

I.

HONORS FAME IN TRIUMPH RIDING.

BY

ROBERT PRICKET.

"

(1604.)

II.

A Trve Coppie of a Discourfe

written by a Gentleman, employed in

the late Voyage of Spaine and

Portingale . . . 1589.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE

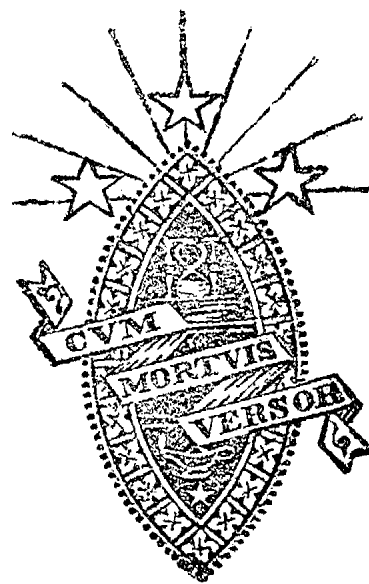
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INTRODUCTION.

I. *Honors Fame in Triumph Riding.*

THE following are other books (or booklets) by
ROBERT PRICKET, author of 'Honors Fame':

- (a) A Souldiers Wish Vnto His Soveraigne Lord King Iames. London, Printed by *John Hanson*, and are to be sold in Pater noster row, at the signe of the Grehound. 1603. (4to, 11 leaves.)
- (b) Vnto The Most High And Mightie Prince, his Soueraigne Lord King IAMES. A poore subiect fendeth, *A Souldiors Resolution*; humbly to waite vpon his Maiestie. In This Little Booke the godly Vertues of our Mighty King are specified, with discription of our late Queene, (and still renowned) Elizas Gouvernement: the Pope and Papists are in their true colours set forth, their purposes laid open, and their hopes diffolued, the happie peace of England is well described, and the long continuance thereof humbly prayed for. London, Printed by *John Windet*, for *Walter Burre*, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Crane. 1603. (4to, 24 leaves.)
- (c) Times Anotomie Containing: The poore mans plaint, Brittons trouble, and her triumph. The Popes pride, Romes treasons, and her destruction. Affirming that Gog, and Magog, both shall perish, the Church of Christ shall flourish, *Iudeas* race shall be restored, and the manner how this mightie worke shall be accomplished. Made by *Robert Pricket*, a Souldier: and dedicated to all the Lords of his Maiesties most honourable priue Councill. Multis pateo, non

multiloquis. Imprinted at London by *George Eld*,
and are to be sold by *Iohn Hodgets*. 1606. (8vo, 31
leaves.)

The whole of these have become extremely rare, but
exemplars are preserved in the British Museum Library.
One brief quotation from the first must suffice.

Thrife noble King, the wonder of our daies,
Giue leaue my Muse may speake thy vertues praise ;
A Souldiers hand made rough with Iron warre :
Not smoothly can with Poets lines conferre.
Aonian bankes he doeth not use to tread,
But march where *Mars* a warlike step doth lead :
If roughly then into his verse he breakes,
A Cannon's mouth, a boystrous languish speakes.
Thence doth he learne : for muskets, pikes and fwords,
Doe teach a souldier no great choice of words.
Yet in the hope of his dread soueraigne's loue,
A Poet's skill he thus desires to prooue.
Great peerelesse Prince, I need not to deriue
Thy lineal race, &c.

Here and elsewhere, we learn that the Author was a
Soldier. This fact gives additional interest and value to
his *Honors Fame in Triumph Riding* as a celebration of the
illustrious Essex. He saw 'service' with, and apparently
under, him ; and thus his enthusiasm for the brilliant Earl
is typical of the feeling cherished for him by the army, as
by all 'worthy' who came in contact with him. Pricket
was also present at the execution of Essex. The shocking
bungling of the headsman, as brokenly told by him, horrifies
even at this far-off day.

The claim of *Honors Fame in Triumph Riding* for our
revival of it, is nearly altogether personal, *i.e.*, as a contem-
porary memorial of Essex. As a poem — taken as a whole
— it is thin and poor enough — though not without touches
of music in the shortened closing couplet of his elegiac
stanza — but as a tribute from 'the ranks,' there is a pathos,
a loyalty of allegiance and love, a fine indignation, an un-
affected grief, that dims the eyes and brings a lump into

the throat still. I like this way of putting his *motif* — “For this little worke already done by me, with lowe submission I intreate your pardon: and do solemnly protest, that the unfained loue I beare vnto the late Honorable, and yet still honored Earle of Essex, hath with an ineuitable force caused me to make this briefe description of his life and death.” (p. 5). He was quite aware that there was peril for the passing time in any laudation of his great friend, *e.g.*, “Reade with respectiue diligence, haue greate regarde you do no iniurie, by setting any imposition in his wrong place: which you shall directly doe, if you beare my wordes against any, which doe not continue in place of honor, honorablye deseruing: for vnto them the Authour doth ascribe all honorable estimation” (p. 6). There was a sly hit in that “honorablye deseruing.”

I cull a few of the more noticeable things in this too long neglected Poem. Here is a plaintively harmonious stanza:

Vnhappie time that fent him from this land,
 Vnhappie warres that his imployment fought:
 Vnhappie broiles raif'd by rebellions hand,
 Vnhappie cause that fowle fuspition wroughte:
 Vnhappie all, for all vnhappie be,
 Vnhappie those that wisht his miserie:
 Vnhappie meanes that did direct,
 The cause to worke vntrue suspect. (p. 10, st. 1.)

As pointed out in the Notes and Illustrations, Bacon is repeatedly denounced, as thus:

Whilft noble honour shut vp in disgrace,
 Could not haue leaue to vertues *Queene* to goe:
 Before her throne to speake and pleade his case,
 And to her *Merciè* tell his griefes sad woe:
 Then in that time an vndermining wit,
 Did clofly frame all actions iumply fit.
 Molehills were to mountaines railde,
 Each little fault was much dispraisde. (p. 12, st. 1.)

Very pointed and interpenetrated with a regretful ruth,

are the allusions to Elizabeth's attitude. Most noticeable are these, which claim quotation in full and accentuation :

The beautie of all kingdoms *Peerlesse she*,
 Whilst breathing life did make her state to flourish :
 Would that in publike heard his case should be :
 Whose life she lou'd, and euer fought to nourish :
 But eloquence another plot comprisde,
 Which to be best, her *Highnesse* was aduisde.
 Herein lay hid the secret ill,
 She fought to chide, they fought to kill.

A priuate hearing was appointed then,
 VVhere loues best Lord to each thing answer must :
 The Councell graue with other noble men,
 Commiffion had to proue him false or iust :
 To throwe him downe he lendes a powerfull hand,
 VVho by his helpe was made aloft to stand.
 Obiections then with greatest force,
 Gainst honours Earle hild on their course.

Valiant, renownd, and magnanimious spirit,
 Submissiuelly his humble selfe did beare :
 His lowly meekenesse wonderous praise did merit :
 Of them who did his wisdomes answers beare :
 No traiterous act then staind his honours brow,
 No fault of his could treasons name allow.
 O heauens ! why then did after time,
 VVrap honours Lord in treasons crime ?

The *Queene* of iustice hearing what was done,
 That perfitte honour with an humble minde :
 With low submission to her throne did runne,
 And crau'd he might her mercies fauour finde :
 Her *Princely* heart contentments ioy imbrac'd,
 And in her loue, loues Lord againe was plac'd :
 Then was there hope that shortly he,
 To place in Court restorde should be.

But Enuie, why didst thou againe conspire ?
 Abusde occasion, why didst thou displease ?
 Suspition, why didst thou inflame new fire ?
 Were all agreed bright honours crest to sease ?
 What secret action did inact the thing,
 That discontent to *Mercies Queene* did bring ?
 She was appeasde ; what new sowne feede,
 Brought forth such fruite her wrath to breede ?

Was all things well, and all things ill so foone?
 Was no mistrust, and now mistrust abounding :
 Wa'ft then a time to light a torch at noone?
 Was honour the self-honours course confounding?
 Why this was strange, from Court to keepe him still,
 T'was not amisse to doubt some farther ill :
 Such worshippers of policie,
 Commits most fowle idolatrie. (pp. 13, 14, st. 1-6.)

Historically valuable are these further stanzas, which again must be given in full. They will reward meditative study.

Thus monthes and yeares in restles harbour toft,
 A patient hope endures a raging storme :
 Bright honors ship did find it selfe neare lost,
 His Cables burst, and all his tacklings torne :
 Through rockes, through cliffes, through walls of brasse,
 His noble minde did then resolute to passe :
 For if to *Thetis* get he could,
 Saue life, and men, and ship he should.

Thence did proceede the rigor of that day,
 VVhen haples life to liue did helpeles striue :
 Dispaire inrag'd did beare too great a sway,
 Hope could not at his wither haue arriue :
 Reuenge, mistrust and hate, preuention wrought,
 VVith bloody mouthes, they his destruction fought :
 From euill to worfe, poore Earle he fled,
 So was he to the slaughter led.

Guarded with friends, vntimely forth he goes,
 To raise a force so strong his part to take :
 As that he might remoue his settled foes,
 And to his *Queene* a quiet passage make :
 But fearefull hate did presently deuise,
 Proclayme him traytor ; out aloud he cries ;
 The name of traytor kild him dead,
 So he aliue was murdered.

Doubtles I thinke he had no Traytors hart,
 'Gainst *Queene* and State he did no treason plot ;
 No more did they that then did take his part :
 He only stroue 'gainst them that lou'd him not ;
 But yet the Lawe their act did treason make.
 Such hostile armes no subiects vp must take.
 Thus when he thought an euill to shun,
 A greater euill by him was done.

The Law hath past, Iustice his stroke hath strooke,
 And he is dead, yet shal he still furuiue :
 Vpon his honoured Vertues will I looke,
 And make them liue as were himfelfe aliue :
 He dyde for treason ; yet no Traytor. Why ?
 The Treason done, he did it ignorantly.
 Intent and purpose in the act,
 Is that which makes a Traytors fact.

