittualls sufficyent for themselves and us, to the intent the service be not utterly lost for want thereof: Whereof I most humbly beseeche your most excellent Majestie to have such consideracyon as the wayghtenes of the cawse reqwyrethe. For an Ynglyshman being farre from his country and seing a present wante of vittuall to insue, and perseaving no benefytt to be lowked for, but only blowes, will hardlye be browght to staye.

I have order but for tow monthes vittualles begynning the 24th of Aprell, whereof one wholl monthe may be spent before we com there, the other monthes vittuall will be thought, with the least to bring us back agayne; here may the wholl service and honour be lost for the sparing of a fewe crownes.

Towching my power opynyon how strong your Majesties flectt should be to encounter this great force of the enemy, God encreac your most excellent Majestie's forces, both by sea and land, dayly: for this I surly thincke ther was never any force so stronge as ther is now redye or makyng readye agaynst your Majestye and trewe relygion, but that the Lord of all strengthes is stronger and will defend the trewth of his word, for his owne name's sake, unto the which God be all glory geven. Thus all humble duty, I contynewally will pray to the Allmyghtye to blesse and give you victorie over all his, and your enemyes. From Plymothe this 13 of Aprell 1588.

Your Majesties most loyall

To the Queene's

FRA: DRAKE."*

Moste excellent Majestie.

* MS. State Paper Office.

In another letter, of the 28th of April, Sir Francis acquaints her Majesty with the intelligence he had gained, that the merchant ships of foreign nations had been detained in the several ports of Spain, and had been embargoed: he mentions also the reports he had received of the great preparations of the enemy; that he considers the embargo as a token of their intention of coming out; and suggests that her forces should go out and meet them at a distance from England: after this the letter thus proceeds:—

That if a goode peace for your Majestie be not forthwith concluded (which I as moche as anie man desirethe) then these greate preparacions of the Spayneerde maie be speedelie prevented as moche as in your Majestie liethe, by sendinge your forces to encounter them somewhat farre of, and more neere their owne coaste, which will be the better cheape for your Majestie and people, and muche the deerer for the enemye.

Thus muche (as duetie byndethe me) I have thought goode to signifie unto your Majestie, for that it importethe but the hazerde or losse of all: The promise of peace from the Prince of Parma and these mightie preparacions in Spaigne agree not well together: Undoubtedlie I thincke these advertisements true; ffor that I cannot heare by anye man of warre, or otherwise, that anie shippe is permytted to departe Spaigne, which is a vehemente presumption that they holde their purposed pretences: And for farther testimonye of these reports I have sente this bearer, a Captaine of one of your Majestie's shippes, who (if it shall please your Highnes to permytte him) can deliver some thinges touchinge the same.

Thus restinge allwaies most bounden unto your Majestie for your gracious and favourable speeches used of me, both to Mr. Secretarie and others (which I desier God no longer to lette me live then I will be readye to doe your Majestie all the duetifull service I possible maie), I will contynewallie praye to God to blesse your Majestie with all happie victories.

From Plymouthe this 28th of Aprill, 1588.

Your Majestie's most loiall,

FRA: DRAKE.

On the 23rd of May, the Lord High Admiral announced to the government his arrival at Plymouth. He says that Drake had come out to meet him with sixty sail of ships very well appointed; he states, also, his intention to proceed to sea, and stand off and on, between the coasts of England and Spain, to watch the coming of the Spanish forces.

Accordingly, the Lord High Admiral, with the western squadron, put to sea, and proceeded within a short distance of the coast of Spain, when a strong southerly wind drove them

back to Plymouth. Here he found a letter waiting for him, dated the 9th of June, from Sir Francis Walsingham, written by command of the Queen, signifying her Majesty's pleasure, that he should not go so far from the English coast; and assigning, as the reason for this order, the importance of not leaving the shores of England unprotected. Lord Howard, in his reply, dated the 15th, says,

“ It was deeply debated by those whom the world doth judge to be men of the greatest experience, that this realme hath, which are these: Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Frobisher, and Mr. Thomas Fenner; and I hope Her Majesty will not thinke we went so rashlie to worke, or without a principal, or choice care and respect of the safetie of this realme. And if we found they did but linger on their own coast, or put into the isles of Bayonne or the Groyne, then we thought, in all men's judgments that be of experience here, it had bin most fit to have sought some good waie: and the surest we could devise (by the good protection of God) to have defeated them.”

And he further gives her Majesty to understand, that if the fleet are to stand off and on betwixt England and Spain, the south-west wind, which might carry the Spaniards to Scotland or Ireland, would throw him to leeward; that on the contrary, if his fleet was high up in the Channel, the Spaniards might succeed in reaching the Isle of Wight.

On the 23rd of June he addressed another letter to Sir Francis Walsingham:—

SIR,

This Sunday about 7 of the cloke at nyght I receivid your letter of the 22 of this present, and the advertysments with them, wyche I dow most hartely thank you for: but I parceave by your letter there shuld another letter come from my Lordse to Mr. Dorell, and also a warante that the poursyfant should brynge, wyche shuld be open for me, but he nether brought the Lordse letter nor any suche warrant. Sir, I pray you pardon me that I dow not send yow the namse of the townse devyded, suche as be wyllyng, and suche as be not. Sir F. Drake hathe the newse of them, now at this ower is full occupyed, as I am also. Our watche chame to us this last nyght about 12 of the cloke, and we wyll not ete nor slype till it be abourd us. We must not lose an ower of tyme. You shall see by a letter that I have sent Heer Majestie what advertysment I have. I meen to way presently and set sayle: this fould wether that was on Thursday, that forsed us in surty, dispersed the Spanyshe flyt: it shall goo hard but I wyll fynd them out. Let Heer Majestie trust no mor to Judises kyses; for let heer asure heerself ther is no trust to F. K. (French king) nor Duke of Parme. Let heer defend

heerself lyke a noble and mightie Prynce: and trust to heer sworde and not to ther word, and then she ned not to feer, for heer good God wyll defend her.

Sir, I have a pryvy intelligence, by a sure fello, that the flyt of Spayne dowthe meen to come to the cost of France, and ther to receive in the Duke of Guyse, and great forses: and it is very lykly to be trew. I meen, God wylling, to vyset the cost of France, and to send in small penyses to discover all the cost alongst.

If I heer of them, I hope, ar it be long after, you shall heer newse. God Mr. Secretary, let the narro sees be well strantened (strengthened). What charge is ill spent now for service? Let the Hoyse of Harwyge (Harwich) goo with all speed agayne to my Lord H. Semor, for they be of great sarvyse.

Sir, for these thyngs here I pray take order with Mr. Dorell, for I have no lesur to thynk of them. I pray you, Sir, delyver my letter unto Heer Majestie with my humble duty, and so in hast I bid you farewell.

Abourd the Arke, this Sondag, at 12 of the cloke at nyght.

Your assured lovyng frend,

C. HOWARD.*

(No date, but supposed June 23rd, 1588.)

Sir. God wylling, I wyll com sayll within this three houers.
To my very lovyng frend,
Mr. Secretary Walsyngham.

* MS. State Paper Office.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

The Armada in the Channel—Anecdote of Drake—First attack—Spanish MS. Journal—Daily proceedings of the two fleets—The Armada is dispersed by fire-ships—Driven into the North Sea—Its disastrous condition—Letters from the Lord High Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, and Lord Henry Seymour.

THE day now approached when the great contest was to be decided between two of the most powerful fleets that had hitherto ever met in hostile array. On the 19th day of July, the Lord High Admiral received certain information from one Fleming, the master of a pinnace, that the Spanish fleet was in the Channel, near the Lizard Point; and great exertions were made to tow the British fleet out of Plymouth Harbour, although the wind was blowing in stiffly; but the alacrity and energy of the men and officers, encouraged by the Admiral in person, overcame all difficulties.

It is reported, that when the news reached the British Navy of the sudden appearance of the Armada off the Lizard, the principal commanders were on shore at Plymouth playing bowls, on the Hoe: and it is added that Drake insisted on the match being played out, saying, that "There would be plenty of time to win the game, and beat the Spaniards too."*

On the following day, the 20th, the Spanish fleet were discovered with their lofty turrets, like so many floating castles; their line extending its wings about seven miles, in the shape of a half-moon, proceeding very slowly, though with full sail; "The winds," says Camden, "being as it were tired with carrying them, and the ocean seeming to groan under the weight of their heavy burdens."

On the 21st of July, the Lord High Admiral, on their pass-

* Tytler's Raleigh, Edin. edit., 1835.

ing, sent out his pinnace, named the *Disdain*, in advance, and challenged the Duke of Sidonia to give the defiance, by firing off her ordnance, as a declaration of war, upon which being done, his own flag-ship, the *Ark Royal*, "thundered thick and furiously" upon a large ship which he thought to be the Spanish Admiral, but which was that of Alphonso de Leyva. At the same time Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher played stoutly upon the rear division of the fleet, commanded by General Juan de Recaldé; whose ship and others, being much shattered, made shift to get away to the main body, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

A manuscript account of the Spanish Armada was sent, from the archives of Madrid, to a gentleman in the Admiralty, after the conclusion of the revolutionary war. It is entitled 'A Narrative of the Voyages of the Royal Armada, from the Port of Corunna, under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, with an account of the events which took place during the said Voyage.' It is written in Spanish, and is evidently a journal kept by an officer of the Duke of Medina's flag-ship. It is temperately and modestly written, and many of the facts stated in the following pages have been taken from it. This narrative says that the ship of Alphonso de Leyva was disabled, her rigging cut up, and two shot lodging in her foremast: that the flag-ship took in her sails, and waited to receive her into the line; that the Duke now collected his scattered fleet, not being able to do more on this occasion, as the enemy had gained the wind. The English vessels, the author adds, were well fought, and under such good management, that they did with them what they pleased. The fight having continued two hours, and forty sail of the English fleet, those which had last come out of the harbour, not having yet joined, the Admiral deemed it expedient not to press the enemy further this day.

The following letter from Lord Charles Howard describes the fight very briefly; it is

LORD C. HOWARD TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

SIR,

21st July, 1588.

I will not trouble you with anie longe letter. We are at this present otherwise occupied then with writinge. Uppon Fridaie at Plymouth I re-

ceaved intelligence that there were a greate number of ships descried of the Lisarde. Wheruppon, although the winde was very skante, we firste warped out of harbour that nyghte, and uppon Saterdaie turned out verie hardly, the wind beinge at southe weste, and aboute 3 of the clock in the afternone descried the Spanishe fleete, and [—] did what we could to worke for the wind, which [—] morninge we had recovered discrynging theire [—], consiste of 120 saile: Whereof there are 4 g[—] and many ships of greate burthen. At nine of the [—] we gave them feighte, which contynewed untill [—] feighte. We made som of them to beare roome to stop their leaks. Notwithstandinge we durste not adventure to put in amongste them, theire fleete beinge soe stronge. But there shall nothinge be eather neglected or unhasarded that may worke theire overthrowe.

Sir, the Captaines in her Majestie's ships have behaved themselves moste bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubte not will contynewe to their greate commendacion. And soe recomendinge oure good successe to your godlie praier, I bid you hartelie farewell. From aboard the Arke, thwarte of Plymouthe; the 21 of Julie 1588.

Your verie lovinge freind,

C. HOWARD.*

(Postscript.) Sir, the sowtherly wynde that browght us bak from the coast of Spayne browght them out, God blessed us with tornyng us bak. Sir, for the love of God and our country, let us have with sume sped some graet shote sent us of all bignes, for this sarvis wyll contenew long, and sume powder with it.

The Righte Honorable

my verie lovinge friende,

Sir Francis Walsingham, knight.*

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO LORD HENRY SEYMOUR.

RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

I AM commaunded by my good Lord, the Lord Admiral, to send you the Carvaile in haste with this letter, geivinge your Lordship to understand that the-armye of Spaigne arrived uppon our coaste the 20th of this presente, the 21th we had them in chase; and so cominge upp unto them there hath passed some comen shotte betweene some of our fleete and some of theirs; and as farre as we perceive they are determined to sell their lives with blowes. Whereuppon his Lordship hath commaunded me to write unto your Lordship and Sir William Wynter, that those shippes servinge under your charge should be putte into the best and strongest manner you maie, and readie to assiste his Lordship for the better incountering of them in those parts where you nowe are. In the meane tyme what his Lordship and the rest here followinge him maie doe, shall be suerlie performede. His Lordship hathe

* MS. State Paper Office. Many of the letters of Lord Howard and Sir Francis Drake are so tattered, and the writing so obliterated and in parts so illegible, that it is impossible to follow the meaning.

comanded me to write his hartie commendacions to your Lordship and Sir William Wynter. I doe salute your Lordship, Sir William Wynter, Sir Henry Pallmer, and all the rest of those honorable gentlemen serving under you with the like. Beseeching God of his mercie to geive her Majestie our gracious Sovereigne alwaies victorie against her enemies. Written aboard her Majesties good shipp the Revenge of Steart, this 21th (July), late in the evening, 1588.

Your good Lordship's
poore freend readie to be comanded,

(Signed)

FRA: DRAKE.

This letter, my honorable good Lord, is sent in haste; the flecte of Spanyards is somewhat about a hundredth sailes; many great shipes, but trewly I thinck not half of them of warre, haste, your Lordship's assured,

FRA. DRAKE.

To the Right Honorable

the Lord Henry Seymour,

Admirall of her Majesties Navie in the narrow

Seas, or, in absence, to Sir William Wynter, knyght,
geive these with speed—hast, hast, hast.*

In the evening of this day a large ship of Biscay, bearing the flag of Oquendo, and having the King's Treasurer on board, was set on fire; designedly, as was supposed, by a Dutch gunner, who had received some ill-treatment, and who employed gunpowder for the purpose. The flame was, however, happily extinguished by some vessels which came to her relief; but not before the two decks and the poop blew up. In the Spanish narrative already referred to, ~~no mention is made of the Dutch gunner.~~

Another accident happened this evening. There was a large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, which in tacking fell foul of another, sprung her fore-mast, and was left behind; the night being dark, and the sea running high, no succour could be afforded her. Diego de Florez represented to the duke the danger of lying to for this ship; that if he did so, as the main body of the Armada was getting much a-head, he would find himself in the morning with only half his ships; and that, the enemy being so near at hand, the safety of the whole fleet ought not to be hazarded for a single vessel; in short, that, by doing so, the object of the expedition would be sacrificed.

"The next day following," says Speed, "Sir Francis Drake, espying this

* MS. State Paper Office.

lagging gallion, sent forth a pinnacle to command them to yield, otherwise his bullets should force them without further favour; but Valdez, to seeme valorous, answered, that they were foure hundred and fifty strong; that himself was *Don Pedro*, and stood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certain conditions. But the Knight sent his reply, that he had not leisure to parley; if he would yield, presently doe it; if not, he should well prove that *Drake* was no dastard; whereupon *Pedro*, hearing that it was the *fiery Drake* (ever terrible to the Spaniards) who had him in chase, with 40 of his followers, came on board Sir Francis his ship; where, first giving him the *congé*, he protested that he, and all his, were resolved to die in defence, had they not falne under his power, whose valour and felicity was so great that *Mars* and *Neptune* seemed to attend him in his attempts, and whose generous minde towards the vanquished had often been experienced, even of his greatest foes. Sir Francis, requiting his Spanish compliments with honourable English courtesies, placed him at his owne table, and lodged him in his owne cabin. The residue of that company were sent into Plymouth, where they remained eightene months 'til their ransoms were paid; but Sir Francis his souldiers had well paid themselves with the spoile of the shippe, wherein were fifty-five thousand ducats in gold, which they shared merrily among them."

This ship was sent into Dartmouth.

On the 22nd of July there was no fighting. In the course of the day the duke formed the Armada into two divisions, he taking the van, and Don Alonzo de Leyva the rear.

"The Duke," says the Spanish narrative, "summoned to him all the *Sargentos Mayores*, and ordered them to proceed in a patache, so that each ship should keep the position assigned to her in the new order of sailing; and he further gave them written orders, directing, that in case any ship did not observe the order, and quitted her post, the captain should forthwith be hanged, the *Sargentos Mayores* taking the provosts with them for that purpose; and for the better execution of the order, they were distributed, three in the van and three in the rear division. On the same day the captain of the flag-ship of Oquendo reported to the Duke that she was sinking, on which he ordered that the crew and the Treasurer's money should be taken out of her, and the ship sunk."

The crew and the treasure were accordingly removed into other vessels; but the ship, instead of being sunk, was turned adrift, and was soon afterwards boarded by Lord Thomas Howard and Captain Hawkins, who found her decks fallen in, her steerage ruined, the stern blown out, and about fifty poor wretches burnt in a most miserable manner. The Admiral ordered a small bark to take possession of her, and in that shattered condition she was carried into Weymouth.

On the 23rd of July there was what may be termed a second fight; brought on by both the fleets endeavouring to obtain the weather-gage, in the course of which there was no little confusion; caused in a great degree by the large number of merchant ships in the English fleet. Some of the London ships, being surrounded by Spaniards, were rescued by a brave attack of a few of her Majesty's ships; while the Spaniards boldly reinforced the squadron of Recaldé, which was suffering much by a spirited attack of the English rear division. After this a running fight took place, the two Admirals crossing each other, and each sustaining the fire of his opponent.

According to the Spanish 'Narrative,' all the galleons and galleasses were engaged this day. "The English," says the writer, "came united against the duke's flag-ship, whilst she was advancing to the assistance of Recaldé and De Leyva; and each ship of the English fleet as she passed gave her fire to the Spanish flag-ship, till at length four or five of their largest ships came to her support." He says that frequent attempts were made to board our ships, but they were so light and well managed that there was little hope of succeeding.

"The great guns," says Camden, "rattled like so many peals of thunder; but the shot from the high-built Spanish ships flew for the most part over the heads of the English without doing any execution, owing to their high fore-castles, and their inability to depress their guns. One Mr. Cook (or Cope) was the only Englishman that died bravely in the midst of his enemies, commanding his own ship. The reason was, that the English ships were moved and managed with such agility, giving their broadsides to the larger and more unwieldy of the enemy, and sheering off again just as they pleased, while the Spanish heavy ships lay as so many butts for the English to fire at."

It was suggested to the Lord High Admiral, with more zeal than discretion, that the English ships should board the Spaniards; which would have been a most ruinous proceeding, considering the size of their ships, the great advantage of their high fore-castles and poops, the number of troops each had on board, and that their ships of war were four to one of ours. He, very prudently, acted more on the defensive; and refrained from attempting to obtain decisive results at the risk of ruining the only fleet that England possessed; knowing that if, by any imprudent step, that fleet should be destroyed, the great object

of the enemy would be gained, and her army landed on the British shores. It was, therefore, his policy to keep his ships as much as possible between those of the enemy and the shore.

On the 24th there was a cessation on both sides; and the Lord High Admiral took the opportunity of dividing his fleet into four squadrons: the first under himself; the second under Sir Francis Drake; the third under Hawkins; and the fourth under Frobisher. He also sent some of the smaller vessels to the neighbouring ports for a supply of powder and ammunition.

On the 25th a galleon of Portugal, the *St. Anne*, not being able to keep up with the fleet, was taken by some of the English ships. Don Alonzo de Leyva, with Don Diego Felles Enriques, attempted to rescue her with three galleasses; but were warmly received by the Lord Admiral himself, and the Lord Thomas Howard in the *Golden Lion*, who, there being no wind, had their ships towed by boats; and succeeded, after much labour and considerable loss, in carrying off the galleon. From this time none of the galleasses ever ventured to contend with the English ships of war.

The Lord Admiral, with some other ships, made an attack upon the Spanish Admiral's ship, cut the rigging of her mainmast, and killed several of her men. But five or six of the larger Spanish ships coming up to her rescue, and a great portion of their fleet advancing, the Lord Admiral desisted.

The 'Narrative' states, that the English flag-ship was so much damaged and in such danger that she was towed off by eleven launches; that she struck her standard, and fired guns as signals of distress; that on seeing this, the Spanish Admiral and a great part of the fleet made towards her; but the English, also standing towards their Admiral for his support, and the wind springing up, the launches were cut off, and the Spaniards gave up the attempt. The writer adds: "We made certain this day of being able to board the English ships, which was the only means of obtaining any decisive advantage." On this day the duke dispatched an officer to Dunkirk, being the third he had sent to apprise the Duke of Parma of their position off the Isle of Wight, and to urge his immediate coming out, and also his sending some shot for four, six, and ten-pounders, of which much had been expended in the late engagements. The duke

was likewise informed how important it was that he should join the Armada the day of its appearing in sight of Dunkirk. In the evening of this day a breeze sprang up, and the Armada directed its course for Calais.

On the 26th of July it was calm, and the fleets were in sight of each other. The duke repeated by another messenger to the Duke of Parma his urgent desire that he would send forty small vessels, to be employed against the enemy; acquainting him that "the heaviness of his ships, compared to the lightness of the English, rendered it impossible for him in any manner to bring them to close action." The Lord High Admiral this day bestowed the honour of knighthood on Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Captain John Hawkins, and Captain Martin Frobisher, in consideration of their gallant behaviour. And it was decided, in Council, that no further attempt should be made on the enemy, until they came into the Straits of Calais, where Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter would reinforce the fleet. The following day (27th), in the afternoon, the Armada anchored off Calais, by the advice of the pilots, lest they should be carried away by the current into the North Sea; and an officer was again sent off to the Duke of Parma, urging him to join them there, and stating at the same time the impossibility of their remaining long in that position without much risk to the whole Armada.

Early on the morning of the 28th, says the Spanish 'Narrative,' Captain Don Rodrigo Fello arrived from Dunkirk: and reported to the Spanish Admiral that the Duke of Parma was at Bruges, where he had waited upon him; and that although his Grace had expressed much satisfaction at hearing of the arrival of the Armada, yet he was taking no steps to embark the troops or stores.

This day the Lord Admiral was joined by Lord Henry Seymour; and now he had a hundred and forty sail, all stout ships, and good sailors. They anchored not far from the Spanish fleet; and at night the Lord Admiral (as is said by the Queen's especial command) singled out eight of his worst ships, charged them with pitch, tar, resin, and other combustibles, and loaded all their guns with bullets, chain-shot, and other destructive materials; and thus equipped sent them before the wind and with the tide, a

little after midnight, into the midst of the Spanish fleet. Their approach was no sooner discovered, than their prodigious blaze threw the whole fleet into consternation: anchors were got up and cables were cut amidst the greatest confusion. A large galleasse, having lost her rudder, was tossed about for some time, and finally driven on the sands near Calais; here she was attacked by the Admiral's long-boat and some others; the Spanish captain was killed by a shot in the head; and the soldiers and rowers, to the number of 400, were either drowned or put to the sword. The ship and guns, after the English had set free 300 galley-slaves, who were on board, and taken out 50,000 ducats of gold, fell as a wreck to M. Gourdon, governor of Calais.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

29 July, 1588.

THIS bearer cam a bourd the ship I was in, in a wonderfull good tyme, and brought with hym as good knowlege as we could wyshe: his carfullness therin is worthye recompence, for that God hathe geven us so good a daye in forcyng the enemy so far to leeward, as I hope in God the prince of Parma and the Duke of Sedonya shall not shake hands this ffewe dayes. And whensoever they shall meett, I beleve nether of them will greatly royce of this dayes Servis. The towne of Callys hathe seene some parte therof, whose mayer her Majestie is beholding unto: Busynes comands me to end. God bless her Majestie our Gracyous Soveraygne and geve us all grace to leve in his feare. I assure your Honor this dayes servis hath much apald the enemy, and no dowbt but encouraged our armye. From a bourd her Majestie's good ship the Revenge, this 29th July 1588.

Your Honor's most redy to be comanded,

FRA: DRAKE.

Ther must be great care taken to send us monycyon and Vittuall whether soever the enemy goeth.

To the Righte Honorable

Sir Francis Walsingham,

knighte.

Haste, haste, poste haste for Her Majesties service.*

It is stated in the Spanish 'Narrative' that the Duke of Sidonia had his suspicions as to the intention of the English to employ fire-ships; that he had enjoined the strictest vigilance; and that, when the fire-ships approached, he gave orders for weighing anchor; and also that, after they had passed, he lost no time in

* MS. State Paper Office.

directing his ships to resume their stations. But all was in vain : the Spaniards were panic-stricken, their ships were dispersed, and several got among the shoals on the coast of Flanders. In short, it now became clear that the game was up ; their retreating fleet was closely pursued, many of their galleons and other large ships attacked, taken or sunk, and the whole fleet in the greatest distress. One of the heaviest blows they received was the defection of the Prince of Parma.

On the 29th there was much fighting on the Flemish coast : several of the Spanish ships, three of which were of the largest size, are stated in the Spanish ' Narrative ' to have become unserviceable, most of their crews being killed or wounded. In the midst of this distressing situation, in which it appears that many of the Spaniards behaved most nobly, the Duke of Sidonia was desirous of turning the whole of the remaining strength of the Armada against the English, in order still to maintain his position in the Channel ; but the pilots declared it to be impossible to work the ships against the wind and tide, and that the Armada must proceed into the North Sea, or it would be driven on the shoals. To quit the Channel now became absolutely necessary ; for almost all the Spanish ships, even those which could most be relied upon, were in a very bad condition ; and partly from the effects of the late actions, partly from the want of shot, were in no state to resist the English.

On the 30th the Lord High Admiral was still in pursuit of the flying Armada ; but perceiving the ships drifting toward the shoals of Zealand, he did not deem it necessary to press them ; but left the elements to complete the work of destruction.

" At this time," says the Spanish narrative, " the pilots on board the flagship, who were best acquainted with the coast, declared to the Duke that it was impossible to save a single vessel of the whole Armada ; but that with the north-west wind, then blowing, the whole must inevitably go upon the shoals on the coast of Zealand ; and that God only could prevent it. In this hopeless situation, without any human means to escape, and when the Armada was only in six fathoms and a half, it pleased God to change the wind to west-south-west, and the Armada was enabled to make way to the northward, without the loss of a ship. In this miserable situation, the Duke called a council of the Admirals and superior officers, and put to them the question, Whether it were most expedient to go back into the English Channel, or to return by the North Sea to Spain, since there were no advices from the Duke of Parma of his being able shortly to come out. All the

members agreed that they ought to go back into the Channel, if the weather allowed them to do so; but if not, that, then yielding to the weather, they should return by the North Sea to Spain; considering that the Armada was in want of all the most necessary articles, and that those ships, which had hitherto withstood the enemy, were now disabled."

On the 31st the Armada continued its course with the wind fresh from the south-west, and much sea; the English fleet following it.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO LORD WALSHINGHAM.

MOST HONORABLE,

31st July, 1588.

I AM comanded to send these presoners ashore by my Lord Admerall, which had, ere this, byne long done, but that I thought ther being here myght have done something, which is not thowght meet now.

Lett me beseche your Honor that they may be presented unto her Majestie, either by your honor, or my honorable good Lord, my Lord Chancellor, or both of you. The one, Don Pedro, is a man of great estymacyon with the King of Spayne, and thowght next in this armye to the Duke of Sedonya. If they shoulde be geven from me unto any other, it would be som gref to my friends. Yf her Majestie will have them, God defend but I shoulde thinck it happye.

We have the armye of Spayne before us, and mynd with the Grace of God to wressell a poull with him.

Ther was never any thing pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a Sotherly wynd to the Northwards. God grant you have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for with the Grace of God, yf we live, I dowbt it not, but ere it be long so to handell the matter with the Duke of Sedonya, as he shall wish hymself at Saint Marie Port among his oryng trees.

God gyve us grace to depend upon him, so shall we not dowbt victory; for our cawse is good.

Humbly taking my leave, this last of July, 1588.

Your Honor's faythfully
to be commanded ever,

FRA: DRAKE.

To the Most Hon.

Sir Fras. Walsingham, knight, &c.

P.S. I crave pardon of your Honor for my haste, for that I had to watch this last nyght upon the enemy.

Your's ever,

FRA: DRAKE.*

To the Most Honorable

Sir Fras. Walsingham.

With speed.—

The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Lord Henry Seymour to the Queen :—

1st August, 1588.

THE 29th of the sayd month, being resolved, the day before, my Lord Admiral should gyve the first charge, Sir Francis Drake the next, and myself the third, yt fell out, that the galliass distressed altered my Lord's former determination, as I suppose, by prosecuting the destruction of her, which was done within one ower after.

In the meane time, Sir Francis Drake gave the first charge uppon the Spanish Admiral, being accompaned with the Triumph, the Victory, and others.

Myself, with the Vanguard, the Antelop, and others, charged upon sayle being somewhat broken and distressed ; 3 of their great shippes, among which my ship shot one of them through 6 times, being within less than musket shot. After the long fight, which continued almost 6 owers, and ended, between 4 and 5, in the afternoon, until Tuesday, at 7 in the evening, we continued by them ; and your Ma^{ty}'s fleet followed the Spaniards along the Channel, until we came athwart the Brill, where I was commanded by my Lord Admiral, with your Majesties fleete under my charge, to return back, for the defense of your Majestys coasts, if anything be attempted by the Duke of Parma ; and therein have obeyed his Lordship, much against my will, expecting your Majestys further pleasure.*

"On the morning of the 2nd August," says the 'Spanish Narrative,' "the English fleet still followed the Armada, but then they turned towards the coast of England, and we lost sight of them, and we continued our course until we got through the Channel of the Sea of Norway ; not being possible to return to the English Channel, though it has been our desire to do so to the present day, the 20th August, on which day, having doubled the Islands of Scotland, we are steering for Spain with the wind east-north-east."

And with this passage the Spanish Diary ends.

The following letters are copied from the MSS. in the State Paper Office.

LORD C. HOWARD TO SIR F. WALSHINGHAM.

SIR,

August 7th, 1588.

IN our laste feighte with the enemye, before Gravelinge, the 29th of Julie, we sonke three of their ships, and made some to go neare with the shore, soe leake, as they were not able to live at sea. After that feighte, notwithstanding that our powder and shot was wel neare all spente, we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothinge, untill we had cleared our owne coaste, and som parte of Scotland of them ; and then, as well to refreshe our ships with victuals whereof moste stodee in wonderful neede, as alsoe in respecte of our want of powder and shot, we

* MS. State Paper Office.

made for the Frith, and sente certaine pinesses to dog the fleete until they sholde be paste the Isles of Scotlande which I verelie beleave, they are loste at theire stearnes, or this. We are perswaded that they eather are paste aboute Irelande, and so dooe what they can to recover theire owne coaste, oneless that they are gon for some parte of Denmarke. I have herewith sent unto you a breife abstracte of such accidents as have happened, which hereafter at better leisure I will explaine by more particular relations. In the meane tyme I bid you hartelie farrewell.

From aboarde the Ark, the 7th of August, 1588.

Your verie loving friende

C. HOWARD.

The Right Honorable

Sir Fra. Walsingham, knight.

Good Mr. Secretarie, lett not Her Majestie be too haste in desolvying her forses by sea and land: and I pray you send me with speed what advertysements you have of Dunkerk, for I long to dow some exployt on their shippinge. If the Dukes forses be retyred into the land I dowt not but to dow good.—I must thank your favourable yousing of my brother Hoby. He telleth me how forwarde you weer to forder all thyngs for our wants. I wold some weer of your mynde: If we had had that wych had been soe, England and her Majestie had had the grettest honor that ever any nasion had: but God be thanked it is well.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE QUEEN.

8th August, 1588.

THE absence of my Lord Admirall, most grations Sovereaigne, hath emboldened me to putt my penne to the paper. On Fridaye last, uppon good consideracion, we lefte the army of Spaigne so farre to the northwarde, as they could neither recover England nr Scotlande; and within three daies after we were entertayned with a greate storme, considering the tyme of the yere; the which storme, in manye of our judgements, hath not a litle annoyed the enemie's armye.