But God forbid such Action should be good,
 As rashly into rude Combuftion throwes
 A kingdomes State, and wraps her breft in blood ;
 Where peace in pomp with glorious plenty growes.
 And for this cause, I thinke that *Iustice* ment,
 To make his death a mournfull Prefident :
 His tryall could example giue.
 Why did not *Mercy* let him liue ?

Because that *Mercy* not arightly knew
 His heart, whom *she* disloyall did account,
 Report did feed *her* taste with Gall and Rue ;
 For by his fall, some other vp must mount,
 And so they haue the Gallows top vnto ;
 For euer so may such like Mounters doe :
 But God is iust, so shall they finde,
 That lay their plots with bloudy minde.

(pp. 16, 17, 18, st. 1-7.)

I know not that the ultimate verdict on Essex and Elizabeth could be better summarized than in that felicitous —

“He dyde for treason ; yet no Traytor.”

And not less happy is the expression of the all-but-universal ‘feeling’ :

“His tryall could example giue.
 Why did not *Mercy* let him liue ?”

Very touching and precious is the ‘testimony’ to the emotion at the funeral :

And in my mind of Lords & Earles I view
 A mourning troup, whose looks all downward thrown,
 Told to the world, that they were mourners true ;
 They reapt the fruit that sorrowes seed had sown :

Ladies wife, fayre, and chafte, they weeping went,
 Sad time fad cause procur'd their discontent ;
 Though Law strict courfe of Iuftice kept,
 The moft and beft of all forts wept. (p. 19, st. 2.)

With relation to Sir Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr* (in this Series), most noteworthy are the titles and designations given to Essex, as "Noble honour" (p. 12, st. 1), "Loue's best lord" (p. 13, st. 2), "honour's Lord" (*ib.* st. 3), "perfite honour" (p. 14, st. 1), "loue's Lord" (*ib.*), "honor's ship" (p. 16, st. 1), and emphatically these stanzas :

Her Royall brest was fallſly oft accuſde,
 of cruell deeds but *She* was mercies childe :
 For honors death *She* well may be excus'd,
 by priuate tales rough worke was ſmoothly filde.
 Could he but once *Her* glories fight haue gaind,
 And vnto *Her*, his wrongs and woes complaind :
 Then had he liu'd, and that they knew,
 Whoſe hate her hart from him withdrew.

But could her eyes theſe weeping lines peruſe,
 her princely teares would ſhow hir forrows grieve :
 Her ſelfe would ſay, they did hir grace abuſe,
 that in that action were the actors chiefe.
 And truth to ſay, I think her *Maieſty* :
 Was chiefeſt mourner in that tragedy,
 Though now a fluent nimble wit,
 Can boldly play the polliticke. (p. 31, st. 1, 2.)

Equally noteworthy in the same connection is this impassioned stanza :

It's falſe to ſay, hee would a King haue bin ;
 From faith and honor he made no ſuch digreſſion :
 His heart was cleare from ſuch ſo foule a ſin,
 He alwayes ſtood for this approu'd Succeſſion
 Which happily doeth now the Throne poſſeſſe :
 Heauens mighty God protect his Mightineſſe.
 Dead Earle, amidſt bright Angels wings,
 Amen thy heauenly Spirit ſings. (p. 20, st. 2.)

Most interesting is the recognition of the Primate (Whitgift) and the Lord Chief Justice's 'friendship' for the Earl, while the personal reminiscences in the sequel, of what he was, are in every way right welcome :

Yet in the ranke of Honour, Honours grace,
 Reuerend, renown'd, religious, vertuous, learn'd,
 Graue, sober, chaste, vpheld a Primates place,
 Whose godly wifdome Englands eyes difcearn'd :
 His foule diuine was to that Earle a friend,
 Whom froward fate bequeath'd to fatall end :
 But now their foules in pureft loue,
 Liue with their Chrift in heauens aboue.

Then *Honours Seat*, and Wifdomes fountayne pure,
 Iudgemēt approu'd, the rule of Conscience found,
 His griued thoughts did woes extreme endure,
 As did his loue : fo did his griefes abound.
 A *Iuftice chiefe*, an equall loue preferres :
 No kingdome hath two worthyer *Iufticers* :
 Both thefe did mourne when Honour fell ;
 For both were knowne to wifh him well.

(p. 18, st. 3 ; p. 19, st. 1.)

These characterizations and laments are especially thank-
 worthy :

His Wifdome, Learning and his Eloquence,
 His well grac't fpeech and flowing vtterance,
 His quicke conceit and Wifdomes comprehence :
 All thefe rare Gifts his honour did aduance,
 And made him liue the Mirrour of our time,
 Beyōd whose worth, no worthier ftep could clime.
 God and Nature did confent,
 To make his Subftance excellent.

He was not proud, but humble, courteous, meeke :
 Ambitious then, who rightly terme him can ?
 From Articke Pole to the Antartike feeke,
 But neuer finde a brauer Gentleman :
 Croffe all the Zoans, and in no Clymate dwells
 A Vertue, that his Vertues worth excells :
 But he is dead, yet fhall he liue,
 Fame to his praife fhall honor giue.

Where's now the heart of Flint or Marble ftone,
 That mournes not for the losfe of him fo deare ?
 The *Flower* of a kingdomes pride is gone ;
 No time, no land brought forth a worthyer Beere :
 No King nor Queen a better feruant had,
 No Subiect more did make his countrey glad :
 And for his fault, to mourne with mee,
 Millions of weeping eyes I fee.

Who fo beheld the choise of natures arte,
 with noble prefence and Maieftick fteps,
 When from his chamber honor did depart,
 to place preparte a fatall death to fetch,
 Might there haue feene fhine in a princely eye,
 The beames of honour and nobilitie :
 Valiant prowefse, refolution rare,
 Vndaunted thoughts to death did beare.

He like himfelfe in roabes of honor clad,
 with countnance cleare and lookes heroic all,
 Went on as if in heart he had beene glad,
 to meete his friends at fome great feaftiuall.
 His noble minde the path of death did tread,
 As if it did vnto fome triumph lead,
 And thus by this thinke in thy thought,
 Thou fee'ft him to the fcaffold brought.

Nay weepe not yet, reade on, an Earle behold,
 as constant as in heauens celeftiall frame :
 See how he mounts with valiant courage bold,
 in bloud to write the letters of his fame.
 Vpon the fcaffold fee him walking now,
 To deaths fpectators doth he humbly bow :
 Oh her[e]'s a fight yet comes a worfe,
 To make the world that time to curfe.

(pp. 24, 25, st. 1-6.)

One shudders — as already noted — over the final scene :

Stay, pawfe, thinke, figh, weepe firft, & then read on,
 now comes a fight to rend woes hart in funder :
 No mournefull eye did euer looke vpon
 a wofull worke perform'd with greater wonder.
 Refolued honour now perceiue you may,
 All fearles for the ftroake of death doth ftay :
 His eyes, his lookes to heauen commends,
 The place to which his foule intends.

Bafe wretch, whose hand true honors bloud fhould spill,
 deaths axe did firft into his fhoulder ftrike :
 Vpreard againe he ftrikes a blow as ill,
 nor one nor other were directed right.
 Honor ne're moou'd : a third blow did deuide
 The body from the worlds admired pride :
 Was that the way to lofe a head,
 To haue an Earle fo butchered ?

From gaping wounds pure streames of bloud gush forth
 from azure vaines the foode of life distild :
 Wifedome, loue, faith, renowne and honor both,
 were all at once thus hackt, thus chopt, thus kild.
 There was a fight to send forth sorrowes flood,
 A Swanny whitenes wrapt in robes of bloud :
 But thinke you saw him, and for his sake,
 Then let your teares woes period make.

(p. 29, st. 1-3.)

I wish we knew more of this stout-hearted poet-soldier,
 ROBERT PRICKET.

II. *A True Coppie of a Discourse*

The 'Voyage' whose brave story is proudly told in this remarkable anonymous Discourse, fills a considerable space in the history of the period and in the 'Life' of Robert, Earl of Essex. Thither the Reader is referred for full accounts. The references to Essex himself are all most characteristic, and are all in gratifying harmony with the estimate formed of him by the 'judicial' and sympathetic historical student. I note these places as worthy of being turned to and returned upon : pp. 46, 52, 68, 74, 84, 87 and *passim*. Next to Essex come the sea-kings, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE and the NORRISSES—names that England will "not willingly let die." Next and near to them in achievement and contemporary renown, stands SIR ROGER WILLIAMS (pp. 69, 75, *et frequenter*). The mystery, as the sorrow is, that we should now know so little of him. I gladly fetch from JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD'S 'Wales to her Prince,' prefixed to Microcosmos, *his* celebration of this 'brave old English gentleman' :

Now, from the *Court*, descend we to the *Campe* :
 And from *those* elder times, to *these* of ours :
 There find we (no lesse currant for the *stampe*)
 WILLIAMS (world's wonder for his native *powers*)
 Out-daring *Death* in many *sanguine showres* :
 The finging *Bullets* made his *soule* reioice,
 As *Musicke* that the *hearing* most alures ;

And, if the *Canons* baf'd it with their voice,
He seem'd as raviſht with an Heav'nly noife.

And when the *Fo-mens* muſkets *ſpight* did ſpitt
Then would he ſpitt, in ſport, at them the while :
The *Blowes* his courage gaue, were plac'd by *witt*,
For *Witt* and *Courage* dwelt ſtill in his *ſtile* ;
While *Cowardize*, and *Folly* made them vile
Whoſe glory lay all in their *Ladies'* lappe,
And when he came to *Court*, at them would ſmile
Yea, ſmoothlie ieſt at their ſoft-filken *Happe*,
Yet could, like *Mars*, take there ſometimes a *napp*.

Runne over all the *Stories Tymes* affoord,
Or prie vpon them with the ſharpeſt fight,
We ſhall not finde one did more with his *ſword*
Than this braue *Brittaine*, and true *Troian-Knight*,
Who putt *Achilles* in his *Tent* to flight
By ſuch an over-dareing *Enterprize*,
As *all* that heare it, not beleue it might,
But that theſe *Tymes* haue ſeene it with their *Eies*,
And that the fame thereof to *Heaven* flies.