If the wind hinder it not, I think they are forced to Denmark; and that for divers causes; certaine it is that manie of theire people were sicke, and not a fewe killed; ther shippes, sailes, ropes, and wasts, needeth greate reperations, for that they had all felte of your Majesties force.

If your Majestie thoughte it meete, it were [————] amisse you sent presentlie to Denmark to understand the truth, and to deall with their king according to your Majesties great wisdom.

I have not written this whereby your Majestie should deminish any of your forces. Your Highnes' enemies are manie; yeat God hath, and will heare your Majestie's praier, putting your hand to the plough, for the defence of his truth, as youre Majestie hath begunne. God for his Christ's sak, blesse your sacred Majestie, now and ever.

Written aboard your Majestie's verie good shipp the Reveng, this 8th August, 1588.

Your Majestie's faithfullest vassall,

FRA. DRAKE.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

MOST HONORABLE,

10th August, 1588.

THE armye of Spaigne I thincke certainlye to be put either into Norwaye or Denmarke; ther are dyvers causes which moveth me so to thincke. The firste we understood by dyvers prisoners which we have taken, that jenerallye through all ther hoole fleet ther was no on shipp free of sycke people. Secoundlie, their shippes, masts, sayles, and ropes were verye much decayed and spoyled by our greate shot. Thyrdlye, at Callys, by ffyer we forced them to cut manye of their cables, wherby they lost manye of their ankors, which of necessitye they muste seke to supplye. Further, yf they had had none of these former great causes of distrese, yet the wynds and storme with the wynde westerlye as yt was, hath forced them theither; and I asure myselfe that whensoever her Majestie shall here of their aryvall in anye of these coastes, that her Heighnes shall be advertised bothe of their greate distrese and of no smalle losse amongst them: for I asure your honor her Majestie's good shippes felt muche of that storme, and loste manye of their boats and pynaces, with some ankors and caibles; yet were we fayer by our own shoare, and the wynde ryght of the land; some amongst us wyll not lett to saye that they are in Scotland. I cannot thincke so, for that we had no wynd wherby they were able to recover anye parte of the mayne lande of Scotland, without yt were some of the out isles, which are no meet places to releve their so manye greate wants. Norwaye, or the out isles of Scotlande, can releve them but with water and a few cowes, or bad beof, and some smalle quantitie of goats and henes, which ys to them as nothinge; and yet these bade relefes are to be had but in few places, and their roads dangerous. The onely thinge which ys to be lookt for ys, that if they should goe to the Kinge of Denmarke, and there have hys frendshipp and healpe for all their releifes, non can better helpe their wants in all these partes then he, for that he ys a Prynce of greate shippinge, and cane best supplye hys wants, which nowe the Duke of Medyna the Sedonya standeth in nede of, as great ankors, caibles, mastes, roopes, and virtualles, and what the Kinge of Spaigne's whole crownes will doe, in cold counteryes, for maryners and men, I leave to your good Lordship, which can best judge thereof. We lefte a pynace of her Majesties, the Advise; and a fyne carvell of my owen to attende the fleet of Spaigne when we lefte them; but what ys become of them, that great storme, or whether they maye be stayed in anye other country, as they maye, I knowe not. My power oppynion ys, that yt were moste meet to sende a good shipp, and some fyne barke, with some verie sufficient personne to dele effectually from her Majestie with the Kinge of Denmarke, as he shall fynde the cause to requyer; and to send the trew report backe with all speede possible, that they maye be the beter prevented: for no doubt, but that which they are able to dooe they wyll presentlye put yt in excusyon, the wynter wyll overtake them else in those partes. Yf they staye in the sounde thys wynter I hope manye of the Spanyards wyll seke Spaigne by lande. The Prynce of Parma, I take him to be as a beare robbed of her whealpes; and, no doubt, but beinge so great a soldiour as he ys, that he will presentlye, if

he maye, undertake some great matter, for hys reste wyll stande now there-uppon.

Yt ys for certayne that the Duke of Sedonia standeth somewhat jelious of hym, and the Spanyards begynne to hate hym, their honour being towcht so nere, manye of their lyves spent. I asure your Honor not so lyttle as fyve thowsande men lesse then when first we sawe them nere Plymoth, dyvers of their shippes soncke and taken, and they have nothings to saye for themselves in excuse but that they came to the place apoynted which was at Callys, and there stayed the Duke of Parma's commynge above 24 howers, yea, and untill they were fyred thence. So this ys my power conclusyon, if we maye recover near Dunkerke this nyght or to morrowe mornynge, so as their power may see us returned from the chase, and readye to encounter them yf they once sallye, that the next newes you shall here will be the one to mutenye againste the other; which, when yt shall come to passe, or whether they mutenye or no, let us all, with one consent, bothe hygh and looe, magnifye and prayse our most gracious and mercyful God for hys infynyt and unspeakable goodnes towards us: which I protest to your good Lordship that my belefe ys that our most gracious Sovereaigne, her power subjects, and the Church of God, hath opened the heavens in dyvers places, and perced the eares of our most mercyfull Father; unto whome, in Christe Jesus, be all honor and glorie,—so be yt. Amen, Amen.

Wrytten with much haste, for that we are readye to sett sayle to prevent the Duke of Parma, this southerlye wynde, yf yt please God, for trewlye my power oppynion ys that we should have a greate eye unto hym.

From her Majestie's verye good Shipp the Revenge, the 10th of Auguste, 1588.

Your Honor's faythfully to be
Commanded always,

FRA. DRAKE.

To the Right Honorable

Sir Francis Walsingham, knight.

P.S. For that we wer very neere to sett saile, I most humbly beseech your Honor to pardon my pen, for that I am forced to writ the very copy of that letter which I have sent to my Lord Chancellor. Sence the writteng hereof I have spoken with an Englishman, which cam from Dunckerck yesterday, who sayeth, upon his lyfe ther is no feare of the flett; yeat would I willingly see it.

Your Honour's ever,

FRA. DRAKE.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR F. WALSHINGHAM.

MOST HONORABLE,

11th August, 1588.

THE soden sending for of my very good Lord, my Lord Admeral, hath cawsed me to screibell these fewe lynes, fyrst, most humbly beseeching your honor to delyver this letter unto her Majestie as a testyfycaton of my Lord Admerall's most honorable usage of me in this accyon, wher it hath pleased his good Lordship to except of that which I have somtymes spoken, and

commended that lettell servis which I was abell, much better then ether of them bothe I was abell to deserve,—wherein yf I have not performed as much as was lowked for, yeat I perswade my self his good Lordship will confesse I have byne dutifull. Towching any other cawsses that ether hath byne done, or is to be done, lett me pray pardon of your honor, for I assure your Honor that my Lord Admerall hath so suffycyently instructed hymself dayly, as I faythfully beleve his good Lordship will throughly satisfye her Majestie and your Honor what is now best to be done; thus humbly takyng my leave, I besech God to bless the work of her Majestie's hands allways. Written abourd her Majestie's good ship the Reveng, at mydnyght, this 11th August, 1588.

Your Honor's faythfully
to be comanded,

FRA. DRAKE.

To the Right Honorable
Sir Francis Walsingham, knight.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

Summary of the Spanish losses—Libels of the late Spanish Ambassador on the British Officers—Drake's reply—Public thanksgiving—Queen's procession to St. Paul's—Letters of the Lord High Admiral and Sir Francis Drake, relative to the late invasion—The fleet is paid off.

THE disasters which befel the Armada in its passage along the western coast of Ireland were most deplorable. The loss of officers and men by shipwreck and sickness exceeded that which they had previously experienced in the English Channel and the North Sea. By one account, made out with great care, it would appear that in the British Channel and the North Sea fifteen ships were lost, and on the west coast of Ireland seventeen others; and that the loss of life on board these thirty-two vessels must have exceeded ten thousand souls, exclusive of those who were slain in 'fight, or died of sickness and famine. But if the statement be correct that the utmost number of ships which reached the Spanish ports did not exceed sixty, the loss must have been much greater. Hakluyt says—

“Of one hundred and four and thirty sail, that came out of Lisbon, only three and fifty returned to Spain. Of the four galiasses of Naples, but one; the like of the four largest galleons of Portugal; of the one and ninety galleons and great hulks, from divers provinces, only three and thirty returned. In a word, they lost eighty-one ships in this expedition, and upwards of thirteen thousand five hundred soldiers.”

It may easily be conceived how severe the shock must have been to Philip, when he received the intelligence of the defeat and destruction of his *Invincible* Armada. He is said, however, to have borne his disappointment well, and to have returned thanks to God that it was no worse. He could not, however, overlook

the conduct of those whose disobedience to his orders had in some degree led to the ill-success of the enterprise. Against the Duke of Medina Sidonia, in particular, his anger was so much excited, that he gave orders he should never again appear at court: but the duchess, who was extremely beautiful, and a great favourite with the king, prevailed on his Majesty to rescind the order, and again to receive him into favour. But Don Diego de Valdez, who was considered to have been the person who misled the Duke, was sentenced to be imprisoned in the castle of Saint Andrea, and was never seen or heard of afterwards. Don Pedro de Valdez remained a prisoner in England between two and three years; and was only released on a ransom of about 3000*l*.

The conclave of the Vatican did not bear their disappointment so well as the king had done! His Holiness the Pope, the cardinals, priests, monks, and Jesuits, were exasperated beyond bounds, not only at the defeat of the Armada, which they had pronounced Invincible, but because the falsification of all their prophecies against England would bring them into discredit throughout Europe. The defeat of the Armada was known in Paris immediately after the dispersion of the fleet by the fire-ships off Calais; yet after it was so known, Mendoza, the late ambassador to London, kept his printing-press at work to disseminate lies against the Queen, the Lord High Admiral, and Sir Francis Drake.

“But however coolly,” says Stow, “Philip might take the disastrous account of his Armada, his ambassador in France, Don Bernardin Mendoza, and his tool, one Capella, were industrious enough to spread false reports in print, claiming a victory for Spain. So blindly did his impudence and indignation carry him, that he dispersed his lies in French, Italian, and Spanish, pretending he had received advices from London, that the Queen’s High Admiral had been taken by the Spanish Admiral, and that he saved himself in a boat, and that Drake was either taken or slain; that the Catholics, perceiving her navy to be spoiled, had made a mutiny, which induced the Queen to take the field in person, and that it is affirmed, as true, that no ship nor boat of the Spaniards had been carried into England, except the ship of Don Pedro de Valdez.”

Styrye says that one of Mendoza’s own friends pointed out to him the baseness of his conduct in the following terms:—

"I marvel, good Sir, to see a man of so noble a lineage, and no less endued with gifts of nature than others, should have your ears so opened to hear the rumours and lies which the scoffing and gibing flatterers do write you; and I wonder not so much in that you credit them, as at the speed wherewith your honour doth write them. Your honour writeth to Spain that it is a matter most true that the Lord High Admiral was come, running away with twenty-five or twenty-six ships, unto London, and that he had lost his flagship; and that Drake was taken prisoner; and that this was written for a matter most certain by persons of credit from London."

This fabulous gazette of Don Bernardin was translated into English, and published under the title of 'A pack of Spanish Lies, sent abroad into the world, translated out of the original, and now ripp'd up, unfolded, and, by just examination, condemned, as containing false, corrupt, and detestable wares, worthy to be damn'd and burnt.'

Though Drake very rarely gave himself the trouble to answer personal abuse, yet, on the present occasion, he published an admirable and spirited letter, which proves that he was no less able to vanquish a libeller with his pen than an enemy with his sword.

"They were not ashamed," he says, "to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in words, which they pretended to have obtained against this realm, and spread the same in a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere; when, shortly after, it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations, how their navy, which they termed invincible, consisting of one hundred and forty sail of ships, not only of their own kingdom, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal carracks, Florentines, and large hulks of other countries, were, by thirty of Her Majesty's own ships of war, and a few of our merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England, beaten and shuffled together even from the Lizard in Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdez, with his mighty ship: from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugh de Moncado, with the galleys of which he was captain; and from Calais, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England round about Scotland and Ireland; where, for the sympathy of their religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were, notwithstanding, broken, slain, and taken; and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters to be shipped into England, where Her Majesty, of her princely and invincible disposition disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain, or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their countries to witness and recount the worthy

achievement of their invincible and dreadful navy. Of which the number of soldiers, the fearful burthen of their ships, the commanders' names of every squadron, with all other, their magazines of provisions, were put in print, as an army and navy irresistible and disdainng prevention; with all which their great terrible ostentation they did not, in all their sailing round about England, so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cockboat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheepcote on this land."

It is said that the Spanish noblemen and the officers of the Armada had made a specific division among themselves of all the noblemen's estates in England; and had in fact apportioned out the kingdom among themselves: the houses of the rich merchants in London, which were to be given as plunder to the soldiers and sailors, were also systematically registered. The extent to which this vain anticipation was carried, appears to us the less incredible when we remember that, in our own days, a foe as inveterate as Philip, with means more formidable, and hatred more intense, and also of far greater talents, encouraged his myrmidons to the invasion of our shores, by the same audacious partition of our lands and property.

While among the Spaniards the loss was so great that there was scarcely a family of any distinction throughout the kingdom which was not in mourning, England everywhere resounded with acclamations of joy; in which all the Protestant nations of Europe participated; whilst poets and painters employed their talents to celebrate the joyful issue of the contest.

Nor was the Queen backward in acknowledging, in the most public and solemn manner, her gratitude to Almighty God for the signal victory his providence had granted her.

"At a council held at Greenwich the third of November, 1588, at which all the great officers of state were present, a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, letting his lordship to understande that Her Majestie's expresse pleasure and comandment was, that order should be given by his Lordship in all the dioceses under his Lordship's province, to the severall bishoppes, curates, and mynisters, to appoint some speciall daye wherein all the realme might concur in givng publicke and generall thanckes unto God with all devocion and inward affection of hearte and humblenesse, for his gratyous favor extended towards us in our deliverance and defence, in the wonderfull overthrow and destruction showed by his mightie hand on our malytious enemyes the Spanyardes, whoe had thought to invade and make a conquest of the realme.

"The lyke letter wrytten unto the deane and chapter of the byshoprick of

Yorke to take the same order within the Dyocese of that B: as was in all points specified in the former letter." *

The Queen also directed a public and solemn thanksgiving to be made at the metropolitan church of St. Paul: on which occasion all the trophies taken from the enemy were carried in procession, and deposited in the church; and she then distributed rewards to the Lord High Admiral and the officers and seamen of the fleet.

Several medals were struck in England in memory of the defeat of the Armada. One in particular was specially in honour of the Queen. It represented ships in flames proceeding towards a fleet which was making off in great hurry and confusion; its inscription, *Dux fœmina facti*, alluded to the circumstance, generally believed at the time, that it was Elizabeth herself who, on hearing that the Armada had anchored before Calais, threw out the hint to Lord Charles Howard of the expediency of sending some fire-ships among them. There is no direct evidence of this: but in a letter alluding to the success of the measure, the Lord Admiral says, "the bearer came in good time on-board this ship, and brings with him as good knowledge as we could wish." Another medal, representing a flying fleet, had this inscription, "*Venit, vidit, fugit.*" The Zealanders had several medals struck: one, on which was the Spanish fleet scattered in great confusion, bore the motto, "*Impius fugit, nemine sequente.*"

Although the secession of the Duke of Parma from the enterprise, and the destitute state of the Spanish fleet, might have removed all apprehension of a renewal of hostilities from any quarter, yet it appears from the letters of the Lord High Admiral and Sir Francis Drake, that they deemed it very expedient to keep their fleet together.

LORD EFFINGHAM TO THE QUEEN.

MY MOST GRASIOUS SOFEREN,

22 Aug. 1588.

The graet goodnes of your Majestie towards me, that hathe so lyttell desarved, dowthe make me in case that I know not how to wryght to your Majestie how muche I am bound to you for your infynyte goodneses, nor chann be ancered by any wayse but with the spend of my blud and lyfe in

* Council Register, H. M. Council Office.

your Majestie's sarvis, wyche I wyll be as redy and as wylling to dow as ever cretur that lyved was for ther prynce.

My most grasious Ladie, with graet gryfe I must wryght unto you in what state I fynd your flyte in heer. The infescion is growne verry graet, and in many shypse, and now verry dangerous; and those that comme in freshe are souest infected: they sicken the on day and dy the next: it is a thyng that ever folloethe such graet sarvyses, and I dowt not but with good care and Godse goodnes, wyche dowthe alwayse bles your Majestie and yourse, it wyll quenche agayne. The course that we heer thynk meet to be kepte, bothe for the sarvis as also for the safte of your Majestie's pepell, we have wryghten at large unto my lords of your Majestie's Pryvy Councell, to informe your Majestie, and have also sent this berrer, Mr. Tho. Fenor, who is both wyse and chann informe your Majestie how all things standethe heer. And because it requyere the sped and resolucion of your Majestie, I dow leve to trowble your Majestie any farder. Preyinge to the Almyghtie God to make your Majestie to lyve mor hapyer dayse then ever cretur that lyved on the erthe. From Dover, the 22 of August.

Your Majestie's most bound, most
faythfull and obedient sarvant,

C. HOWARD.

Evne as I had wryghten thus muche, Mr. E. Noreys chame, woose advertysement dowth alter the case muche.

To the Queen's most
Excelent Majestie.

LORD EFFINGHAM AND SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

SIR,

27th August, 1588.

Apone your letter I sent presentlie for Sir F. Drake, and showed him the desier that heer Majestie had for the interceptyng of the king's tresur from the Indias, and so we considered of it, and nether of us fyndyng any shypse heer in the flyte anywise able to goo such a voyage, befor they have byne aground, wch chanot be downe in any plase but at Chatham; and now that this spryng is so far past, it wyll be *fourteen dayse* befor they chan be grounded. And wher you wryght that I shuld make nobody aquaynted with it but Sir F. Drake, it is verry strange to me that anny body chan thynk that yf it wer that if the smalest barks weer to be sent out, but that the offysers must know it; for this is not as if a man wold send but over to the cost of France. I dare asure you Sir F. Drake, who is a man of jugment and aquaynted with it, wyll tell you what must be downe for such a journey. Belike it is thought the ilands be but heer by; it is not thought how the yeer is spent. I thought it good, therefore, to send with all sped Sir F. D., althowghe he be not very well, to inform you ryghtly of all, and look what shall be then thouwght meet. I wyll dow my indevor with all the powr I maye, for I protest before God I would gyve all that I have that it weer met withall, for that blo, after this he hath, wold mak him safe. Sir, for Sir Thos. Morgayne and the dischargyng of shypse I will deell with all

when the spryng* is past, but befor I dare not venture; for them of London I dow not heer of them it (yet) but those that be with my cosyne Knivet. Sir, I send you heer inclosed a note of the money that Sir F. Drake had about Don Pedro. I did take now at my comynge downe 3000 pystelets, as I told you I wold, for by Jesus I had not three pounds lefte in the worlde, and had nor anything coulde geet mony in London. And I dow assur you my plat has gone befor, but I wyll repay it within ten days after my comyng home. I pray you let her. Majestie know so; and by the Lord God of hevne I had not one crown mor, and had it not byne meer nesecite I wold not have touched one; but if I had not sum to have bestoed apon sum pour and myserable men I should have wyshed myselfe out of the worlde. Sir, let me not lyve longer then I shall be most wylling to dow all sarvys, and to take any paynse I chan for her Majestie's sarvis. I thynk Sir F. Drake wyll say I have lyttell rest, day or nyght. The Ark, in Dover Road, the 27 of August (1588).

Your most assured,

C. HOWARD.†

To my verie loving freinde,
Mr. Secretarie Walsinghame,
at the Courte.

In the course of the month of September the Queen's ships were paid off; and those of the merchant adventurers returned to their usual occupation.

It is stated in Lediard's 'Naval History of England' that ten sail of the Armada were cast away on the coast of Ireland, among which were one of the great galeasses and two Venetian ships, the Batta and Belangara; that those of their crews who escaped shipwreck and reached the shore were all put to the sword, or perished by the hand of the executioner, the Lord Deputy fearing they should join with the rebels. The following letter in the State Paper Office is almost conclusive evidence that this was not the case:—

TO THE LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND.

OUR VERY GOOD LORD,

14th Sept. 1588.

IMEDATLY after the writing of or last letters to yo^r Lp. we went wheare we hard the Spanyarde were, and mett them at S^r John O'Dogherty is towne called Illagh. We sent unto them to know who they were, and what their intent was, or why they did invade any pte. of the Queene's Ma^{ty}. domynion, their aunswer was that they did sett foorth to invade England, and were pcell of the fleete w^{ch} was overthrown by her Ma^{ty} navy, and that they

* i. e. Spring-tides.

† These letters are copied from MSS. in the State Paper Office.

were dryven tether by force of wether. Whereupon we (pceiving that they were in nombre above vjc men) did incamp that night wthin muskett shott of them, being in nombre not passing vij^{xx} men [here in the hand-writing of Lord Burleigh is this note: '*A bold attempt of 140 against 600*']; and the same nyght about midnyght did skirmish wth them for the space ii houres, and in that skyrnish did slay their lieutenant of the fealde and above xx^v more beside the hurting of a great number of their men: so as in the next day (in skyrnishing wth them) they were forced to yeld themselves, and we lost but one soldior: nowe O'Donill and wee are come wth some of them to Dongainne, meaning to go wth them wthout companies to yo^r Lp. And therefore we humbly besech yo^r honour to graunte warr^t for victling of them, as the prysoner^s are very weake, and unable to travaile, we desire yo^r Lp. (yf yo^r shall so thinke meete) to gyve direcon for leveyings of horses and garrans to cary them to Dublin. The best of them seemeth to cary some kinde of maiesty, and hath ben governor of thirty thousand men this xxiiij years past; the rest of the prysoners are men of greate calling, and such as in o^r oppnyion were not amyse to be questioned wthall. So we humbly take our leave. From Dongainne, the xiiij of September, 1588.

Your most humble,

RICH. HOVENDEN,

HENRY HOVENDEN.*

The Lord Deputy
of Ireland.

Haste.

* MS., State Paper Office.

CHAPTER XI.

EXPEDITION TO THE GROUYNE (CORUNNA), AND LISBON.

1589.

Reasons for attacking Spain—Petition of Don Antonio, a candidate for the Crown of Portugal—Sir F. Drake and Sir J. Norris appointed to command the Expedition—Letters of Sir J. Norris and Sir F. Drake to Lord Burleigh—Attack on Corunna—Gallant conduct of a Female—Description of the attack by Norris and by Drake—Essex joins them—Arrival at Peniche—Norris marches for Lisbon—Drake sails for Cascais—Proceedings before Lisbon—Proceedings at Cascais—Embark at Cascais—The Fleet is dispersed in a Storm—Arrive at Plymouth—Case of Lord Essex.

ELIZABETH was soon convinced that, in the present temper of the Roman Catholics of Spain, no peace on honourable terms could be entered into with Philip; and that the honour and safety of the nation required the most vigorous measures to be pursued, without waiting for the visit of a second Armada. Spain not only still held out threats, but preparations were understood to be actually making in her western ports for the attempt; it was therefore deemed the wisest policy to show them that England was as able to attack as to defend.

“When,” says Camden, “the Queen had shown this example of terror (the trial and condemnation of the Earl of Arundel) at home, to make herself equally feared abroad, and pursue the victory which Providence had given her over the Spaniards, conceiving it to be both more safe and honourable to attack the enemy than to stand an assault from them, she suffered a fleet to put to sea upon an expedition against Spain. This Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake did generously and frankly undertake, at their own and some other private men’s charge, and with very little expense to the Queen’s purse, except the fitting out of a few men of war; for, indeed, they were fully convinced that the power of Spain lay rather in common fancy and opinion, than in any real strength they were masters of. The agreement between them was this—that whatever prizes they took should be shared among them by a fair and equal dividend. But it happened that there came not in so many to this expedition as was expected.

“ The States added some ships, although they were at present displeas'd with the English, because Wingfield, governor of Gertruydenburgh, and the English garrison of that place, had betrayed the town to the Spaniard. The present fleet was reckon'd to consist of 11,000 soldiers and 1500 sailors. Don Antonio, the bastard prior of Crato (a natural son of the royal family of Portugal), with a few Portuguese, join'd them ; for he, it seems, laying claim to the Crown of Portugal by a popular election (for by the laws of that kingdom bastards are not excluded), had made the English mighty promises, hoping, we may suppose, to recover the kingdom by the help of these forces, the revolt of the Portuguese from the Spaniard, and the assistance of Muley Hamet, King of Morocco.”

Drake, always ready in his country's cause, as soon as he received the Queen's commands to prepare an expedition, in conjunction with General Sir John Norris, lost no time in taking the necessary steps for fitting out the ships to be employ'd. The Queen furnish'd the following ships :—

Ships.	Naval Commanders.	Military Commanders.
The Revenge	Sir Francis Drake	Sir John Norris.
Dreadnought	Capt. Thos. Fenner	Sir Edward Norris.
Aid	Capt. Wm. Fenner	Sir Henry Norris.
Nonpareil	Capt. Sackville	Sir Roger Williams.
Foresight	Capt. Wm. Winter	Capt. Williams.
Swiftsure	Capt. Goring.	

The fleet of merchant-adventurers, and of transports for the conveyance of the soldiers, amount'd to eighty, or, according to some accounts, to one hundred and forty sail.

No two commanders could have been chosen better qualified to conduct this expedition. Sir John Norris was a highly distinguished soldier, had seen much service on the continent and in Ireland, and held a chief command during the period that country was threaten'd by the Spaniards ; he had also serv'd under Coligny in the religious wars of France. Many of the other officers were distinguished men. But these expeditions, mix'd up of war and traffic, so common in those days, how well soever conducted, were rarely successful : nor was the present one any exception to the rule. It was detain'd, wind-bound, a whole month at Plymouth. Of its promis'd forces, six hundred English horses, seven old companies from the Low Countries, and four Dutch companies never join'd it ; and it was put to great expense by the consumption of provisions whilst at Plymouth. These were serious losses to the generals and the

merchant adventurers ; and many complaints were received by the commanders. Both the Generals earnestly called on Lord Burleigh for a supply of money and provisions. Drake's letter was as follows :—

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE LORD HIGH TREASURER.

April, 1589.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORDE,

I did never write to your Lordship with so discontentede a minde as I doe now. The cause is (as it maie please your Lordship) in that it pleaseth God to staie our forces in harborough by contrarie windes ; whereby our victualls have beene and doe dailie consume without doeing anie service : which (if God favor us not with a tymelie winde) must needes be the onlie meanes that the accion will be dissoluede : We have used our best meanes as longe as we coulde to upholde the service, as farre as our owne abilities, and the creditte of our freends could anie waie be stretchede to serve our turnes : butt for that the numbers of our men are so manie, and our dailie charge so greate by reason of our staie, we are no further able to continewe the same as we have donne. If this action beinge broughte to that perfection (as we are readie to take the first goode winde that shall blowe) should nowe be dissolved by reason of anie particular wantes, the dishonour therein must needes be graate to her Majestie : The losse not a litle to us, and suche as are adventurers, and the clamour of the numbers whjeh must be dischargede most intollerable : who must needes and will be satisfiede of their paie for the tyme of their service, at her Majesties hands, or ours ; and ourselves no waie able to accomplishe it : Wherefore I have thought it my duetie to acquaint your Lordship herewith, for the consideracion of the greatnes of the cause : humblie beseechinge your Lordship to move to her Majestie herewith : that present order maie be sente the Leivetenants and Justices of the peace of the Sheires next adioyning, or to Mr. Darell : whome your Lordship maie depute as Commissioners in that behalf That by the countrie adioyning, our present necessitie maie be suppliede : where we might have sufficiente enoughe, if we had present monies to make satisfaccion accordinglie. Thus I humblie take my leave of your Lordship.

From Plymouth, this (not dated) of April, 1589.

Your Lordship's allwaies readie

to be commaundede

(signed) FRA: DRAKE.*

To the Ryght Honorable
my verie good Lorde
the Lord high Treasurer
of England.

In the next letter Sir Francis Drake alludes to the intention

* MS. State Paper Office.

of the Earl of Essex to join the fleet as a volunteer. The Queen had given orders to the commanders of the expedition to find him out (for no one knew where he was), and to send him to Court.

SIR F. DRAKE TO THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

19 April, 1589.

MOST HONOURABLE AND MY ESPECIALL GOOD LORD,

For that we now understand that her Majestie is pleased to releve us with som vittuall, I thincke yf it shall so please your Lordship that Captayne Crosse will be a very meett man to be sent after us with the sam vittuall, for that we have aqwaynted hym throwghly with the particullers of the statt of our army, and cann judge well wher to fynd us upon the cost of Spayne upon such advertisements as I have geven hym. This cause of the Erl of Esexe hath been and is very great truble unto us, for that we hyere contynewally that his Lordships abyding is uncertayne in any one partyculler place. We have sent bothe by sea and land and dow dayly exspecte to hyer from his Lordship.

Yf his Lordship be not gonn for the cost of France, we shall meett with hym very shortly, for that we have great hope of this fayer wether, when we shall dow our best endeavoures for the satisfyeing of her Majesties expresse commaundement in sending his Lordship to the court.

God gave us a good wynd as we hope well; that ther may be some pleasinger matter to writ unto your good Lordship. Humbly takyng my leave this 19th of Apprell, 1589, from abourd her Majesties ship the Reveng.

Your good Lordships humbly

at commandment

(signed) FRA: DRAKE.*

At length the expedition put to sea; but the wind for two days continued cross, and many of the ships, as might be expected in such a heterogeneous mass, were dispersed, and never again joined; several of these were transports, which were either not able, or not willing, to double Ushant. The number of men missing is said to have been nearly 3000, some having got into France, and some to England. The weather, however, soon moderated, and five days brought them into the bay of Corunna (corrupted into Groyne), where the ships anchored about a mile below the town.

The best and fullest account of this expedition was published in the year 1589, and bears this title: 'A true Coppie of a Discourse, written by a gentleman, employed in the late Voyage

* MS. State Paper Office.

of Spain and Portingale.' It says that some of the galleons fired upon them and the companies as they passed to and fro the first night. The next day they attacked the lower town on three sides, and carried it without much resistance, and found an immense quantity of wine and oil. They took the governor Don Juan de Luna prisoner, with some other persons of note, and destroyed a large quantity of ammunition and stores which had been sent thither for the new expedition intended against England. About five hundred Spaniards are said to have been killed "in the heat of the plunder;" and several of the English lost their lives, not by the enemy, but by their indulgence in the wine-cellars, by which great sickness was caused among the troops. The quantity of wine consumed, carried away, and destroyed, is said to have amounted to about 2000 pipes, collected for the use of the next Spanish expedition.

The Spaniards themselves set fire to a very large ship which lay in the harbour, and which burnt for two days together. They did this to prevent her from falling into the hands of the invaders, and the Spaniards loaded her guns to such a degree that four-and-thirty of them burst. This was the galleon San Juan, one of the few which had escaped the general wreck of the Armada.

Preparations were now made for besieging the upper town. Near one of the gates was a convent dedicated to St. Domingo; the general ordered it to be occupied; and from the upper part of the building they fired into the town. On the following night it was intended to get possession of a long munition-house built upon the wall; but the Spaniards, suspecting the intention, set fire to it themselves. In the mean time a large fire broke out in the lower part of the town, which had it not been speedily got under by the General's precaution of pulling down the adjacent houses, all the provision stores would have been consumed, to the great inconvenience of the English. By this time General Norris had taken a survey of the walls, which he found to be in most places based upon rock; one particular point, however, admitted the working of a mine. After three days' labour it was deemed ready for springing; but it failed. Two days after a second mine was sprung; the explosion brought down half the tower under which it had been made. The breach was pronounced practicable, and immediately assaulted: but when the men

gained the summit, the other half of the tower fell, and crushed the chief engineer; and Captains Sydenham and Kersey were killed, together with a great many inferior officers and men.