Quite through & through *Death's* grizely Iawes hee ran,
And made a way through *Horror's* vgli't *Hell*,
Yea, danted *Death*, more like ſome God, then *Man*,
Untill the *Prince*, and *Death* he did compell
To flie for life, which his *ſword* fought to quell :
O *Skinck*, how bleſſed wert thou in his loue
That drue thee on through *Death* to *Glorie's well*,
From whence the life of *Fame* doth flowing move
To all that for her fake ſuch *Dangers* prove !

Should I recount the pettie *Miracles*
By him perform'd, in his marſhall courſe,
My words would ſcarſe be held for *Oracles* :
Suffizeth me, the *World* (that knew his force)
Well knew his *Hart* was *Witt*, and *Valour's* ſource,
And they that moſt envie our *Brittiſh* fame
Muſt needs thus much of him confeſſe (perforce)
That whatſoeuer from this *Brittaine* came
Was *Witt* and *ſpright*, or favor'd of the fame :

But, ſhould I inſtance in *particular*,
What *Truth* doth warrant for the *Brittaines'* glory ;
I could (perhaps) runne vp their *Race*, as farre
As Ioue, and finde them famous'd in *ſtory* :
But, for in me it may be thought vaine glorie,

Sith being one, my felfe I seeme to praife,
 I will defist, although my *soule* be fory
 I should defist from that which many waies,
 Might *Camber* crowne with everlasting *Baies*.

(*Chertsey Worthies Library*, edn. of Davies, vol. i,
 Wales to her Prince before *Microcosmos*.)

As the Wingfields occur and recur in this Letter, I gladly
 give place here also to John Davies's sonnet to Sir Edward
 Wingfield, who is named at p. 71, *et alibi*:

*To the thrice Noble and valourous Knight
 Sir Edward Wingfields.*

To thee *Belona's* choicest *Champion*
 Whose *woundes*, if stept in dew of *Castalie*,
 (As they deserve) would make *thee* such an *one*
 As *Pagans* w'd for *God* to glorifie.
 How oft hast thou thy felfe to *wounds* expos'd
 To let in *glory* through thy goréd *sides* !
 That through thy *flesh* it might be so dispos'd
 As in each part thereof it now abides ?
 How prodigall hast thou bin of thy *bloud* ?
 No more is left then meere *life* maintaines :
 The fatt *Calfe* must be kill'd to do thee good
 Thy *hart* to comfort, and to fill thy *Vaines*.

O tis a glorious *prodigallitie*
 That spends *what* not? for *God & Conterie* ! (*Ibid.*)

Other English names, that, alas ! have long grown dim,
 come up in the 'service' remembered in this famous 'Voy-
 age.' Many of the details, as being those of an eye-witness,
 are of rare historical value.

Justifiable is this summary account of what had been
 done :

In this short time of our Adventure, wee have wonne a Towne by *escalade*,
 battred and assaulted another, overthrowen a mightie Princes power in the
 field, landed our Armie in three severall places of his Kingdom, marched seaven
 daies in the hart of his Countrey, lyen three nights in the Suburbes of his
 principall Citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of
 his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare :
 whereby I conclude that going with an Invadour, and in such an action as everie
 daie giveth new experience, I have much to vaunt of, that my fortune did
 rather carrie me thither, than into the warres of *Flanders*. (pp. 40, 41.)

Again :

Our Armie, which hath not cost her Maiestie much above the third part of one yeares expences in the Lowe Countries, hath alreadie spoyle a great part of the provision he had made at the *Groynes* of all forts, for a newe voyage into *England* ; burnt 3. of his ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeares expedition, taken from him above 150 pieces of good artillarie, cut off more than 60 hulkes and 20 French ships well manned, fit and readie to serve him for men of warre against us, laden for his store with corne, victualls, masts, cables, and other merchandizes ; flaine and taken the principall men of warre hee had in *Galitia* ; made Don Pedro Enriques de Guzman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his Forces in *Portingall*, shamefullie runne at *Penicha* ; laide along of his best Commanders in *Lisbone* : and by these fewe adventures discovered how easilie her Maiestie may without any great adventure, in short time pull the *Tirant of the World* upon his knees, as well by the disquieting his usurpation of *Portingall* as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his *Indies* from him, by sending an armie so accomplished, as may not be subiect to those extremities which we have endured : except he draw from those defences, his forces out of the Low Countries, and disfurnish his garrisons of *Naples* and *Milan*, which with safetie of those places he may not doo. (p. 42.)

Once more :

Yet hath the journey (I know) been much misliked by some, who, either thinking too worthely of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against us, or too unworthely of them that undertooke this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceede by invasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake. And, therefore, did not so advance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most uncertaine ; for what people forever undertake them, they are in deede but as chastizements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeares against some whome he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they be that have made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to have been none other than against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders : whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceipt of their mightlines, as they have confiderately undertaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people united, and alwaies held sufficientlie warlike : against whom, what successe their invincible Armie had the last yeare, as our very children can witnes, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are even upon their owne dounghill : which, had it been set out in such sort as it was agreed uppon by their first demaund, it might have made our Nation the most glorious people of the world.

(pp. 43, 44.)

There are some vividly told incidents of the War, *e.g.*, of Captain Sydenham :

Amongst them that the wall fell upon was Captaine Sydenham, pitifully loft ; who, having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was helde so fast, as neither himfelfe could stirre, nor anie reafonable Companie recover him. Notwithstanding, the next daye, being found to be alive, ther was 10 or 12 loft in attempting to relieve him. (p. 62.)

Again of Captain Minshaw :

There was also two Hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their boates to have relieved them, but could not be recovered ; in one of which was Captaine *Minshaw*, with his Companie, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himfelfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easilie judge by his long and good fight, that the Enemie could not but susteine much losse, who setting also upon one other Hulk wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he verie sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their Artillarie, and attempted to board her. And seeing, also, one other Hulke a league off, a sterne of us, they made towards her : but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her : whereby it seemed their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to proceed any further. (pp. 88, 89.)

Very beautiful is the manly godliness of the Writer throughout in the explicit recognition of the Divine Hand in all the ordering of event and circumstance, as thus :

That day, before the affault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloyster within the Towne, and manie other houses adjoining the Castle, to make it the more defensible : whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us sodainely made proud) laid that misfortune upon us, (p. 63.)

It is curious to come on *Toras Vedras* and *San Sebastian* (pp. 72-79,) and other places later renowned in the Peninsular War under Wellington. If I err not, one of the 'convents' named (p. 75) was the scene of one of the earlier deeds of daring of LORD CLYDE.

Very disdainful is the Englishman's scorn of Spain, as witness :

For, what civil Country hath ever suffred themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were ; to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannical

nized over thus long as they? And what Countrey living in flaverie under a stranger whom they naturally hate : having an Armie in the Field to fight for them and their libertie, would lie still with the yoke upon their neckes, attending if any strangers would unburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves under it but they : They will promise much in speeches, for they bee great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their Countrey : But they performed little in action, whereof we could have had no prooffe without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more than could be in reason expected of him : which had he not done, would not these maligners who seeke occasions of slander, have reported him to bee suspicious of a people, of whose infidelitie he had no testimonie : and to be fearfull without cause, if he had refused to give credite to their promises without anie adventure? Let no frivolous questionist therefore further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to *Lisbone*, and tarried there so small a while? (pp. 82, 83.)

The final appeal to Englishmen's sense of justice is of the 'higher strain':

Notwithstanding, there be, even in the same place wher those things have passed, that either doo not or will not conceive the Souldiers estate, by comparing their povertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some injuries upon the Generalls and the action. Where, and by the way, but especiallie here in *London*, I finde there have been some false prophets gone before us, telling straunge tales : For as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who desirous of honour, doo put themselves into the actions thereof, so dooth it manie more dull spirited, who though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet doo they listen how other mens acts doo passe, and eyther beleaving what anie man will report unto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than *Pauls* to enquire what hath been done in this Voyage : where, if they meete with anie, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them live, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complayning on the hardnesse and miserie thereof, they thinke they are bound to give credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in verie charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see anie of those malecontents (as everie journey yeeldeth some) doo runne unto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresawe before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleaving everie report, for you see there have been many more beholders of these things y^t have passed, than actors in the same ; who by their experience, not having the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, have thought that to lie hard, not to have their meate well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be

flaine, was a miserable thing; and not having so given their minds to the service as they are anything instructed thereby, doo for want of better matter discourfe ordinarilie of these things : whereas the journey (if they had with that judgement seen into it, and as their places required) hath given them farre more honorable purpofe and argument of discourfe. (pp. 93, 94.)

Again very noble and pathetic is this summary and argument :

[The Voyage] maye encourage us to take armes refolutely againft him, and I befeech God it may stirre up all men that are particularly interefted therein, to bethinke themfelves how small a matter will affure them of their fafetie, by holding the *Spaniard* at a baye, fo farre of : whereas, if wee give him leave quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will bee danger to us all.

He taketh not Armes againft us by anie pretence of title to the Crowne of this Realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious defire to command our Countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and Religion : Her Majesties Scepter is alreadie given by *Bull* to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewardes upon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition foever, are offered for fpoyle unto the common Souldier. Let everie man therefore in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the affurance of the rest. It were not much for euerie Iustice of peace, who by his blewe coate protecteth the properest and most serviceable men at everie muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men do put him to for one yere : nor for the Lawyer who rifeth by the diffentions of his neighbors, to take but one yeares giftes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder everie Officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Majesties Courtes, who without checke doo fodainlie grow to great wealth, honestly to bring foorth the myfticall commoditie of one yeres profites ? Or the Clergie, who locke precifely for the tenths of everie mans increafe, simply to bring foorth the tenth of one yeares gathering, and, in thankfulnes to her Majestie (who hath continued for all our fafeties, a most chargeable warre both at land and fea) bestowe the same, for her honour and their owne affuraunce, uppon an Armie which may make this bloodie Enemy, fo to knowe himfelfe and her Majesties power, as hee shall bethinke him what it is to moove a stirring people ? Who, though they have received some small checke by the sicknesse of this last Journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like Voyage were to be supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample provision) but there would of all fortes most willingly put themselves into the same : some caried with an honourable defire to be in action, and some in love of fuch, would affectionately follow their fortunes : some in thirsting to revenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends : and some in hope of the plentifull fpoyles to be found in thofe Countreyes, having been there alreadie and returned poore, would defire to goe againe, with an expectation to make

amends for the laft : and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honor of our own, would with courage take Armes to hazard their lives againft them, whom everie good Englifh man is in nature bound to hate as an implacable Enemie to *England*, thirfting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring us under the yoke of perpetuall flaverie. (pp. 99, 100, 101.)