Captain Sydenham was found with three or four large stones upon his lower extremities, so wedged in that neither he himself could stir, nor were the company about him able to release him, notwithstanding the next day he was still alive. Around him were the bodies of eight or ten men, who had been shot by the Spaniards while endeavouring to extricate their officer.

The General having planted his ordnance, summoned the town in the usual form by a drum; the drummer was shot at; but the Spaniards immediately hung the man who had fired at him; saying they only wanted fair war, and would promise on their part to observe it.

A breach having been made in the convent garden wall, some officers and men entered it, pike in hand, but were opposed at the summit by the Spaniards, who had prepared all means of defence; and were encouraged, as Mr. Southey says, on the authority of Gondara, by the masculine exertions of Maria Pita, the wife of an *alferez*, or ensign, who,

“With a spirit which women have more often displayed in Spain than in any other country, snatched up sword and buckler, and took her stand among the foremost of the defendants; and so much was ascribed by the people to the effect of her example, that she was rewarded for this service with the full pay of an ensign for life, and the half-pay was settled upon her descendants in perpetuity.”

It is moreover stated “that this virago lost none of her courage at seeing her husband killed before her eyes, and that she wounded an English standard-bearer mortally with a lance.”

The assault was not renewed; and the failure was so complete that Sir John Norris determined to abandon an enterprise which he now considered hopeless. But to secure his embarkation, without being molested, he deemed it expedient to disperse a very large military force, under the Conde de Antrade, which was encamped behind the Puente de Burgos, waiting there to be joined by the troops of the Conde de Altamira, in order that, with their united strength, they should advance to the relief of the town, and cut off the retreat of the English.

The following extract from a joint letter of Sir John Norris

and Sir Francis Drake to the Privy Council will best describe their proceedings :—

EXTRACTED OUT OF A LETTER FROM SIR JOHN NORRIS AND
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE COUNCIL.

7th May, 1589.

EVEN as this letter was almost ended, certaine cumpanies of the Flemings being sent abroade on foraging browght in a prisoner whoe upon his lief assured us that theare weare 15,000 soldiers assembled and encamped verie stronglie at Puente de Burgos abowt 5 Englishe miles from us, under the conduct and commaundment of the Erles of Altamira and Andrada. Wheare-uppon on Tuesday the 6th of this present, wee marched towards them with 7000 soldiers, leaving the rest for the guard and siege of the towne, and encountringe with them, theie continued fighte the space of three quarters of an hower; and then we forced them to retire to the foote of a bridge, wheareon not above three could marche in ranke, and was abowt ten scoare in length, from whence (although theie weare theare defended by some fortifications and had the benefitt and succour of certaine howses, and other places adjoining) theie weare followed with our shott and pikes, with such courage and fierceness, as, after some fewe vollies on both sides, theie entred the bridge, wheare in the midst, with the pushe of the pike, forced to make retreat into their trenches to the further foote of the bridge wheare theie encamped which also (being pursued) theie forsooke and betooke themselves to flighte abandonninge their weapons, bagge and baggage, and loste about 1000 in skirmishe and pursuite.

Had wee had either horse on lande, or some companies of Irish kerne to have pursued them, theare had none of them escaped; which cannot be but a notable dishonour to the Kinge, and in our opinions noe small furtherance to the service intended: Wee lost not above 2 common soldiers and one of the corporalls of the feeld. Sir Edward Norris, whoe ledd the vanntgard, grevouslie hurt with a blowe on the head, and Captaine Fulford shott in the arme. Capteine George shott in the left eie. Captaine Hinde wounded in three places of the head, but noe danger of lief in annie of them.

Thus it hath pleased God to geve her Majestie the victorie which wee have great hope to pursue elsewhere with like success if we maie be succored with such necessaries as are needefull: if not, wee can but doe our endeavours, and leave the rest to the consideracion of your Lordships, whome we humblie leave to the protection of the Almighty. From the Groine the 7th of Maye, 1589.*

Captain Fenner, in his account which is given in Birch's Memoirs, enters into a few more particulars :—

* MS. State Paper Office.

“General Norris,” he says, “with 1700 men attempted the bridge, but was driven back. A second time he entered with Sir Edward Norris, Colonel Sidney, and Captain Cooper, and succeeded in driving back the Spaniards, beating them out of their entrenchments, and continued slaying them in pursuit for more than a mile, in which affair from 1200 to 1300 Spaniards were supposed to be slain: three English captains were killed, Sir Edward Norris and Colonel Sidney wounded. This service ended, and no hope left of gaining the higher town, for want of powder in the fleet, the General gave orders for the companies to re-embark.”

The following appears to have been the last letter written from this place:—

SIR F. DRAKE TO LORD BURGHLEY.

8 May, 1589.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORDE,

The 23th of the last monethe we fell with Ortingall in Gallizea, the winde blowinge verie muche easterlie. And the daie followinge we landede at the Groyne 7000 of our men: where we had attemptede the takinge of the Base Towne the same nighte, if extreame raine and verie fowle weather had not lettede us. The 25th we assaultede the Base Towne bothe by sea and lande, and tooke it with the onlie losse of 20 of our men, and 500 of the enemye. The windes have beene allwaies contrarie since our cominge here, blowinge verie muche with a greate sea and continewall showres of raine, which did somewhatt lett the service. We founde at our cominge thither fower greate shippes, makinge readie with all expedicion for a freshe Armado against Englande. Emongest which there was the Gallion St. John, the Vize Admirall of the Kinge's last fleete, which is burnte, and the other three taken: we have taken of the enemies in this place, out of the shippes, and towne, verie neere 150 peices ordinaunce: and have made spoile of manie greate provisions in readines for this newe armye. To deferre the tyme beinge staiede in by contrarie windes, wee layede batterie to the hiegher towne, findinge it to be stronglie defended, by reason of divers companies of old souldiers which were remayning there readie to goe fourth in this armye. The 5th of this monethe we tooke a souldier in the countrie: by whome we understood howe the Governours of the countrie had assemblede by rowle 15,000 olde souldiers and men of the countrie which (as we since heare) are but 10,000. Being shortlie advertisede that they had entrenched themselves within 5 miles of us, we thought it meete, uppon consultacion had the next morning, to salley fourth with 7000 of our men: who understanding our forces to come nighe unto them resolved to fighte, where it pleaseth God to allot us the victorie, which is no litle quailing to the enemye. My opinion is that great happines is fallen to our Queene and countrie by our cominge hither, where we staie untill God sende us a fair winde. If there had been good reckoninge made at first of the necessitie of this service, we should not then have needed these particular wants of victuall, cannon, and powder.

The wante of the one maketh us to leave some services halfe donne; and the other to seeke meate to live: whereof if there be no speedie supplie made, it maie be the cause to hinder suche an action as I shall not live to see the like, to performe great matters at so convenient a tyme.

Thus I humblie take my leave of your good Lordship; from the Groine this 8th of Meye, 1589.

Your good Lordships humblie
to be comaundede,

(Signed) FRA: DRAKE.

To the Right Honourable
my verie goode Lorde the Lord Burghley
L: hiegh Treasurer of England.*

Having plundered and burnt the enemy's camp, the lower town, and all the adjacent villages, they re-embarked the troops without any loss of men; and on the 10th made sail down the coast of Portugal, and were joined at sea by the Earl of Essex, bringing with him some ships laden with corn for the use of the fleet. The Earl was accompanied by his brother Walter Devereux, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Philip Butler, and Sir Edward Wingfield.

"This young nobleman," says Camden, "was supposed to be urged to join the expedition, partly from a thirst after glory, and partly from a hatred he bore to the Spaniards, and also from the generous motive of a compassionate feeling towards the exiled Don Antonio; whatever might have been his motives or ambition that made him quit the pleasures of a court, to try his fortune at sea and on the field of battle, he joined the expedition, without the Queen's leave or approbation."

"Essex," says one of the pamphlets of the day, "is considered by us as the child of Mars, descended from a heroic and warlike family, a youth of lofty and enlightened mind, a great favourite of the people, the nobility, and the Queen, with a resolution to suffer and undergo all dangers, and rather than not be present at so splendid an expedition, he preferred being a private soldier without any command than to remain at home in high favour with every one, surrounded by a herd of courtiers." And the 'True Copy of the Discourse' says, "The Earle havinge put himself into the journey against the opinion of the world, and, as it seemed, to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, and as the honorable carriage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home, so did his exceeding forwardness in all services make him to be wondered at amongst us. After his coming into the fleet, to the great rejoicing of us all, he demanded of the General, that he might always have the leading of the van-guard, which he readily yielded unto, as being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honour as this did."

* MS. State Paper Office.

The expedition arrived in nine days at Peniche, about forty miles from Lisbon; and here the troops were disembarked with the loss of a boat and above twenty men in the surf. Two troops were placed under the command of Essex, one of which he left to protect the landing, and with the other advanced towards the town to attack some Spanish troops that came out to oppose him. These troops not being proof against the push of the pike, fled, and he entered the open town without opposition, and summoned the castle, which the commandant readily surrendered to Don Antonio, acknowledging him as his king.

Sir John Norris decided on proceeding at once by land, and Sir Francis Drake promised to meet him at Lisbon. Such a promise could only be conditional. The True Discourse says that when they were all marshalled and ready to march, Drake,

“To make known the honourable desire he had of taking equal part in all fortune with them, stood upon the ascent of a hill by which the battalions marched, and, with a pleasing kindness, took his leave severally of the commanders of every regiment, wishing them happy success, with a constant promise that *if the weather did not hinder him*, he would meet them at Lisbon with the fleet.”

In the march to Lisbon, Don Antonio, who was with the army, expected that the nobility and chiefs of the country would have met him, and tendered their allegiance to him with the offer of such forces as they might be able to raise to support his claim to the throne; but no one appeared except a company of poor peasants, without hose or shoes, and one gentleman, who presented him with a basket of cherries and plums. The troops, on their way, took the town of Torres Vedras, with little or no resistance, except a few skirmishes, in all of which the Spaniards had the worst of it; and on the 25th they came before Lisbon.

The suburbs of St. Katharine or Bonavista were taken without opposition; but the army was received with coldness and indifference, and not the least inclination was apparent on the part of the people to declare for the Prince, or to render him any assistance: nor were there any tidings of the ships and men which Antonio had been promised by the Emperor of Morocco. The army was from day to day diminished by sickness, their provisions were rapidly decreasing, they were deficient in ammunition, and had not even a field-piece by which they could blow down one of the gates of Lisbon.

On one occasion Essex not only pursued the Spaniards to the very gates of Lisbon, but would have rushed in with them had not his friend Sir Roger Williams held him back by main force. On another occasion he is said to have actually knocked at one of the gates of the city.

For an army to march into the interior of an enemy's country, and up to the very walls of a large fortified city, without the common implements and ammunition of war, seems to have been a most extraordinary error of judgment. Captain William Fenner, who calls the whole expedition, from first to last, "a miserable action," thus describes their position before Lisbon:—

"The want of a single piece to make a breach or shoot against the gates prevented the English from taking it.—The want of match among the soldiers, and of powder for their muskets, forced them to retire, when the Spaniards would sally out, in the habits of Portuguese, crying *amigos*, and slay the sick in the rear of the army; disregarding their wants, sick and sound together. Three captains, the Provost Marshal and Lieutenant of Ordnance being mortally wounded, were left behind for want of carriage."

Sir William Monson ascribes the loss of Lisbon to the want of field-pieces; for, he says,

"The strength consisting in the castle, and we having only an army to countenance us, but no means for battery, we were the loss of the victory ourselves; for it was apparent, by the intelligence we received, if we had presented them with battery, they were resolved to parley, and so, by consequence, to yield, and this was the main and chief reason of the Portuguese excuse for not joining with us."

Seeing there was nothing further to be done here, the army began its march to join Drake at Cascais. They were followed at a distance by a large body of Spanish troops; and it was announced to the General, by one of his scouts, that a certain Don Peter Henry de Guzman (Conde de Fuentes), who had 6000 foot soldiers and 500 horse, had pitched his camp not more than 2000 paces from the English army, and had proclaimed that they had been routed at Lisbon, and put to flight. Norris, highly indignant at this, sent the Don a letter at daylight, under his own hand, by a trumpeter, informing him that with his army, such as it was, he should be with him before noon to confute his falsehoods, not by words, but arms, if he would only wait for his advance, and that then a trial should be made whether an Englishman or a Spaniard would be the first to run away.

At the same time, and by the same messenger, the Earl of Essex challenged him, or any other Spaniard of his rank, to single combat ; or, if Don Peter had no taste for it himself, that ten Englishmen should try their hands with ten Spaniards. This gallant Count, however, not relishing any of these proposals, disappeared with the whole of his force in the middle of the night. The trumpeter, with English pertinacity, followed him nearly to Lisbon ; but could get no answer to either of the letters, except threatening to hang him for daring to bring such messages ; but the General had written, on the back of the passport, that if any violence was offered to his messenger, he would hang the best of his Spanish prisoners.

Drake had, in the first instance, taken possession of the town of Cascais, the inhabitants having abandoned it on his landing ; but on giving his assurance of protection and peaceable intentions, they returned ; he, however, requiring of them that they would acknowledge Antonio as their sovereign, and supply the fleet with provisions and necessaries. The castle affected to hold out : but Drake soon made them surrender, and blew up a great portion of it. He seized sixty sail of ships belonging to the Hanse towns, which, in defiance of the Queen's prohibition, had arrived there laden with corn and all manner of naval stores, evidently designed for a second attempt against England. He had already in his passage to Cascais fallen in with and taken many ships carrying provisions and naval stores to Lisbon ; and some, also, of considerable burden, nearly empty, and evidently built as ships of war.

The army, having reached Cascais, and everything being prepared, lost no time in re-embarking ; but the fleet was dispersed in a gale, and for seventeen days kept the sea before they could reach Vigo ; in which interval they cast a great many of the men into the sea, who died daily, not only from a fearful sickness raging among them, but from absolute hunger ; and it is said that many more must have perished from lack of food, had not the dreadful mortality been the means of thinning their ranks, and thus leaving an increased allowance for the survivors. In this deplorable state, it was deemed expedient to land, and obtain provisions by force of arms or otherwise. They found the number of their effective men not to exceed 2000 : with these

they landed and approached the town on two sides; and though the streets were barricadoed, the inhabitants made no resistance, the greater part having withdrawn, and carried with them everything of value, except a good store of wine. The invaders, therefore, contented themselves with spoiling the country for a few miles round, burning the villages and the standing corn; and then, after setting fire to the town, re-embarked.

It was agreed that Drake should draft the able men into twenty of the best ships, and that he should take them to the Azores, in the hope of falling in with the Indian return fleet; and that Norris, with the rest of the armament, should proceed homewards. They had scarcely separated, when a violent storm arose; both the squadrons were dispersed; and when Norris, twelve days afterwards, reached Plymouth, he found that Drake had already arrived there with all the Queen's ships and several others; but that many of the merchant adventurers had taken the opportunity, which the storm afforded, of going their own way, and carrying the prizes with them, in order to turn them to their own advantage. At Plymouth the army was disbanded; and every soldier received five shillings and his arms.

"From this voyage," says Camden, "they returned into England with 150 pieces of great ordnance and a very rich booty; part of which was divided among the seamen, who began to mutiny, but could not satisfy them.

"Most men were of opinion that the English hereby answered all points, both of revenge and honour, having in so short a compass of time taken one town by storm, made a glorious assault upon another, driven before them a very potent army, landed their forces in four several places, marched seven days together in order of battle, and with colours flying, through the enemy's country, attacked a strong and flourishing city with a small handful of men, and lodged for three nights in the suburbs of it. Besides that, they beat the enemy back to the very gates after they had made a sally; took two castles lying on the sea, and spoiled the enemy of all their stores and ammunition.

"However, there were others who thought all this was no manner of equivalent for the damages sustained in this enterprise; the loss of soldiers and seamen by sickness alone amounting to 6,000.

"But most certain it is that England was so far a gainer by this expedition as from that time to apprehend no incursions from Spain, but rather to grow more warm and animated against that country."

Nothing could be worse than the system, then prevailing, of allowing volunteer adventurers to be united in expeditions with the naval and military forces of the nation; nor could a stronger

example of the evils resulting from it be selected than this expedition to Portugal.

It was said, also, that the two commanders quarrelled; but there does not appear in any of the narratives, nor in their correspondence, the least grounds for such an assertion. Blame was attempted to be cast on Sir Francis Drake, for having broken his promise to join the army at Lisbon. His promise, however, was conditional; as indeed all promises of this nature must be; but, says Monson,

“He did not keep his promise, and therefore he was much blamed by the common consent of all men, imputing the overthrow of the action to him. It will not excuse Sir Francis Drake, in his promise made to Sir John Norris, though I would utterly have accused him of want of discretion, if he had put the fleet to so great an adventure to so little purpose; for his being in the harbour of Lisbon was nothing to the taking of the castle, which was two miles from thence; and had the castle been taken, the town would have been taken of course.

“And, moreover, the ships could not furnish the army with more men or victuals than they had; wherefore I understand not wherein his going up was necessary, and yet the fleet was to endure many hazards to this little purpose. For, betwixt Cascaes and Lisbon there are three castles, St. Julian, St. Francis, and Belem. The first of the three, I hold one of the most impregnable forts, to seaward, in Europe, by which the fleet was to pass, within culliver-shot; though, I confess, the greatest danger was not the passing it, for, with a reasonable gale of wind, any fort is to be passed with small hazard.”

Monson, however, considers the landing at the Groyne to have been the great mistake, the *origo malorum* :

“It was a lingering of the other design, a consuming of victuals, weakening of the armies by the immoderate drinking of the soldiers, which brought a lamentable sickness amongst them, a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and, what was more than all this, a discouragement to proceed farther, being repulsed in the first attempt.”

The letters, which the two commanders wrote from Plymouth, point out the ill effects which had ensued from the parsimony of the Government, even in the supply of articles absolutely necessary for the support of life. The Queen was anxious to avenge the insults of her enemies, and to carry the war into their country; and she contributed as far as her means would allow her: but the history of her reign shows the extreme difficulty

of raising the necessary supplies, and the defective system of warfare thence resulting.

The 'True Discourse,' however, maintains that one of the great purposes of the expedition, as a blow against Philip, was fully answered.

"In this short time of our adventure, we have wonne a towne by escalade, battered and assaulted another, overthrow a mighty prince's power in the field, landed our army in three several parts of his kingdom, marched seven days in the heart of his country, lyen three nights in the suburbes of his principal citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier forts; spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groyne of all sorts, for a newe voyage into England, burnt three of his ships, whereof one was the second in the last expedition, taken from him 150 pieces of good artillarie, cut off more than 60 hulks, and 20 French ships well manned, fit and ready to serve him as men of warre against us, laden for his store with corn, victuals, masts, cables, and other merchandizes; slain and taken the principal men of warre he had in Galatia; and made Don Pedro de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, shamefully runne at Peniche."

It is quite certain that all the adventurers in this expedition were disappointed and dissatisfied; the destruction, instead of the capture, of ships and property diminished their share of booty, for which alone most of them had volunteered on the enterprise. Among others the Dutchmen made a demand of 5019*l.* on Drake and Norris for the services of forty-four vessels employed in the conveyance of troops; and about one-half that sum was allowed them.

But among the most disappointed of the adventurers, for he was strictly such, was the exiled Don Antonio. The case of this poor claimant of a throne was a most distressing one, and had now become more hopeless than ever. The Queen afforded him some temporary relief; but he had nothing more to expect in England, and therefore repaired to France, where he hoped to find friends; but in this he was disappointed, and wandering as an exile through the various countries of Europe, he died in Paris in the year 1595; at which time his only follower was a Portuguese noble, Don Diego Bothei, who attended his master to the last with unshaken fidelity, and only asked, as the reward of all his services, to be buried at his feet.

As to Essex, who embarked in the enterprise contrary to the Queen's commands, his fortunes were desperate at the time; but by some means or other he had succeeded in procuring a ship

well-armed and manned, in which he captured several prizes previous to his joining the expedition, and therefore had less cause to be disappointed than others.

The following letter to the Vice-Chamberlain was written by him before his departure for Portugal:—

SIR,

March, 1589.

WHAT my courses may have been I need not repeat, for no man knoweth them better than yourself. What my state is now, I will tell you: my revenue no greater than it was when I sued my livery; my debts, at the least, two or three-and-twenty thousand pounds. Her Majesty's goodness hath been so great, as I could not ask more of her. No way left to repair myself but mine own adventure, which I had much rather undertake than to offend Her Majesty, with sutes, as I have done heretofore. If I speed well I will adventure to be rich; if not, I will never leiev to see the end of my poverty. And so wishing that this letter, which I have left for you, may come to your hands, I commit you to God's good protection.

From my study some few days before my departure.

Your assured friend,

ESSEX.*

To my honourable friend,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.

This young nobleman was fortune's favourite child, caressed and loved by every one, from the Queen downwards; and he possessed all those amiable and great qualities which are given to him by the writer of the Latin narrative of the present expedition, "Summo omnium applausu et lætitia excipitur; est enim propter virtutes animi, corporisque dotes, generis et familiæ nobilitatem, et in re militari scientiam, et industriam, nobilis longè gratissimus."† Elizabeth was so pleased with the heroism he had displayed, that, on his return, she took the earliest opportunity of showering honours and rewards upon him—made him Commander-in-Chief and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; created him Earl Marshal of England, and employed him on various important services.

* Burley's State Papers.

† 'Ephemeris Expeditionis.'

CHAPTER XII.

VOYAGE OF DRAKE AND HAWKINS TO THE
SPANISH COLONIES.

1590—1596.

Letter of Drake to Prince Henry de Bourbon, and his reply—A fleet fitted out under Drake and Hawkins—Its object—Attack on the Grand Canary fails—The fleet separates in a storm—Meet at Guadaloupe—Death of Hawkins—Sir F. Clifford and Master Browne killed by shot from the forts—Unsuccessful attack by the pinnaces of the squadron—La Hacha, Rancheria, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios taken—Attempt to reach Panama fails—Death of Drake—Return of Expedition—Character of Drake by Fuller, Stow, and others—Review of his career.

It was some years after the return from the last expedition, before Sir Francis Drake was appointed to the command of another: but a man of his active and enterprising spirit was not likely to remain in a state of inactivity. The first we hear of him is by a letter written by him, in Latin, to the Prince Henry de Bourbon. This letter, and the Prince's reply, are to be found in Rymer's 'Fœdera.' The following are translations:—

TO THE PRINCE HENRY DE BOURBON.

AFTER it was made known here that the common enemy of the two kingdoms had landed forces at Nunnetum (Brittany), Her Most Serene Majesty, my Mistress, by the advice of her Council, commanded a small vessel (celox) to be fitted out as speedily as possible, and that I should repair into the ports of the northern provinces (Armoricæ) and discover, by every fit means, what these Spaniards may be contriving; in what places they abide, and what is the state of their affairs.

I have therefore considered that, of all these matters, I should be made more certain from no one so well as from Your Highness, whose authority is omnipotent through the whole country, and may be acted upon safely in such affairs.

For this purpose, as is meet, I earnestly beseech, with all entreaty, that it may not seem troublesome to Your Highness, concerning the councils, the

preparations and the designs of those enemies, which are things very necessary you should be made acquainted with ; also that you would communicate with me, as early as possible, hoping (as I pray without ceasing to our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings) that the ferocity of this common enemy may speedily yield to the benefit of France and England.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Date A.D.N. Idus Novembris, 1590.

HENRY BOURBON, PRINCE OF THE DOMBÈ, TO THE MOST RENOWNED
FRANCIS DRAKE.—HEALTH.

IT is a royal act (most illustrious Knight), of one's own accord to succour the wretched. Then how much more royal is the mind of your Queen, that so many and such great kindnesses should be manifested towards the Most Christian King, and all France, more especially in these times, in which she hath often sent troops and succour against an invading enemy.

But lest it should seem that one part only of the kingdom of France should be taken care of, and the rest neglected, as soon as it was known that a military force of Spain had landed in this province, and that you, a man celebrated by fame and noble deeds, are desirous of knowing from me what should be done, and where the enemy is posted—this is what you ask me in your letter.

Most willingly and truly I obey the commands of such a Queen, and will satisfy your desire.

Your Lordship therefore may be informed that the common enemy now occupies the city, which, in the country idiom, is called Hennebon ; is blockading both it and the port, which is not far from the city, and which we call Blaovet, and is there constructing a strong fortified citadel.

If these enterprises be not, as quickly as possible, provided against, it is to be feared lest this injury, which seems to be destined for us, may end in detriment to your republic.

Now I, relying on your advice, have sent a letter to the Queen, your Mistress, concerning these affairs, by a noble person, the Viscount Turen, who visited England by command of His Most Christian Majesty : and I have earnestly entreated for auxiliary forces ; but I also now, in another letter to the Queen, have requested the same thing ; and I eagerly entreat you, most Excellent Sir, that you would strengthen my petition before the Queen, as much as possible, by your authority and favour.—Accept the rest from a Nobleman who is wanting in words :

Tuus ad omnia paratissimus.

HENRY DE BOURBON.

The King of Spain had every facility for these incursions, owing to the proximity of the Duke of Parma ; who, remembering his former remissness, might be glad of an opportunity to reinstate himself in the good graces of Philip. Besides, the confusion into which France was thrown, by the murder of the

Duke of Guise, and of Henry III., gave great encouragement to the Spaniards. But Elizabeth, ever awake to the dangers of the country, sent a reinforcement to Henry IV. of 4000 men, to join the French at Dieppe, and a further supply under the Earl of Essex. She also, in the same year, sent out a squadron of seven of her ships, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard, with Sir Richard Grenvil his Vice-Admiral, with order to proceed to the Azores to intercept the Plata fleet: but Philip, being apprised of it, despatched a fleet of more than fifty sail. They met and fought; but the superior strength of the Spaniards was so great, that the English were compelled to give way; with the exception of Sir Richard Grenvil, who, alone, in the *Revenge*, fought, with the most determined bravery, the whole Spanish fleet for twelve hours, repulsing the enemy, who boarded him fifteen times; he was twice wounded, and carried down; he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon, who was dressing his wounds, was killed by his side. In this hopeless state he advised that they should sink the ship rather than yield; but most of the crew opposed it, and she was taken.

“The only ship of war,” says Monson, “that was yet taken by the Spaniards; and of no avail to them, the *Revenge* having gone down with 200 Spaniards in her.”

This noble and heroic commander survived the action but a few days; but his death was as noble as his life. According to Camden, he said—

“Here I, Richard Grenvil, die with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, Queen, religion, and honour: my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do.”

In the parliament of 1592-3, Drake, who sat for Plymouth, had various duties assigned to him, and his name appears upon all the committees on public business; and the bills from several of them were put into his hands. He recommended strong measures to be taken by sea and land, as Philip was powerful on both; and spoke and voted for a grant or aid of three subsidies being given to the Queen for that purpose. Sir Martin Frobisher was sent to sea with a fleet to harass the trade of Spain; and when the parliament was dissolved, in 1593, the

Queen gave notice that she intended to place a fleet under Sir Francis Drake; who accordingly, in the following year, made his arrangements, and associated with him his old friend and early patron, Sir John Hawkins.

This expedition was unfortunate in its progress, and fatal in its termination. It is remarkable that Sir John Hawkins, at his advanced age, being between seventy-five and eighty, in wealthy circumstances, and after having been twenty-two years Treasurer of the Navy, should have volunteered, as it appears he did, upon a second hazardous and unhealthy voyage. Five years before, the Queen had appointed him and Sir Martin Frobisher to the command of a squadron of ten of her best ships, to scour the coast of Spain, and destroy any shipping belonging to that country which they should fall in with. Although at sea for seven months, they did not take a single ship; they attempted Fayal, and found it too strong for them; and the carracks from the Indies, on which their chief hopes depended, had slipped into Lisbon, unseen. All these disappointments annoyed Sir John Hawkins to such a degree, that he could not refrain from writing an apology to the Queen for their want of success; reminding her Majesty that the Scripture says, "Paul planteth and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase." This allusion to Scripture elicited one of her usual bursts, "God's death!" she exclaimed, "this fool went out a soldier, and is come home a divine."

It is probable that the desire of increasing his wealth, redeeming his character with the Queen, or serving his country, all of them powerful motives, might induce him to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his person a second time in this dangerous service. But it has been said that he had a still more laudable object in view;—the redeeming his son, Captain Richard Hawkins, who was at this time a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards in South America.

Captain Hawkins had, in the year 1593, fitted out two ships for the South Sea; one of which deserted him on the coast of Brazil. He, however, in his single ship, passed through the Strait of Magelhaens, took two prizes on the other side, and was attacked on the coast of Peru by Admiral de Castro, with a squadron of eight sail, and 2000 men on board. From this overwhelming

force Hawkins, by superior seamanship, found means to disengage himself, after doing considerable damage to the Spaniards; but, in consequence of his staying too long in that part of the South Sea, in the hope of taking more prizes, De Castro, now much reinforced, again fell in with him; and after a gallant defence for three days and three nights, most of his men being killed, himself dangerously wounded, and his ship in a sinking state, he was compelled to surrender; on the honourable terms, however, that he and the survivors of his crew should have a free passage to England as soon as might be.

Notwithstanding this agreement, he remained a long time in South America as a prisoner; where, however, he was treated with great humanity by Admiral de Castro; and in the end was sent a prisoner to Spain, where he was kept for several years. What were the means which his father proposed to adopt for his release does not appear, whether by threats, or terror, or ransom.

That Drake should cheerfully join his early friend and patron in such a project is not surprising: his warm and affectionate regard for the man who had first brought him forward in his career, with whom he had fought against the Armada, and with whom he lived in ties of the strictest friendship, were quite sufficient to induce him to enter into the scheme. But he had another still stronger inducement—the inveterate hatred he bore the Spaniards, who, unceasing in their animosity towards England, were contemplating another Invincible Armada. He was also anxious to propitiate the Queen by the offer of his services, which he had every reason to know would be acceptable. Monson, in his usual caustic manner, says—

“These two Generals (Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins), presuming much upon their own experience and knowledge, used many arguments to persuade the Queen to undertake this voyage to the West Indies, assuring her what great services they should perform, and promising to engage very deeply in the adventure themselves, both with their substance and their persons: and such was the opinion every one had conceived of these two valiant Commanders, that great were the expectations of the success of this voyage.”

The squadron which the Queen ordered to be fitted out to act against the Spanish colonies in America, and to be placed under

the command of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, consisted of the following ships and commanders—

The *Defiance*, Admiral Sir Francis Drake.

Garland, Vice-Admiral Sir John Hawkins.

Hope, Captain Gilbert York.

Buonaventure, Captain Troughton.

Foresight, Captain Winter.

Adventure, Captain Thomas Drake.

Commander by land, Sir Thomas Baskerville.

About twenty others were furnished by individuals; and there can be no doubt that both the Admirals were large contributors of the expense. There were also three other officers, of the name of Baskerville, besides the Commander, two of them captains, and one sergeant-major; also Sir Nicholas Clifford, lieutenant-general, and eight other captains for the land service.

The destination of the expedition was Puerto Rico; to which place the Queen had been informed that a vast treasure had been brought for the purpose of being sent home for the use of the King of Spain in completing the third grand armament for the invasion of England, the second having been destroyed by Drake. One grand object of the present enterprise was to intercept this treasure, and thereby cut off the main supply of the King's navy and army destined for that purpose.

The first intention, however, had been to land the troops at *Nombre de Dios*, and proceed direct from thence over the isthmus to Panama, in order to seize the treasure, annually brought thither from the mines of Mexico and Peru: but, a few days before their departure from Plymouth, they received letters sent by order of the Queen, informing them that advices had been received from Spain, announcing the arrival of the West Indian or *Plata* fleet; but that one of the most valuable of the ships had lost her mast and put into the island of Puerto Rico; and it was therefore her Majesty's recommendation that they should proceed direct to that island, to secure this portion of the treasure, more especially as it was not much out of their way to *Nombre de Dios*.