In reproducing this ‘Discourfe’ with all care, I feel assured that every one of my constituency will welcome it as a priceless contemporary narrative from a Writer of fine intellect and culture and every inch a gentleman and patriot. I regret to be constrained to say that for his limited reprint (30 copies?) of the ‘Discourse,’ Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER must have been deplorably served by his Copyist from title-page to close. That is all I care to say of one so venerable and praiseworthy.

The upright line (|) in our reprint, marks the end of a page of the original. Title-page and pages 37-38 are examples of page for page reproduction.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

*St. George’s Vestry,
Blackburn, Lancashire,
25th July, 1881.*

NOTE.

The Reader will be so good as make the following corrections of misprints, for which our Printer alone is responsible :

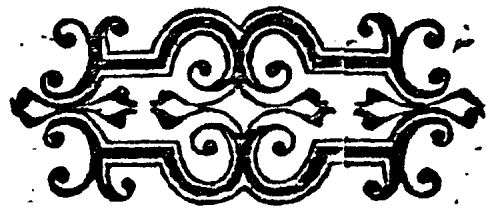
- Page 41, line 21, read ‘France’ for ‘Frauce.’
- „ 62, „ 9 (from bottom), read ‘earth’ for ‘earte.’
- „ 91, „ 18, read ‘seeing’ for ‘seeking.’
- „ 94, „ 10 (from bottom), read ‘judgments’ for ‘judements.’

H O N O R S
F A M E I N T R I V M P H
R I D I N G.

(***)

OR,
THE LIFE AND DEATH
OF THE LATE HONORA-
BLE EARLE OF ESSEX.

(***)



L O N D O N,
Printed by *R. B.* for *Roger Iackfon*, and are to be
folde at his Shoppe in *Fleet-streete*, neere the
Conduit. 1604.

TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE THE
EARLES OF SOUTHAMPTON

and Deuonshire, and the Lord KNOYLES

Baron of Grayes, *R.P.* wisheth all in-
crease of honor, and endlesse happinesse.



Ight honorable, and worthily renowned
Lords, such is the mutabilitye of times
vnconstant motion: as that things wel done
cannot challenge, to themselves, the cer-
tainty of their euent, nor without suspect of
euill (misconstrued imputation) build their hope. And when
the wel meaning actions of mighty men cannot (in perma-
nent stability) stand cleared from the after-rayf'd-vp misty
Meteors which may encomber them: what then shoulde
I expect (being no other then pouerty it selfe) but that this
work, by me aduentured shoulde with my self dangerously run
vpon vncertaine hopes? although the vprightnes of my
conscience vowes, I haue not herunto bin lead by any parti-
cular inuectiue spleen or turbulent affection: only a priuate
consideration made me thinke, that it might now be a time
in which the praise of honours worthines might haue his
place, and not any longer by a violent imposition be taxed
with vndeferued euill. It were inhumane tyranny, to forbid
the vertues of the dead to be cōmended: and no lesse cruelty
to charge the deceased with vncōmitted offences. There are
certain polititians in this age, not vnlike the Grecian Ora-
tors, which *Diogenes* called *τρισανθρωπους*, thrise double men:
their tongues and pens are miserably valiant: they may well
be

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

be tearmed three times thrife double minded men: theyr ayery statiōs tottering stands aloft, like windmils placed vpon a mountayns top, whose sayles can turne themfelues to embrace the benefit of each variable blast: but, being climbd vnto an extraordinary height, are oft times by an vnexpected storme sodainly throwne headlong downe, and broken at the mountains foote: leauing their recuerlesse ruines to remayne vnmoaned monuments of their presumptuous mounting. Some golden mony mouthed eloquence, that vseth a detractors Oratory, may stop the vnequall current of his fine wits most grofs ingendred flux, by fetching from the tyrant *Nero* a very wel prescribed documēt. For plaine by thus his affirmation sayth: that it is no part of a wise man thence to draw credit to himselfe, from whence proceedeth discredit to his friend. Is it not maruell that a rhetoricall politician should be lesse wise then wicked *Nero* was? & that his sentence shoulde directly call him foole? yet thus it happeneth, when with the change of time, Time seruers vse to say, *Hac non successit: alia aggrediendum est via.*

When honor and vnstained nobility, by ill aduise and in considerate thoughts, vntimely falls into some daungerous accident: then though the lawe, in robes of iustice armd, with quick pursuite doth follow euills amisse: yet should no triumph on such dependance dwell: as if his wiht-for time of triumph were imbrac't, when he might glory in honored vertues fall: and like a lumpe of proude degenerate brafen insolence, euen in the gall of enuie, hate, and malice steeped, scornfully impugne the honor of a Lands renowned noblenesse. God, with my soule, an vncontrowled witnes beare: I not desire to speake against the iustice of the lawe, nor any honorable magistratre in place of Councel or of gouernment: only my words may neerly glance at such whose proud demeanour, & insulting

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

ting violence, made to the world an apparant demonstration that they were most ioyfull actors in a mournfull tragedy : but now the iustice of the heauens decree hath most iustly throwne themselues vnto the stroke of the selfe same iudgement. And now, my honorable Lords, when I looke back vnto my owne vnworthinesse, my Muse doth found retrayte, and bids me stay the further occurrence of some other things, which wold most willingly be issuing forth. And for this little worke already done by me, with lowe submission I intreate your pardon: and do solemnly protest, that the unfained loue I beare vnto the late Honorable, and yet still honored Earle of Effex, hath with an ineuitable force caused me to make this brieue description of his life and death. And though I desire to be freed from a Poets name ; yet because the musick of a mourning verse doth best comfort with forrowes passion, I haue made choyse thereof, in hope your LL. will be pleased to excuse my vnpolisht, rough, vnsmoothed Poetry. My greatest studie with religious care hath sought to build my words vpon the ground of truth : & hauing brought my labor to an end, I knew not better vnto whome to dedicate the same, then to your Honors. Not for my sake then, but for his, whose vertues I desire should liue, be pleased to receiue this well meaning worke into your loues protection : and thus, with all submissiue humbleness, a souldier humbly throwes his liues seruice at your Honors feet.

Yours, in all dutifull obedience,

R. P.

To

To the Reader, health.



Lthough, right courteous Reader, my former writings haue not so imbouldned me, as that I shoulde againe aduenture to bring my selfe vnto so miserable a punishment, as the third time to indure the presse: yet choosng rather to dy, then not to manifest my loue vnto an honorable deceased Earle, I haue, out of the affectiō of an honest mind, desired to set before your eyes the fame of honor, in his Triumph riding and doe hope, that for his sake, whose liuing vertues I labour to commend, this worke of mine shall bring it selfe into your kinde acceptance. And as you desire that the plants of honor, now established, shoulde florish with a glorious dignity, doe not choose out any one particular, whose fame and prayse you will desire to follow, with the generality of a popular estimation: nor inuolue the person of a noble man in the ayerie cloudes of your intemperate *Aue*: leaſt the honour, which you most desire to preſerue, bee vntimely poyſoned by your breath: of which euent, this after following briefe description contaynes a mournefull ſpectacle. Reade therefore with reſpectiue diligence, and haue greate regarde, you do no iniurie, by ſetting any imposition in his wrong place: which you shall directly doe, if you beare my wordes againſt any, which doe now continue in place of honour, honorablye deſeruing: for vnto them the Authour doth aſcribe all honourable eſtimation. Thus the good opinion of eache well affected reader he deſireth, whose hearte preferreth theyr content before his owne, whose life is readie in a ſouldiers place, vnto the laſt article of death, to manifest the vnſayned loue he beareth vnto his countries publicke benefite. *Vale.*



Honors fame, in Triumph riding.

From forth the dust, my lines desire to rayfe
bright honors fame, in triūphs state to ride,
Whose liuing worth did so adorne his prayfe,
as that his glory shall to the world abide
The only Mirror of a valiant mind,
Whose Honors thoughts, not to base wealth inclin'd
Doe make him liue, though long since dead,
And crownes with bayes his buried head.

Whil'ft breath gaue strength, vnto his warlike arme,
he did vphould the pompe of *Englands* state :
He stroue to shield his natieue foyle from harme,
and did the pride of proudest foes abate :
A kingdomes eyes once sawe his faithfull trust,
And did accompt his actions wise and iust :
Greate Maiestie, and wisedomes Queene,
Would say his like was neuer seene.

Euen from his youth, till yeares of riper strength,
in vertues schoole, a studious life he spent :
His Honors thoughts, desir'd & gaine, at length,
Mineruaes food the sweet of his content :
Apollo deckt his Muse in siluers shine,
And wrapt in gold his goulden thoughts diuine :
Honours wonder, wisedoms mirror,
In his braue breast liued together.

When





in Triumph riding.

When creeping time had brought to manhoods yeers
this honor bud al glorious in his spring,
Then as the funne from forth a cloud appears,
and doth his light with greater brightnes bring :
So did this prince : his thoughts maiefticall
Made him to be great *Lesters* Generall ;
Braue troupes of horfe he brauely led,
And thus at firft his fame was fpred.

But when to *Frāce* his warlike mind had brought
him felfe, well arm'd, vpon bay *Traces* back :
The king and Lords his loue and fauor fought,
nor gold nor coyn that valiāt prince could lack.
I fawe his sword all bath'd in Foemans bloud,
A broken lance in *Traces* breaft there stood :
French king and Peers did dignifie
This Peerlefse warriors Cheualry.

But when he went to fruitfull *Portingale*,
for to inthroane a mournefull leannisht King,
How did his deeds his prayfe to heauen exhale !
his honors worth you sacred Mufes fing.
Spaines Chronicle, and *Lisborne* gates can tell,
His warlike arme deferued wondrous well :
His foes themfelues keep in record,
That none durft combat with that Lord.

When





in Triumph Riding.

When Sun-burnt *Spaine* in heate of angers toyle,
Did with his Lords in follome counfell set :
Vowing to worke faire *Albions* vtter spoile,
Against whose state his brest with spleene did fret :
This newes no sooner vnto Albion came,
But this braue prince, was thought the worthiest man :
And as *Spaine* meant to worke our woe,
He thither went, and yfed them so.

Let *Cales* tell forth the honor of his deeds,
His valiant prowes, and his iustice such :
As who so but their own description reeds,
Will say of truth, that he deseru'd as much
As euer any noble Conquerer did,
His Conquering sword was with such mercie led :
As datelesse time shall speake his fame,
And blaze the honor of his name.

In field, in Court, in peace, in war, he stood
Inuiron'd round with honor and defart :
From him did flow the streames of vertues flood,
He doubtles had a sound and faithfull hart,
To Prince and State, and for the publike weale,
The things amisse he alwaies sought to heale,
Thus did he stand belou'd of all,
And yet the Fates decreed his fall.

Vnhappie





Honors Fame,

Vnhappie time that sent him from this land,
Vnhappie warres that his imployment fought :
Vnhappie broiles raif'd by rebellions hand,
Vnhappie cause that fowle fuspition wroughte :
Vnhappie all, for all vnhappie be,
Vnhappie those that wisht his miserie :
Vnhappie meanes that did direct,
The cause to worke vntrue suspect.

His noble felfe, had he bene fortunate,
Irelands peace had well effected bin :
Without mistrust of danger to the state,
But when to march his armie did begin,
Some misse there was, directions all not kept,
Enuie rouf'd vp, that winkt but neuer slept :
Aduantage tooke, when harmeles thought,
To good effect would all haue brought.

In course of warre, a Prince both wife and iust,
Must not by booke his march and battells make :
To each occasion turne his hand he must,
And as offence is giuen, so wisely take
Aduantage of the cause, the time and place,
Precribed rules will else procure disgrace :
These paper plots wantes iudgment right,
To teach an army how to fight.

But





in Triumphant Riding.

But this I thinke, and heauens me witnesse beare,
Though ill successe vpon his Troopes did wait
His honours mind, still kept a princely care
Warres worke to doe without corrupt deceit,
And willingly he neuer did intend
His force against his countries good to bend :
But seeming ill was ill approu'd
By them who not his honour lou'd.

Harmelesse in thought when he a peace had made,
He back returnes to his beloued Queene,
Thinking to rest secure vnder her shade,
To whome she had a gracious mistris beene :
But wanting warrant for his back returne,
Displeased anger softly gan to burne :
And some that did a flame desire,
Threw flax and oyle into the fire.

This action thus when it at first begun,
And he restrained from Court a prisoner sent :
In *Ireland* shinde faire *Englands* golden Sun,
Whose valiant minde to vertuous actions bent :
With wisdomes care and honoured labor fought,
The meanes whereby rebellions land was brought :
Vnto that peace which first was framde,
By him whome some vniustly blamde.

Whilste





Honours Fame,

Whilst noble honour shut vp in disgrace,
Could not haue leaue to vertues *Queene* to goe :
Before her throne to speake and pleade his case,
And to her *Mercie* tell his griefes sad woe :
Then in that time an vndermining wit,
Did closly frame all actions iumply fit.
Molehills were to mountaines raisde,
Each little fault was much dispraisde.

The Vulgar eies they lookt, but could not see
The cause whereon this course it selfe did ground :
And for that they the more deceiu'd might be,
Against him then were strange obiections found :
But this in them more admiration mou'd,
VVhen much was said, but nothing duly prou'd.
Such triall then they did expect,
As might their thoughts to truth direct.

Oft early would the people swiftly throng,
To that great Court where honoured wifdome sets
He that went first would thinke he staide too long,
For golde or siluer there a place he gets :
Where it was said impeach'd honour should stand
To wash the gilt from of an vnstaind hand.
All this was yet but labour lost,
For pollicie that course had crost.

The





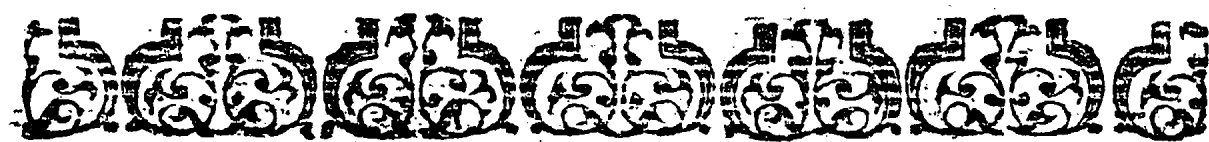
in Triumph Riding.

The beautie of all kingdoms *Peerlesse She*,
VVhilst breathing life did make her state to florish :
Would that in publike heard his case should be :
VVhose life she lou'd, and euer fought to nourish :
But eloquence another plot comprisde,
VVhich to be best, her *Highnesse* was aduisde.
Herein lay hid the secret ill,
She fought to chide, they fought to kill.

A priuate hearing was appointed then,
VVhere loues best Lord to each thing answer must :
The Councell graue with other noble men,
Commiffion had to proue him false or iust :
To throw him downe he lendes a powerfull hand,
VVho by his helpe was made aloft to stand.
Obiections then with greatest force,
Gainst honours Earle hild on their course.

Valiant, renownd, and magnanimious spirit,
Submissiuely his humble selfe did beare :
His lowly meekenesse wonderous praise did merit :
Of them who did his wisdomes answers heare :
No traiterous act then staine his honours brow,
No fault of his could treasons name allow.
O heauens ! why then did after time,
VVrap honours Lord in treasons crime ?

The





Honours Fame,

The *Queene* of iustice hearing what was done,
That perfitte honour with an humble minde :
With low submission to her throne did runne,
And crau'd he might her mercies fauour finde :
Her *Princely* heart contentments ioy imbrac'd,
And in her loue, loues Lord againe was plac'd :
Then was there hope that shortly he,
To place in Court restorde should be.

But Enuie, why didst thou againe conspire ?
Abusde occasion, why didst thou displease ?
Suspition, why didst thou inflame new fire ?
Were all agreed bright honours crest to seaze ?
What secret action did inact the thing,
That discontent to *Mercies Queene* did bring ?
She was appeasde, what new fowne feede,
Brought forth such fruite her wrath to breede.

Was all things well, and all things ill so foone ?
Was no mistrust, and now mistrust abounding :
Wa'ft then a time to light a torch at noone ?
Was honour thē self-honors course confounding ?
Why this was strange, from Court to keepe him still,
T'was not amisse to doubt some farther ill :
Such worshippers of policie,
Commits most fowle idolatrie.

But





in Triumph Riding.

But by this meanes true honour was restrainde,
From her the mistress of his life and death :
He found himselfe of base-bred groomes disdainde,
In passion then he fight forth sorrowes breath :
The presence of his *Queene* whose sight most ioyd him,
Had giuen him life, the want thereof destruid him.
Oh that a *Loyall* heart should be,
Shut from his Soueraignes clemencie.

Let but the man of honour and renowne,
That is adorned with his Soueraignes loue :
Whose heart is sound vnto the State and crowne,
Whose thoughts do alwaies faithfull motions moue :
If exile from his King he should remaine,
And as a traitor beare dishonours stain :
What would he thinke, or what course take ?
Let noble mindes the answer make.

From hence at last griefes boundlesse Ocean flowes,
Turning woes streames into a flood of sorrow :
And to such height sad discontentment growes,
As that it seekes some meanes of helpe to borrow :
Hope tells a course, that's crost, an other fought,
This vrg'd occasion his confusion wrought :
Still to his *Queene* he strives to goe,
Kept back afresh, begins his woe.

Thus





Honors Fame,

Thus monthes and yeares in restles harbour toft,
A patient hope endures a raging storme :
Bright honors ship did find it selfe neare lost,
His Cables burst, and all his tacklings torne :
Through rockes, through cliffes, through walls of brasse,
His noble minde did then resolute passe :
For if to *Thetis* get he could,
Saue life, and men, and ship he should.

Thence did proceede the rigor of that day,
VVhen haples life to liue did helpeles striue :
Dispaire inrag'd did beare too great a sway,
Hope could not at his wish for hauen arriue :
Reuenge, mistrust and hate, preuention wrought,
VVith bloody mouthes, they his destruction fought :
From euill to worse, poore Earle he fled,
So was he to the slaughter led.

Guarded with friends, vntimely forth he goes,
To raise a force so strong his part to take :
As that he might remoue his settled foes,
And to his *Queene* a quiet passage make :
But fearefull hate did presently deuise,
Proclayme him traytor, out aloud he cries ;
The name of traytor kild him dead,
So he aliue was murdered.

Doubtles





in Triumph riding.

Doubtles I thinke he had no Traytors hart,
 'Gainst Queene and State he did no treason plot ;
No more did they that then did take his part :
 He only stroue 'gainst them that lou'd him not ;
But yet the Lawe their act did treason make.
Such hostile armes no subiects vp must take.
 Thus when he thought an euill to shun,
 A greater euill by him was done.

The Law hath past, Iustice his stroke hath strooke,
 And he is dead, yet shal he still suruiue :
Vpon his honoured Vertues will I looke,
 And make them liue as were himselfe aliue :
He dyde for treason ; yet no Traytor. Why ?
The Treason done, he did it ignorantly.
 Intent and purpose in the act,
 Is that which makes a Traytors fact.