The following is the joint reply of Drake and Hawkins to Lord Burleigh, acknowledging the receipt of her Majesty's

letter. It appears to have been the last dispatch that either of them ever wrote :—

DRAKE AND HAWKINS TO LORD BURLEIGH.

OUR dewty in most humble maner remembryd, yt may please yo^r L^o ship we have answeyrd her Ma^{tie}s letter, we hope to her heighnes contentment whome we wold nott wetyngly or wyllngly displease. We humbly thanke your L^o ship for yo^r manyfold favours w^{ch} we have allwayes fownd never varyable, but wth all favour, loue and constancye for w^{ch} we can never be suffyciently thanckfull but w^t our prayers to god long to blesse yo. good L^o ship w^t honour & healthe.

We thynke yt be trew that some small man of warre be taken upon the cost of spayne but they are of very small moment, they be for the most pt soche small carvells as was before this taken from the Spanyards, some small number of our men are yet in spayne, w^{ch} ys the onely losse, but, as we lerne, ther be not above one hundrethe left in spayne of them but many retornyd, alreddy into Ingland.

& so loking daylye for a good wynd we humbly take our leve from plymothe the 18 of August 1595.

Your ll. ever most bownden

FRA: DRAKE.

JOHN HAWKINS.*

(Note in a contemporary hand, at the bottom of the letter.)

The q. sent these two brave sea captaines wth a Fleet to Porto Rico in America, belonging to y^e Spanyard, having heard of a great mass of tresure brought thither. But it is proved an unsuccessful attempt. And neither of y^m returned ever home again, both dying at sea at different places, in this voyage.

To the Ry^t honorable

our syngular good lord the Lo. heigh Tresorer of Ingland,
gyve this at the Court.

The expedition left Plymouth on the 28th of August, 1595, but did not get clear of the land till the last day of that month. They then directed their course to Grand Canary, the principal island of the group that bears that name, but did not reach it until the 27th of September. An attempt to subdue this island, and take possession of it, failed. Hawkins had remonstrated against this attempt as a loss of time, and as being contrary to the Queen's wishes and to their main design: but Drake and Baskerville decided for it; and particularly the latter, who undertook to get possession of it in four days; urging that it would be very desirable to victual the whole squadron there, which could only be done by having uninterrupted possession of the town. The seamen, it was said, were already complaining of the scarcity

* Harleian MSS., British Museum.

of provisions; and so many reasons were assigned that Hawkins reluctantly submitted. This decision turned out to be the first misfortune in their progress; for they were unable to land the fourteen hundred men in the boats on account of the surf, without incurring too great a risk. However they succeeded in watering the ships on the western side of the island. Here Captain Grimston, and his boat's crew, straggling to some distance from the shore, were set upon by some herdsmen, who with their dogs and staves killed him and most of his men, wounded the rest, and took the surgeon of one of the ships prisoner. This man told them all he knew concerning the object of the voyage; upon which the governor dispatched a caraval to all the places he had named to announce the danger.

Leaving this island and approaching Martinico, Drake, who was a-head with four or five ships, was separated from the rest of the fleet by a sudden storm; but they joined company at Guadaloupe. Here they watered, washed the ships, set up the pinnaces, the materials of which they had carried out, and landed the men, that they might refresh themselves on shore.

On the 8th of November the squadron came to anchor within the Virgin Islands: here they stayed four days; the two last in a sound, which Drake in his barge had discovered. They then stood for the eastern end of Puerto Rico, where Sir John Hawkins breathed his last on the 12th of the month. It is asserted by some of the old writers that there was some difference of opinion between him and Drake, which preyed on his mind so greatly as to cause his death: there does not, however, appear to have been any disagreement between them, except as to their stay at the Canaries; and that was owing chiefly to the confidence expressed by the military commander. The unfortunate circumstance of their whole plan of operations being anticipated by the authorities of Nombre de Dios and Panama, no doubt gave him a considerable degree of annoyance; ~~but his great age, and exposure to a most unhealthy climate, which was carrying off~~ hundreds of stronger men, sufficiently account for his death.

Sir Thomas Baskerville took possession of the Garland as second in command; and the fleet came to anchor at the distance of two miles or less from the eastern side of the town of San Juan de Puerto Rico,

“Where,” says Hakluyt, “we received from their forts and places, where they planted ordnance, some twenty-eight great shot, the last of which strake the Admiral (ship) through the misen, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the steerage, the General being there at supper, and strake the stool from under him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table Sir Nicholas Clifford, Mr. Browne, Captain Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and Master (Brute) Browne died of their hurts.”

Browne was an old friend and particular favourite of Drake ; who is said on this occasion to have exclaimed, “Ah, dear Brute, I could grieve for thee ! but now is no time for me to let down my spirits.” This, Fuller tells us, he had from Henry Drake, who was present.

The following morning the whole fleet came to anchor before the point of the harbour without the town, a little to the westward, where they remained till nightfall ; and then twenty-five pinnaces, boats, and shallops, well-manned and furnished with fire-works and small shot, entered the road. The great castle or galleon, the object of the present enterprise, had been completely repaired, and was on the point of sailing, when certain intelligence, of the intended attack by Drake, reached the island. Every preparation had been made for the defence of the harbour and town ; the whole of the treasure had been landed, and the galleon was sunk in the mouth of the harbour ; a floating barrier of masts and spars was laid on each side of her, near to the forts and castles, so as to render the entrance impassable ; within this breakwater were the five zabras moored, their treasure also having been taken out ; all the women and children and infirm people were removed into the interior, and none but men able to act in defence of the town were left in it. A heavy fire was opened on the ships of the English ; but the adventurers persisted in their desperate attempt, until they had lost, by their own account, some forty or fifty men killed, and as many wounded ; but as far as that was any consolation, they had reason to believe that the loss to the Spaniards was considerably greater ; for the five zabras and a large ship of four hundred tons were burnt ; and their several cargoes of silk, oil, and wine, which were destroyed, were reported by one of the prisoners to be worth three millions of ducats, or five-and-thirty tons of silver. Defeated in the main object, but not disheartened, the advanced party of pinnaces and small vessels, which had been engaged, returned to the fleet in the

offing, which remained at anchor the next day ; and then removed to the south-west point of the island to set up more pinnaces, wash the ships, and refresh their crews.

They next proceeded to the Caribbean shore, and took the town of La Hacha ; but were satisfied with a ransom offered by the inhabitants of thirty-four thousand ducats. From hence they proceeded along the coast, and took the town or village of Rancheria, after seizing a quantity of pearls, with other pillage, and a brigantine, having on board some pearls and silver. The inhabitants at length consented to pay a ransom for the town of twenty-four thousand ducats, and one prisoner promised to give four thousand ducats for his own ransom. In four days they brought the town's ransom in pearls, but rated them so dear that Drake refused to receive them ; he, however, gave the people a respite of four hours to bring the required amount of treasure.

The Spanish Governor himself now made his appearance, and told the General plainly that he cared not for the town, neither would he ransom it ; that the pearls were brought without his consent ; that he should have been sooner on the spot, but that he had to warn all the towns on the coast of their danger, that the inhabitants might convey all their goods, cattle, and wealth into the woods. The General dismissed him, having given him his promise of safe conduct for two hours. The towns of Rancheria and of Rio de la Hacha were then burnt down to the ground, excepting the churches and the house of a lady, who, having written to Drake, imploring his clemency, was specially favoured by him.

The expedition afterwards burnt several other small villages on the coast, and then took possession of Santa Martha ; which, when it was ascertained that no ransom whatever could be obtained for it, they also burnt.

After these operations, as little interesting as they are creditable to the English character, but which it cannot be doubted originated, not in Drake's free will, but in the instructions under which he acted, they proceeded to the port of Nombre de Dios, which had been originally intended as their first destination. The town was easily taken, after a short resistance from about 100 Spaniards, all the rest having fled. A volley from three or four small pieces of ordnance and a few musket shots sufficed

to clear the town; but the captors, finding neither booty nor ransom, destroyed the place with all the frigates, barks, and galliots that were in the harbour and on the beach: those on the beach had houses built over them to keep the pitch from melting. In a watch-house on the top of a hill, near the town, they found twenty "sowes" of silver, two bars of gold, some pearl, coined money, and other trifling articles.

It was now decided that an attempt should be made on Panama; where it was considered as almost certain that a large quantity of treasure would be found, that place being the grand repository of all the Peruvian gold and silver. For this purpose 750 soldiers were selected to march across the isthmus to Panama, under the command of Sir Thomas Baskerville. Whether he relied on receiving the same cordial assistance from the Symérons, or Maroons, which Drake had formerly had, does not appear; but if so, he must have been grievously disappointed; for the natives proved enemies instead of friends, and greatly harassed the English with showers of small shot from the woods on their passage through some narrow defiles. "The march was so sore," says Hakluyt, "as never Englishmen marched before." Finding, moreover, that further on, the pass was defended by three newly-erected forts, it was deemed prudent to abandon the enterprise and make the best of their way back to the fleet. Accordingly they retraced their steps, wretchedly harassed, and half-starved; after having marched about half way to the shore of the South Sea. Their loss on this occasion amounted to five or six officers and nearly ninety men.

This change of circumstances in the two important stations of Nombre de Dios and Panama, since Drake's celebrated visit, might readily have been expected: but it is evident that the new forts on the isthmus had been erected in consequence of the information recently received; and that the extraordinary delay in the expedition, occasioned by their having visited and alarmed so many different places, had given the Spaniards full time to complete them. This was a bitter mortification to Sir Francis Drake; and, sick as we learn he already was, no doubt greatly tended to accelerate his death. The closing scene of his eventful life is thus given by Hakluyt:—

"On the 15th January, on their way towards Puerto Bello, Captain Plat

died of sickness, and then Sir Francis Drake began to keep his cabin and to complain of a scowring or fluxe. On the 23rd they set sail and stood up again for Puerto Bello, which is but three leagues to the westward of Nombre de Dios.

"On the 28th, at 4 of the clock in the morning, our General Sir Francis Drake departed this life, having been extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to stop on him. He used some speeches at, or a little before, his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe, within one hour died."

"They moved on to Puerto Bello, and after coming to anchor in the bay, and the solemn burial of our Generall in the sea, Sir Thomas Baskerville being aboard the *Defiance*, where Mr. Bride made a sermon, having to his audience all the Captaines in the fleete. Sir Thomas having commanded all aboard the *Garland*, with whom he held a council, and there showing his commission, was accepted for Generall."

He received a sailor's funeral very near to the place where his great reputation was first established: his body was committed to the deep in a leaden coffin, with all due solemnity.

After such a loss, coming as it did after so many others, all idea of further proceedings was abandoned; and the expedition returned home, under the command of Sir Thomas Baskerville. On their voyage they were attacked near the Isles of Pines, off Cuba, by a Spanish fleet of twenty sail, being a part of the sixty ships sent out from Carthagena to intercept the English fleet, the remainder having directed their course to the Havana. Baskerville in the *Defiance*, and Troughton in the *Garland*, gave them so warm a reception that, after an action of two hours, in which several of their best ships were damaged, and one of them set on fire and burnt, they sheered off. The Spaniards, however, as usual, published a vapouring account, in which they asserted that the English ran away, and that they pursued them, but could not overtake them. Monson says that their General, Don Bernardino, "who had a string of names as long as a cable," was an approved coward, and showed himself to be such when he encountered the English fleet; but that his cowardice was compensated for by the valour of his Vice-Admiral, Juan de Garay, who behaved himself bravely.

Don Bernardino certainly proved himself to be a poltroon. When Baskerville learned the scandalous falsehood which he had published, he demanded satisfaction; and told him that he was ready to meet him in any spot, or in any country that he would

name, which was at peace with Spain and England; but the Don thought it best not to answer the call, and quietly submitted to be publicly branded as a vain boaster and a coward.

The English expedition reached home in the beginning of May, 1596, with very little booty: the small towns which had been burned, and the ships which had been destroyed, were but a poor recompense for the loss of two of the ablest sea-officers in Europe.

That the loss of Drake was severely felt is sufficiently manifested by the numerous testimonials as to his services and character that appeared in verse and prose; and his mental and personal qualifications were set forth in glowing terms by several of the old annalists; particularly by Stow and Fuller. The former says,

“He was more skillfull in all poyntes of nauigation then any that ever was before his time, in his time, or since his death; he was also of a perfect memory, great observation, eloquent by nature, skillfull in Artillery, expert and apt to let bloud, and give physick unto his people according to the climate; he was low of stature, of strong limbs, broad breasted, round headed, browne hayre, full bearded, his eyes rounde, large and clear, well favoured, fayre and of a charefull countenance. His name was a terror to the French, Spanyard, Portugall and Indians; many Princes of Italy, Germany, and other, as well enemies as friends, in his life time desired his picture. He was the second that euer went through the Straights of Magellanes, and the first that euer wente rounde about the worlde: he was lawfully married unto two wives both young, yet he himself and ten of his brethren died without issue: he made his younger brother Thomas his heire, who was with him in most and chiefest of his Employments; in briefe hee was as famous in Europe and America as Tamberlayne in Asia and Affrica.

“In his imperfections he was { Ambitious for Honor.
Unconstant in Amity.
Greatly affected to popularity.

“He was fifty and five yeares old when he died.”

“If,” says Fuller, “any should be desirous to know something of the character of Sir Francis Drake’s person, he was of stature low, but set and strong grown: a very religious man towards God and his houses, generally sparing the churches whereever he came: chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, merciful to those that were under him, and hating nothing so much as idlenesse: in matters (especially) of moment, he was never wont to rely on other men’s care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be, but always contemning danger, and refusing no toyl; he was wont himself to be one (who ever was a second) at every turn, where courage, skill, or industry, was to be employed.”

Galled as Spain had been for so many years by the numberless victories obtained over her by Drake, it is not surprising that her writers should have treated his memory severely; but it is to be regretted that so eminent a poet as Lopez de Vega should have indulged in such invective as he has done, in his poem called *Dragontea*. Even Lord Holland, the great admirer of this man, says that his poem is full of virulent and unpoetical abuse; he might have added that it is a tissue of falsehood and blasphemy, as scandalous and revolting as ever was committed to paper; and not against Drake alone, but also against Queen Elizabeth and all her gallant officers. Describing the death of Sir Francis Drake, he says,

“His own people, instigated by the furies, gave him poison; that being aware of it he refused all food, but then the poison was concealed in his medicine, and thus worked its effect. Behold the desolation and the ruin of this bold and untameable man. Behold the miserable kind of death that has dragged the soul from the body into hell.”*

The traitor Allen, although he ceased his persecuting slanders of Drake, after his death, yet ordered his portrait to be removed from a painter's collection in Rome, where it happened to be placed next to that of Philip.

“At the sight of this,” says Strype, “the Cardinal's Mace-bearer (Allen) was enraged with many passionate Italian words, as an insufferable indignity

* It is somewhat curious to see our gallant Admiral assume the character of a poet. In the year 1583 a book was published by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, entitled “A True Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the righte of the Crowne of Englande, of the *New found Landes*,” to which, as was usual in those days, was appended “Commendations by principal persons friendly to the author or the work.” Among these we find the following:—

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, KNIGHT, IN COMMENDATION OF THE ABOVE TREATISE.

“Who seekes by worthie deedes to gaine renowne for hire,
 Whose hart, whose hand, whose purse is prest to purchase his desire,
 If anie such there bee, that thirsteth after fame,
 Lo, heere a meane, to winne himself an everlasting name;
 Who seekes by gaine and wealth to advance his house and blood,
 Whose care is great, whose toile no lesse, whose hope is all for good,
 If anie one there bee that covettes such a trade,
 Lo heere the plot for commonwealth, and private gaine is made,
 He that for vertue's sake will venture farr and neere,
 Whose zeale is strong, whose practize trueth, whose faith is void of feere,
 If any such there bee, inflamed with holie care,
 Heere may hee finde a readie meane, his purpose to declare.
 So that for each degree, this Treatise dooth unfolde,
 The path to fame, the prooffe of zeale, and way to purchase golde.