But God forbid such Action should be good,
 As rashly into rude Combustion throwes
A kingdomes State, and wraps her brest in blood ;
 Where peace in pomp with glorious plenty growes.
And for this cause, I thinke that *Iustice* ment,
To make his death a mournfull President :
 His tryall could example giue.
 Why did not *Mercy* let him liue ?

Because





Honours Fame,

Because that *Mercy* not arightly knew
His heart, whom *she* disloyall did account,
Report did feed *her* taste with Gall and Rue ;
For by his fall, some other vp must mount,
And so they haue the Gallowes top vnto ;
For euer so may such like Mounters doe :
But God is iust, so shall they finde,
That lay their plots with bloudy minde.

With humble lynes to Englands honored State,
A Souldiers passion doeth desire to flye,
Who neuer fought that Lord to ruinate,
Nor chafe him with bloud-thirsty cruelty.
True honour? No, some baser stufte it was,
That fought to bring that stratageme to passe :
For in that time Peeres were no men,
They walkt about like fhaddowes then.

Yet in the ranke of Honour, Honours grace,
Reuerend, renown'd, religious, vertuous, learn'd,
Graue, sober, chaste, vpheld a Primates place,
Whose godly wisdome Englands eyes difcearn'd,
His soule diuine was to that Earle a friend,
Whom froward fate bequeath'd to fatall end :
But now their soules in purest loue,
Liue with their Christ in heauens aboue.

Then





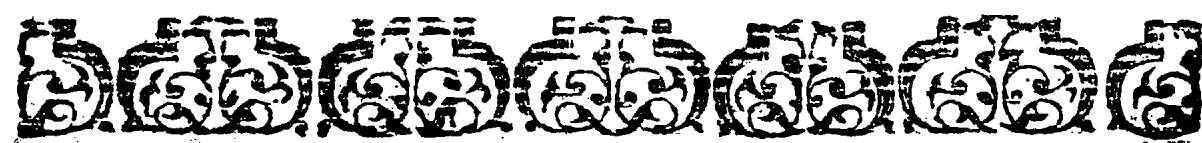
in Triumph riding.

Then *Honours Seat*, and *Wisdomes fountayne pure*,
Iudgemēt approu'd, the rule of Conscience found,
His griued thoughts did woes extreme endure,
As did his loue : so did his griefes abound.
A *Iustice Chiefe*, an equall loue preferres :
No kingdome hath two worthyer *Iusticers* :
Both these did mourne when Honour fell ;
For both were knowne to wish him well.

And in my mind of Lords & Earles I view
A mourning troupe, whose looks all downward thrown,
Told to the world, that they were mourners true ;
They reapt the fruit that sorrowes seed had sown :
Ladies wife, fayre, and chaste, they weeping went,
Sad time sad cause procur'd their discontent ;
Though Law strict course of Iustice kept,
The most and best of all sorts wept.

Then Noble minds wil help my Muse to mourne
The losse of him, whom Honour did aduance,
In their sad thoughts, haue Sable robes bin worne,
They sigh to thinke of that finifter chance,
Whose bloudy hād with fatal death snatcht hence
That honored Earle, true Honours Excellence,
Doe him this right, and Honour gayne,
Pluck from his Hearse false rumours stayne.

Oh





Honours Fame,

Oh how I grieue! Report doeth wound my foule :
So many treasons 'gainst that Earle obiected,
Who whilst he liu'd, could those reports cōtroule ;
And but in one, that last, and leaft detected :
Kill him no more, too well we know hee's dead,
Whose life would now a ioyes content haue bred.
No paper-powder rayf'd vp fmoke,
Can Fames true honored vertues choke.

It's false to say, hee would a King haue bin :
From faith & honor he made no such digression :
His heart was cleare from such so foule a sin,
He always stood for this approu'd Succession,
Which happily doeth now the Throne possesse :
Heauens mighty God protect his Mightinesse.
Dead Earle, amidst bright Angels wings,
Amen thy heavenly Spirit sings.

Damme vp your mouthes, foule Enuies insolence,
Fil not the world with monstrous mouthed lies,
Of hate and malice you are the Instruments,
Though smoothly you can closely temporize :
Wrong not the dead, nor liuing honor wound :
Let not one fault all vertues worth confound.
To make the best of things misdone,
Hath alwayes greatest honour wonne.

No





in Triumph riding.

No caufe there was, that in his lucklefse fall,
So proudly fome fhould triumph as they did,
Againft an Earle to spit impoyfoned gall :
But bloudy thoughts were made in bloud fo red
As heat and rage too much himfelfe forgot,
And boldly fpake, he car'd not how, nor what.
No vp-ftart groome fprung from the Cart,
Should braue the honour of a lands defart.

So vfe bafe minds in greatneffe to forget
The place whence firft they their beginning had,
Their proud difdayne the nobleft brest would hit :
The fall of honour makes them wondrous glad,
So was't : or elfe he rather would haue wept,
Then proudly fuch a ruffling coyle haue kept :
In this I ioy, his Prophecy
The time hath turn'd to foolery.

He was not laft, though laft that fo fhall end.
We haue a Bud, fprung frō that honored Branch :
God, in thy loue do thou that Earle defend,
And fo his ftate by vertues steps aduance,
As he may grow an honour to his King,
Whofe mercy did his youth to honor bring :
And he that drest his fathers difh,
Lord, let his end be worfe then his.

England,





Honours Fame,

England, beare witnesse, deceased Honour dyde
Rich in thy Loue, his Loue was pure to thee,
Not for his gayne ; but for thy good he tryde,
To doe what might become his Dignity :
He hated Bribes, Extortion he defide,
Gayne by thy losse, his noble heart denyde :
To doe thee good, he spent his wealth,
His Ioy consisted in thy health.

The Church of God, Diuine religions Grace
Was grac'd by him, his heauenly sanctity,
Vnto the written Truth of God gaue place,
His heart did loue the reuerend Ministry :
All Popish trash, and Romes inuentions vilde,
Were from his Soule, as hatefull things exilde.
Good men from foes hee did protect,
The poore he neuer did reiect.

He was no Churle, nor wretch-like couetous,
His noble Brest, as droffe, base gold esteemd,
Valiant, Liberall, Wise and Vertuous,
His honor more then all worlds wealth he deemd.
Some could in print his honored Bounty scorne,
That largely bare frō him great sheaues of corne.
Such tricks as these Time-seruers vse.
What Vertue will they not abuse ?

He





in Triumph riding.

He faythfull was and constant to his friend,
In Loue and Iustice alwayes permanent,
His Honors Word, who did thereon depend,
Found, that true Action with his Promise went,
No purse nor pocket could that Lord containe
Who giues most. Fy, he scorned such hateful gain,
No partiall eye made bad things good ;
T'wixt both, that Prince vprightly stood.

He was not hollow, like the Vaults of hell,
His soundnesse fled from base hypocrisy,
He fetcht no rules from hel-borne *Machiauel*,
His learning was diuine Philosophy,
His word and deed without a false intending,
In Honors Lyft went on, the Truth commending ;
His vertues steps to Truth enclinde,
Close subtile falshood vnderminde.

In deeds of Warre, he was a Souldier tryde,
True Fortitude dwelt in his valiant brest,
The hope of England on his Sword relyde,
Amongst our Worthies let him stand for best :
When he was armde in Warres Habilliments,
His Glorie seemde a matchlesse Excellence ;
His person, as his vertues rare,
Might Peerelesse with the world compare.

His





Honours Fame,

His Wifdome, Learning and his Eloquence,
His well grac't speech and flowing vtterance,
His quicke conceit and Wifdomes comprehence :
All these rare Gifts his honour did aduance,
And made him liue the Mirrour of our time,
Beyōd whose worth, no worthier ſtep could clime.
God and Nature did conſent,
To make his Subſtance excellent.

He was not proud, but humble, courteous, meeke :
Ambitious then, who rightly terme him can ?
From Articke Pole to the Antartike feeke,
But neuer finde a brauer Gentleman :
Croſſe all the Zoans, and in no Clymate dwells
A Vertue, that his Vertues worth excells :
But he is dead, yet ſhall he liue,
Fame to his praife ſhall honor giue.

Where's now the heart of Flint or Marble ſtone,
That mournes not for the loſſe of him ſo deare ?
The *Flower* of a kingdomes pride is gone ;
No time, no land brought forth a worthyer Peere :
No King nor Queen a better ſeruant had,
No Subiect more did make his countrey glad :
And for his fault, to mourne with mee,
Millions of weeping eyes I ſee.

Who





in Triumph riding.

Who so beheld the choise of natures arte,
with noble prefence and Maiestick steps,
When from his chamber honor did depart,
to place preparte a fatall death to fetch,
Might there haue seene shine in a princely eye,
The beames of honour and nobilitie :
Valiant prowesse, resolution rare,
Vndanted thoughts to death did beare.

He like himfelfe in roabes of honor clad,
with countnance cleare and lookes heroic all,
Went on as if in heart he had beene glad,
to meete his friends at some great feastiuall.
His noble minde the path of death did tread,
As if it did vnto some triumph lead.
And thus by this thinke in thy thought,
Thou see'ft him to the scaffold brought.

Nay weepe not yet, reade on, an Earle behold,
as constant as is heauens celestiaall frame :
See how he mounts with valiant courage bold,
in bloud to write the letters of his fame.
Vpon the scaffold see him walking now,
To deaths spectators doth he humbly bow :
Oh her's a sight yet comes a worse,
To make the world that time to curse.

The





Honours Fame,

The oracle of godly wifdome then,
with filuer fount, thefe speeches forth did fend :
My Lords, and all you worthy Gentlemen,
that comes to fee the period of my end.
I not denie, but this confefse I muft,
My triall hath beene honourably, iuft :
And fo the lawe my caufe did trie,
As iuftice doom'd me thus to die.

Yet in the prefence of that all Creators fight,
before whose throne I prefently fhall ftand :
Againft the ftate I neuer bent my might,
nor gainft my foueraigne reard a traitors hand,
Some priuate foes my fword would haue difplait,
By whom I thought my honour was difgraft :
From that intent grew my amis,
For which offence death welcome is.

With things below I haue not now to deale,
my peace with God and confcience muft I make :
And that my Chrift his woūds my woūds may heale
pray all with me that God for Chrift his fake,
Would in his death intombe my finnes moft vilde,
That dying, I may dye his faithfull childe :
So kneeling downe, zeale, forrow, faith,
To God a heauenly praier faith.

Not





in triumph riding.

Not any tongue more heauenly graces spake,
not any hart more godly forrow felt :
Not any Prince a wiser prayer could make,
not any soule with God and conscience delt
More plainely, nor made better testament,
That from this world his soule to glorie went,
With gracious spirit he begins,
And gratioufly his prayer ends.

Then rising vp, with vnstainde glorie still,
he doth himselfe for stroake of death prepare :
Off goes his gowne, and with an humble will,
his band throwne hence, his neck he leaueth bare.
His doublet next, his honoured selfe layes by,
with smiling lookes, and cheerefull maiestie,
To read, and weep, is order kept,
With him that sigh'd, and writ, and wept.

The hand that then should send him to his graue,
he calles to see, feare playes the hangmans part,
But Noblenesse, a noble welcome gaue,
my friend said he, why faints thou in thy hart.
Resolue to doe thy office cheerefully,
The deaths man kneeling, doth for pardon crye.
Honor bids rise, why shouldst thou feare,
Thou art but Iustice minister.

Thus





Honours Fame,

Thus nobly did the life of honors breath,
a conqueror like all worldes respects subdue :
So did he triumph in the gates of death,
as if he then no such like danger knew.
Oh let his fame vnto the world be spred,
Whose fortitude was neuer conquered :
Let thy conceit his action see,
And reade, and figh, and weepe with me.

Now takes he leaue of all the standers by,
his comely grace was vertues ornament :
Griefe then drownd vp each sad beholders eye,
whilst his blest soule was wrapt in sweet content.
Then kneeling downe, all prostrate flat he lies,
With neck on block, his bloud to sacrifice,
And to his deaths man say he did,
Strike when thou seeft my armes are spred.

There might you see how Honour downe was throwne,
and yet his eyes from earth to heauen ascends :
His youth was like a lofty Ceder growne,
but now his death his soule to heauen cōmends,
My Chrifft faith he, I come, thy armes vnfolde,
My soule do thou in thy imbracements holde :
And thus he bids the world adue,
And then his armes abroad he threw.

Stay





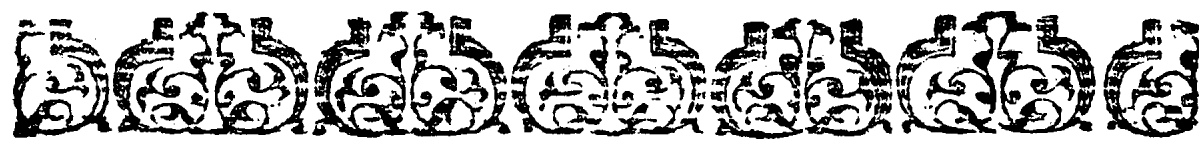
in Triumph riding.

Stay, pause, thinke, sigh, weepe first, & then read on,
now comes a fight to rend woes hart in funder :
No mournfull eye did euer looke vpon
a wofull worke perform'd with greater wonder.
Resolued honour now perceiue you may,
All fearles for the stroake of death doth stay :
His eyes, his lookes to heauen commends,
The place to which his soule intends.

Base wretch, whose hand true honors bloud should spill,
deaths axe did first into his shoulder strike :
Vpreard againe he strikes a blow as ill,
nor one nor other were directed right.
Honor ne're mou'd, a third blow did deuide
The body from the worlds admired pride :
Was that the way to lose a head,
To haue an Earle so butchered ?

From gaping wounds pure streames of bloud gusht forth
from azure vaines the foode of life distild :
Wifedome, loue, faith, renowne and honor both,
were all at once thus hackt, thus chopt, thus kild.
There was a fight to send forth forrowes floud,
A Swanny whitenes wrapt in robes of bloud :
But thinke you saw him, and for his sake,
Then let your teares woes period make.

Thus





Honours Fame,

Thus masacard in strength of lusty youth,
was *Englands* Earle, whose worth the world admir'd
His life till now had prou'd his honors truth,
vntimely was his fatall death conspir'd.
If any read, whose hand was stain'd therein,
Let some vild death, make known his damned sin,
The rest that mourne let sorrowes tide
Make honors fame in triumph ride.

Go to the Courts of Denmarke, France & Spaine,
and sadly tell his dolefull tragicke seane :
And marke what sighs your words will entertaine,
and see what teares from honored eies wil streame
In any place within earths compasse round,
This tale but told, may sighs and teares be found :
Faire ladies they with drownd vp eies
To honors fame will sacrifice.

And when report hath tolde his sorrowes story,
his life and death, and actions done by him :
Then reard vp hands will wonder at his glory,
each hearer seemes in sorrowes flouds to swim,
And then they say, would not his Queene forgiue
His fault that such a peerelesse prince might liue ?
Yes, had she knowne asmuch as they,
He had not then beene cast away.

Her





in Triumph riding.

Her *Royall brest* was falsly oft accusde,
of cruell deeds but *She* was mercies childe
For honors death *She* well may be excus'd,
by priuate tales rough worke was smoothisly filde.
Could he but once *Her* glories fight haue gaind,
And vnto *Her*, his wrongs and woes complaind :
Then had he liu'd, and that they knew,
Whose hate her hart from him withdrew.

But could her eyes these weeping lines peruse,
her princely teares would shew hir sorrows grieve :
Her selfe would say, they did hir grace abuse,
that in that action were the actors chiefe.
And truth to say, I think her *Maiesty* :
Was chiefeft mourner in that tragedy,
Though now a fluent nimble wit,
Can bouldly play the polliticke.

I doe not striue *Inuectiuely* to speake,
nor haue I will, a wilful harme to doe :
A peace confirm'd I would by no meanes breake,
yet can I not like fawning flatterers woe.
Let truth be truth, and free the dead from wrong,
And blame him not that sings this sorrowes song,
For him who did a souldier loue,
Whose death a souldiers grieve doeth moue.

Vnto his Country, his honours bloud he gaue,
which for his Country, more better had bin spent :
Vnkinde his Country, that worthy bloud to craue,
which was for her, and for her seruice bent.

His

Honours Fame,

His mother *England* hauing flaine her sonne,
The world will fay it was vnkindly done :
Though iustice may with this dispence,
It wanted mercies influence.

This Yron world hath Angell mercy left,
worlds worldlings they that vertue hence haue driuen :
This rotten age is of that grace bereft,
that mercy now is onely plac'd in heauen.
And thither is the ghost of honor fled,
Through ayerie orbes by heauenly angels led,
Vnto that place where ioye excels,
And there the foule of honour dwels :

Where God and Christ, and holy ghost combinde,
inuirode are with glory more, then if
Ten hundred thousand funnes at once all shinde,
and clearly should their radiant splendence giue.
Amidst that glory the foule of *Essex* stands,
In endlesse ioy vpheld by Angels hands,
Then mourne no more, heauen hath his spirit,
Whose life on earth such praise did merit.

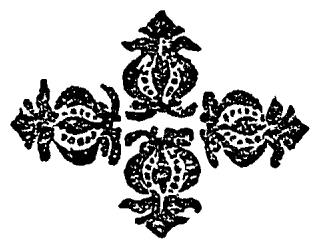
But now heauens God, King, Queene & Prince and state,
inuirode within thy loues protection :
Let *Britons Monarch* like the worlds triumpherate,
rule still in peace, rule by thy lawes direction.
His Nobles bleffe, and let no primate hate,
Procure the heauens our peace to ruinate :
And thus my Muse his farewell giues,
And tels the world Fames honour liues.

F I N I S .

Vpon the Author and his subiect.

THou that true Honor from the graue doest raife,
And on Fames golden wings doest make it flie :
Who with thy Pen the neuer dying praise,
From ground doest lift vp to the Starrie skie,
Of that true Earle, whose life the greatest glorye,
Whose death to *Britaine* yeeldes the saddest storie.
Oh giue me leaue thy faithfull hart t'admire.
Which suffrest not thy loue with him to dye :
But with thy Muse doest make affections fire
To shine most bright, now he intomb'd doth lye.
And as thy sword while he inioy'd his breath,
So now thy Pen doth serue him after death.
Thy worke I cannot say doth match his worth,
For heauen and earth doth equall that no more :
Tis praise for *Prickets* Pen, if it pricke forth
Some gowned Muse his fortunes to deplore.
Schollers and Souldiers both, were to him bound,
Why should they not be both like thankefull found :
All those braue *Romaines* whom the world admir'd
So much for their high magnanimitie,
With morrall vertues were not more inspir'd,
Besides his cleare light of Diuinitie.
All his lifes morne he like a *Romaine* led,
At noone like a Diuine went to deaths bed.
Epita. There sleepest great *Essex*, dearling of mankinde,
Faire Honors lampe, foule Enuies pray, Artes fame,
Natures pride, Vertues bulwarke, lure of minde,
Wisdomes flower, Valours tower, Fortunes shame :
Englands funne, *Belgias* light, *Frances* star, *Spaines* thūder,
Lysbones lightning, *Irelands* clowde, the whole worlds
Ch. Best. Arm. (wonder.

A TRVE
Coppie of a Dif-
courfe written by a Gentleman,
employed in the late Voyage of
Spaine and Portingale:

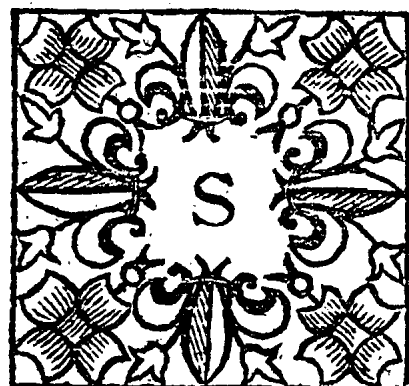


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Actors of the
same.