“FRANCIS DRAKE.”

offered to that great Catholic King. And this was not all, but notice was immediately given by him to the Cardinal at the palace; and a messenger despatched back to put Drake's picture down; though the painter himself, out of fear, presently did it, and notwithstanding came to trouble about it. It is well if Drake were not *now* burnt in effigy."

Monson, who seizes every occasion to say anything ill-natured of Sir Francis Drake, expresses himself thus when speaking of his death—

"Sir Francis Drake, who was wont to rule fortune, now finding his error, and the difference between the present strength of the Indies, and what it was when he first knew it, grew melancholy upon this disappointment, and suddenly, and *I do hope naturally*, died at Puerto Bello."

This insinuation is as gratuitous as it is unfounded and uncharitable.

"Upon what," says Dr. Johnson, "this conjecture is grounded, does not appear; and we may be allowed to hope, for the honour of so great a man, that it is without foundation; and that he whom no series of success could ever betray to vanity or negligence would have supported a change of fortune without impatience or dejection."

Indeed, the whole course of Drake's life belies such an insinuation. ~~And surely at a time when death was mowing down hundreds both of officers and men, it is little surprising that the two commanders should not escape, both of whom had seen enough service to wear out any constitution.~~ Captain Henry Savile, who was in the same ship, says,

"Sir Francis Drake died of the flux which had grown upon him eight days before his death, and yielded up his spirit, like a christian, to his Creator, quietly in his cabin."*

The following parallel between Drake and Hawkins is from the pen of an anonymous writer (under the signature of R. M.) It is given in Prince's 'Worthies of Devon,' and appears to be drawn with fairness and truth:—

"They were both alike given to travelling in their youth, and in their more mature years. They both attempted many honourable voyages; as that of Sir John Hawkins to Guinea, to the isles of America, and to St. Juan de Ulloa; so likewise Sir Francis Drake, after many discoveries in the West Indies, and other parts, was the first Englishman that ever encompassed the globe, in which, as well as in his great knowledge of sea affairs, he far

* Hakluyt.

exceeded, not only Sir John Hawkins, but all others. In their natures and dispositions they differed as much as in their management of war. Sir Francis was of a lively spirit, resolute, quick, and sufficiently valiant; Sir John, slow, jealous, and difficult to be brought to a resolution. In council, Sir John Hawkins did often differ from the judgment of others, making a show in difficult cases of knowing more than he would declare. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every man's opinion, but commonly a follower of his own. He never attempted any action wherein he was an absolute commander but he performed it with great reputation, and could go through the weightiest concerns with wonderful ease. On the contrary, Sir John Hawkins was an undertaker of great things; but for the most part without fortune or success.

"Sir John Hawkins naturally hated land-soldiers, and though he was very popular, affected to keep company with common people rather than his equals; Sir Francis, on the contrary, loved the land-soldiers, always encouraged and preferred merit wheresoever he found it, and was affable and easy of access.

"They had both many virtues, and agreed in some; as in patience in enduring labours and hardships; observation and remembrance of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers. In other virtues they differed: Sir John Hawkins was merciful, apt to forgive, and faithful to his word; Sir Francis Drake hard to be reconciled, but constant in friendship; and withal at the same time, severe and courteous, magnanimous and liberal. They were both ambitious to a fault, but one more than the other; for Sir Francis had an insatiable thirst after honour beyond all reason. He was full of promises, and more temperate in adversity than in prosperity. He had likewise some other imperfections, as quickness to anger, bitterness in disgracing, and was too much pleased with sordid flattery. Sir John Hawkins had malice with dissimulation, rudeness in behaviour, and was covetous in the last degree. They were both alike happy in being great commanders, but not equally successful. They both grew great and famous by the same means, that is, by their own virtues, courage, and the fortune of the sea. There was no comparison, however, between their merits, taken in general, for therein Sir Francis far exceeded."

To the united efforts of these two brave and indefatigable seamen the British navy in its infancy was more indebted than to any other individuals, or even to the government. By their joint efforts that noble institution, long known as the *Chest at Chatham*, was planned and carried into effect for the humane and wise purpose of relieving the wants and rewarding the merits of seamen maimed or worn out in the service of their country.

To the inhabitants of Plymouth the memory of Sir Francis Drake, their townsman, must ever be dear: daily and hourly, indeed, are they reminded of his good offices towards them, as

it is to his enterprise and exertions that they owe the enjoyment of one of the greatest blessings bestowed on mankind—a plentiful supply of good fresh water. Before his time the inhabitants were obliged to fetch their water and wash their clothes a mile from the town: but, by his great skill and industry, a stream of fine water was brought into the place. The springs from which it is derived are on the side of Dartmoor, and distant seven or eight miles in a direct line; but the natural course of the stream was twenty-five miles in length: this Drake, by cutting a passage for it through rocks, and carrying it over valleys, reduced to eighteen; and the works were completed in a period of less than a year. The whole of the expense was not defrayed by Sir Francis; as it appears from old records that a sum of about 350*l.* was granted by the corporation to pay the damages to the proprietors of the lands. The revenue derived to the town at the present time is about 2000*l.* a-year, and is applied to public purposes. Sir Francis built several mills and divers conduits on the stream: of these he had a lease for sixty-seven years.

The declared animosity of Spain rendered it necessary to pay special attention to the state of all the southern ports of the kingdom, both in England and Ireland. Plymouth was particularly exposed to attack, and had no fort or works for its defence. Sir Francis Drake, therefore, in co-operation with the magistracy, addressed a letter to the government. They asked in this letter that Lord Burleigh would move her Majesty to contribute towards the building of a fort, and that if 1200*l.* or 1000*l.* were granted, the inhabitants would never ask for more. That, with such a fort, they would be able to withstand the enemy, if they were even 50,000 strong, for ten or twelve days at the least; and that Sir Francis Drake would contribute, at the least, 100*l.* towards this object. They further requested that her Majesty would bestow on them eight or ten brass pieces of ordnance, and the rest they would themselves provide; stating that they had thirteen pieces planted on the Hoe, borrowed from sundry persons, and about twenty-three on St. Nicholas' Island (since called Drake's Island), the greater part of which were likewise borrowed.

The letter further stated, that at the time of the Armada such was the fear of invasion, that many of the inhabitants conveyed their goods and themselves out of the town, and others wo

have followed the example had they not been stopped by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake, who, to give them the greater confidence, brought his wife and family thither. The same document shows that on May-day, in each year, 1300 men, well appointed, were mustered upon the Hoe; and that Sir Francis established a watch and ward to be kept in the town every night, no less than if it were a garrison; every master tradesman to have the charge in rotation, and to watch till midnight, and then be relieved by his deputy. Sir Francis himself took the first watch.*

Whenever the exertions of Drake could be of use, publicly or individually, he was ever ready to afford his aid. It has been mentioned that during his mayoralty he caused "a compass to be erected on the Hoe-hill." What this *compass* was has been a matter of much doubt; whether a dial, a meridian line, or the points of the compass. No traces of any such thing now exist; but we know that it was there in the year 1720, one hundred and thirty-seven years after Drake had placed it. This appears from a book entitled 'Magna Britannia et Hibernia Antiqua et Nova,' printed in the year 1720, in which is the following passage:—

"Between this town (Plymouth) and the sea is an hill, called the Haw (Hoe), on the top of which is a delicate level or plain, which affords a very pleasant prospect on all sides, and a curious compass for the use of mariners."

One more instance may be given of Drake's ready and liberal support of any project of public utility. Hakluyt was anxious to establish a lecture in London on the art of navigation;

"For which cause," says he, "I have dealt with the right worshipfull Sir Francis Drake, that seeing God hath blessed him so wonderfully, he woulde do this honour to himselfe and benefite to his cuntry, to bee at the cost to erecte such a lecture: whereunto in most bountifull maner at the verie first he answered, that he liked so well of the motion, that he woulde giue twentie poundes by the yeare standing, and twentie poundes more before hand to a learned man to furnish him with instruments and maps, that woulde take this thing upon him: yea, so readie he was, that he earnestly requested mee to helpe him to the notice of a fitte man for that purpose, which I, for the zeale I bare to this good actiō, did presently, and brought

* Lansdowne MSS., British Museum.

him one, who came vnto him and conferred with him thereupon: but in fine he would not vndertake the lecture, vnlesse he might haue fourtie pounce a yeere standing, and so the matter ceased for that time: howbeit the worthie and good knight remaineth still constant, and will be, as he told me very lately, as good as his worde. Howe if God shoulde put into the head of any noble man to contribute other twentie pounce, to make this lecture a competet living for a learned man, the whole realme no doubt might reape no small benefite thereby."

Drake was greatly attached to Plymouth and its neighbourhood; and, in 1587, purchased of Sir Richard Grenville the house and domain of Buckland Monachorum, so called from having been the property of a society of Cistertian monks, whose house was suppressed in the reign of Henry VIII. The church of this convent was converted into a dwelling-house, and was the country residence of Sir Francis: it has always continued the residence of the Drake family. Buckland Abbey is situated on the banks of the Tay, ten miles from Plymouth; and its extensive buildings show the grandeur and solidity of such edifices. Here there is a full-length original picture of Sir Francis, AN. 1594, ætatis 53, and a framed copy of his patent of arms. There is also the sword and an old drum, which he had with him in his voyage round the world.

About a mile from the abbey is the village of *Buckland Monachorum*, which has a handsome church; within the walls of which are deposited the remains of some of the Heathfields and Drakes, to whose memory several marble monuments have been raised. On that to General Elliot, Baron Heathfield, is a long inscription which thus concludes:—

“He married Ann Polixen Drake, daughter of

Sir Francis Drake, Bart.,

Who lies interred near this spot;

And by her left a daughter, who was married to

John Trayton Fuller, Esq.”

The descendant of this gentleman succeeded to the Drake property, and took the name and the armorial bearings. He was created a baronet in 1824, and is the present Sir Thomas Trayton Fuller Elliot Drake, of Nutwell Court, Buckland Abbey, Sherford and Sheafhayne House.

Drake's town residence was an old royal palace near the Steelyard, in Thames-street, close by Dowgate Hill, called the Erber.

D, Hakluyt says, "Sir Francis Drake made his brother, Thomas Drake, and Captain Jonas Bodenham executors; and Mr. Thomas Drake's son his heir to all his lands except one manor, which he gave to Captain Bodenham." This is somewhat incorrect; but in the records of the Prerogative Court of Doctors' Commons there are two wills, one dated (blank) day of August, 1595, apparently made in contemplation of going into action, as he sailed from Plymouth on the 28th of that month; the other, dated the 27th of January, 1596, the day before he died. In the first will Anthony Prowse, William Strode, and Christopher Harris are executors, and his cousins, Master Richard Drake and Thomas Barret, are named "rulers and overseers" of the will. By the last his brother Thomas was appointed sole executor: under both he was the residuary devisee and legatee of the real and personal estate.

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In that reign it was customary to present the Sovereign with some token of regard on New Year's Day, generally some device in gold, silver, or jewellery. In Nicholl's 'Progresses' we find it recorded that, in 1583, was—

"Given by Sir Francis Drake, onne sault of golde, like a globe standing upon two naked men, being the history of Jupiter and Pallas, with a woman on the top thereof, having a trumpet in her hand; the foot enamelled with flowers."

And again, in 1586,—

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This custom of New Year's gifts was laid aside in the early part of the reign of James I.

The latter part of the life of Drake, from 1590 to his last fatal voyage in 1595, appears to have been entirely occupied on objects of public utility and private benevolence. He was unquestionably, in conjunction with his two friends and colleagues, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher, the principal founder of our naval celebrity. He it was who first introduced the aid of astronomy into practical navigation; who laboured in the establishment of naval discipline, and in the art of preserving the health and efficiency of seamen; it was he who taught English sailors the advantage of *smartness*, activity, and good seamanship, by which they were enabled in their little barks to conquer the castellated galleons of the Spaniards. But the highest praise of this great man is contained in the words of Fuller, "*This our Captain was a religious man towards God and his houses, generally sparing churches where he came; chaste in his life; just in his dealings; true to his word; and merciful to those who were under him; hating nothing so much as idleness.*"

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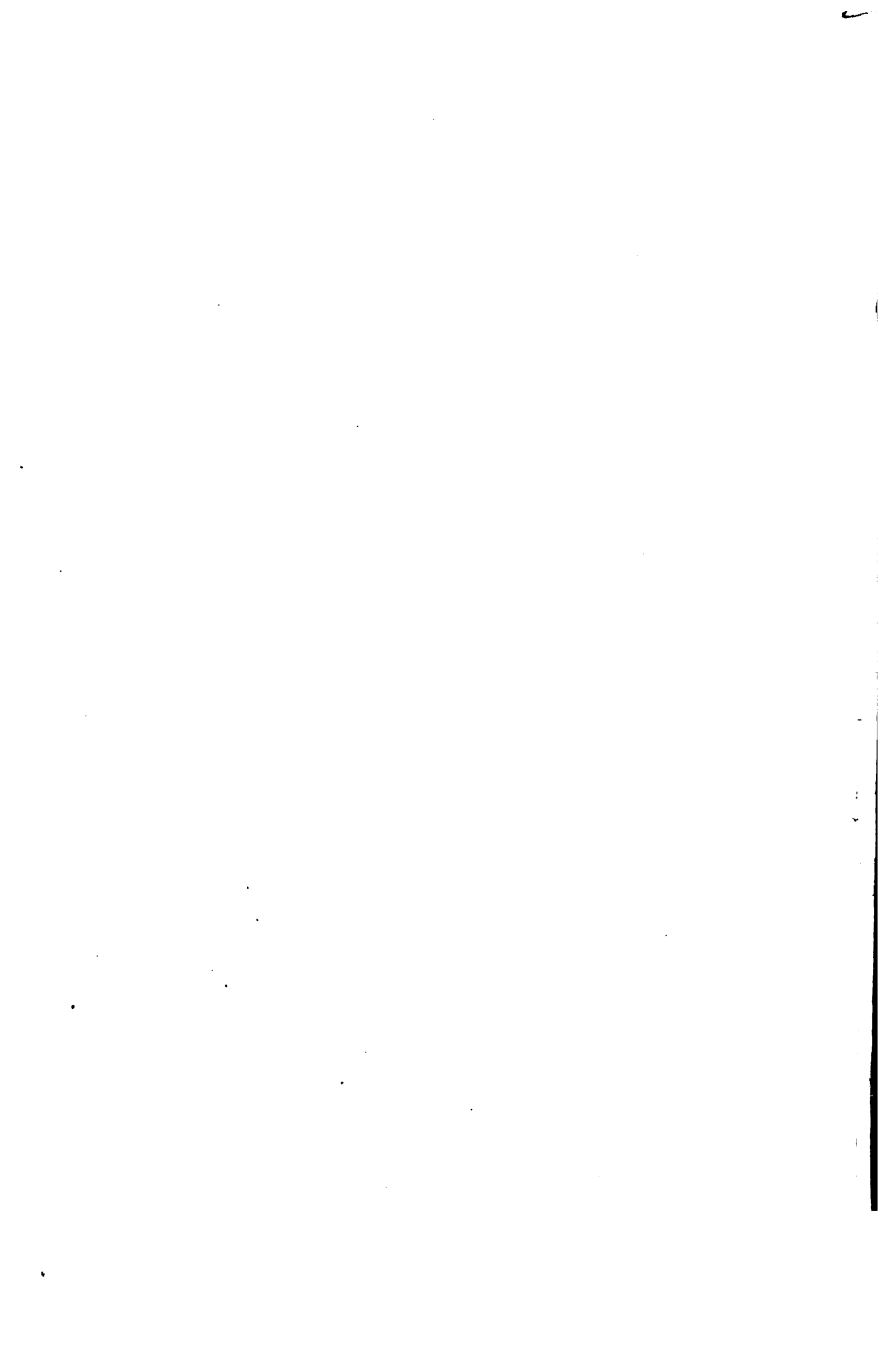
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