AT LONDON:
Printed for Thomas Woodcok
dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at
the signe of the blacke Beare.
1589.

TO THE READER.



SOME holding opinion, that it is onely proper to men of learning (whose Arte may grace their dooings) to write of matter worthie to be committed to the view of future Ages, may iudge the publication of such Discourfes as are contained in this Pamphlet, to be an aduventure too great for a professed Souldier to vndertake: but I, more refpecting the absolute trueth of the matter, than the faire fhew that might be fet thereon; and preferring the high reputation of the Actors in this Iourney before the request of my particular friend, haue prefumed to present vnto you a report of the late *Voyage into Spaine and Portingall*, sent vnto me almost 4 moneths fithence frō a Gentleman my verie nere friend, employed in the fame; who, as it appeareth in his obferuations, hath aduifedlie feene into euerie action thereof: and becaufe I haue often conferred with manie that were in the fame Iourney, verie nere vpon euerie particular of his relation, and finde as much confirmed as I haue receiued, I prefume to deliuer it vnto you for true & exact. Howbeit, forasmuch as it came vnto my hands with his earnest request to referue it to my felfe, I had almost confented thereunto, had not the defire I haue to reconcile the contrarietie of opinions that be held of that action, & to make it known what honour the caufe hath laid vpon our whole Nation, mooued me to publifh the fame: whereof fith there may growe a greater benefit in publique, (for that manie fhall partake thereof) than the pleasure can be to him in fmothering the labors he hath

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bestowed

bestowed in setting downe the Discourse, I doubt not but he, esteeming a cōmon good before his priuate fancie, will pardon me herein. In the behalfe of whom, I beseech you to whose view and reading the same is offered, not so curiously to looke vpon the forme as vpon the matter; which I present vnto you as he sent it, naked and vnpolished. And you that were companions with him of the Iourney, if anie of you may thinke your selues not fully satisfied in the report of your deseruings, let me intreate you to excuse him, in that he indeuouring to write thereof briefly for my particular vnderstanding, did onely take notice of them, who cōmaunded the seruices in chiefe, as being of greatest marke, and lay the blame vpon me, who can by no meanes auoyd it: sauing that, from the fault I haue committed (if it be a fault), I hope there may some good proceed. It hath satisfied me in many things, whereof I being ignorant, was led into an erroneous conceipt of the matter and of the persons: and I hope it shall both confirme others who maie remaine doubtfull of either; and reforme them that, hauing been seduced, are become sectaries agaynst the same. I will therefore commend the man and matter to your friendly censure, forbearing to notifie his name, least I might increase mine offence against him; & be namelesse my selfe for other good considerations: which I leaue, friendly Reader to thy best construction.



THE TRVE COPIE

of a letter sent from a Gentleman, who was in al the seruices that were in the late Iourney of *Spaine* and *Portingall*, to a friend of his.

ALTHOUGH the desire of advancing my reputation caused me to withstand the manie perswasions you used, to hold me at home, and the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrarie to your expectation) to neglect that advise, which in love I know you gave me: yet in respect of the manie assurances you have yeelded me of your kindest friendship, I can not suspect that you wil either love or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore, will not omit anie occasion which may make me appeare thankful, or discharge anie part of that dutie I owe you; which now is none other, than to offer you a true discourse how these warres of *Spaine* and *Portingall* have passed since our going out of *England* the xviii of Aprill, till our returne, which was the first of July. Wherein I wil (under your favourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, aswell make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which have happened during our abode there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fancie did draw me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire, by following the warres to make my selfe more worthie of the same. |

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Having, therefore, determinately purposed to put on the habit of a Souldiour, I grewe doubtfull whether to imploy my time in the warres of the Lowe Countreyes, which are in auxiliarie manner mainteined by her Maiestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an adventure of her and manie honorable personages, in revenge of unsupportable wrongs offered unto the estate of our Countrey by the *Castilian* King: in arguing whereof, I finde, that by how much the Challenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is this journey to be preferred before those defensive warres. For had the Duke of *Parma* his turne been to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade, from whence could have proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres have laid vpon him, or what could have been said more of him, than of a Respondent (though never so valiant) in a private Duell: Even that he hath done no more than by his honour he was tied unto. For the gaine of one Towne, or anie small defeate, giveth more renowme to the Assailant, than the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encoūters, can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to gard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the *Spaniard*, as the reports of former histories may assure us, which have still laid the fame of all warres upon the Invador. And do not ours in these daies live obscured in *Flanders*, either not having wherewithall to manage anie warre, or not putting on Armes, but to defend themselves when the Enemy shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, wee have wonne a Towne by *escalade*, battred and assaulted another, overthrowen a mightie Princes power in the field, landed our Armie in three severall places of his

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Kingdom, marched seaven daies in the hart of his Countrey, lyen three nights in the Suburbes of his principall Citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude that going with | an Invadour, and in such an action as everie daie giveth new experience, I have much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carrie me thither, than into the warres of *Flanders*. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you used with me to the contrarie, the ground whereof sithence you received them from others, you must give me leave to acquaint you with the error you were lead into by them, who, labouring to bring the world into an opinion, that it stood more with the safetie of our Estate to bend all our forces against the Prince of *Parma*, than to followe this action, by looking into the true effects of this Iourney, will iudicially convince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the Conquest of these Countreyes against the Prince of *Parma*, bee thought more easie for us alone now, than the defence of them was xi yeares agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of *England*? the power of the *Monsieur* of *France*? the assistance of the principall States of *Germanie*? and the Nobilitie of their owne Countrey': Could not an Armie of more than 20000 horse, and almost 30000 foote, beate Don John de Austria out of the Countrey, who was possessed of a verie few frontier Townes': And shall it now be laid upon her Maiesties shoulders to remoove so mightie an Enemie, who hath left us but 3. whole parts of 17. uncōquered? It is not a Iourney of a few months, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeres, that can damnifie the King of *Spaine* in those places, where we shall meete at everie 8. or 10. miles end with

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a Towne, which will cost more the winning, than will yearly pay 4. or 5000. mens wages, where all the Countrey is quartred by Rivers, which have no passage unfortified: and where most of the best Souldiers of Christendome that be on our adverse partie, be in pencion. But our Armie, which hath not cost her Maiestie much above the third part of one yeares expences in the Lowe Countries, hath alreadie spoyled a great part of the provision he had made at the *Groyne* of all forts, for a newe voyage into *England*; burnt 3. of his ships, whereof one was | the second in the last yeares expedition, taken from him above 150 pieces of good artillarie, cut off more than 60 hulkes and 20 French ships well manned, fit & readie to serve him for men of warre against us, laden for his store with corne, victualls, masts, cables, and other merchandizes; flaine and taken the principall men of warre hee had in *Galitia*; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusmañ, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his Forces in *Portingall*, shamefullie runne at *Penicha*; laide along of his best Commanders in *Lisbone*: and by these fewe adventures discovered how easilie her Maiestie may without any great adventure, in short time pull the *Tirant of the World* upon his knees, as well by the disquieting his usurpation of *Portingall* as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his *Indies* from him, by sending an armie so accomplished, as may not bee subiect to those extremities which we have endured: except he draw from those defences, his forces out of the Lowe Countries, and disfurnish his garisons of *Naples* and *Milan*, which with safetie of those places he may not doo. And yet by this meane shall rather be inforced thereunto, than by any force that can be used there against him; wherefore I directly conclude, that

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this proceeding is the most safe and necessarie way to be held against him ; and, therefore, more importing, than the warre in the Lowe Countries.

Yet hath the journey (I know) been much misliked by some, who, either thinking too worthely of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against us, or too unworthely of them that undertooke this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceede by invasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake. And, therefore, did not so advance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most uncertaine ; for what people soever undertake them, they are in deede but | as chastizements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeares against some whome he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they be that have made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to have been none other than against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders : whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceipt of their mightines, as they have considerately undertaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people united, and alwaies held sufficientlie warlike : against whom, what successe their invincible Armie had the last yeare, as our very children can witnes, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are even upon their owne dounghill : which, had it been set out in such fort

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as it was agreed uppon by their first demaund, it might have made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 peeces of Artillerie, which was promised unto the Adventure, lost her Maiestie the possession of the Groyne, and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare; whose defensible Rampiers were greater than our batterie (such as it was) could force: and, therefore, were left unattempted.

It was also resolved to have sent 600 English horse of the Lowe Countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the armie assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portingall, who foreranne us fixe daies together. Did wee not want seaven of y^e thirteene old Companies, we should have had from thence: foure of the ten Dutch companies: & fixe of their men of warre for the sea, from the Hollanders: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might have had so many good souldiers, so many good shippes, and so many able bodies more than we had:

Did there not, upon the first thinking of the journey, divers | gallant Courtiers put in their names for adventurers to the summe of 10,000li, who, seeing it went [not] forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the iourney?

Was there not, moreover, a round summe of the adventure spent in levieng, furnishing, and mainteyning three moneths 1500 men for the service of Berghen: with which companies the mutinies of Ostend was suppressed: a service of no small moment?

What miserie the detracting of the time of our setting

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out, which should have been the first of Februarie, did lay upon us, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victualls which we did eate during the moneth we lay at Plimoth for a winde, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of that knoweth what men doo live by, had not God given us in the end a more prosperous winde and shorter passage into Galitia, then hath been often seene; where our owne force and fortune revictualled us largely: of which crosse windes that held us two daies after our going out, the Generalls, being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely choosinge rather to attend the change thereof there, than by being in harborough to loose any part of the better when it should come, by having their men on shoare: in which two daies 25 of our companies, shipped in parte of the fleete, were scattered from us, either not being able or willing to doubt Vfhant.

These burthens laid upon our Generalls before their going out, they have patiently endured, and thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honor: for having done thus much with the want of our Artillarie, 600 horse, 3000 foote, 20,000 li of their adventure, and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may bee conjectured they would have done with their full compliment:

For the losse of our men at Sea, since wee can lay it on none but the will of GOD, what can be faide more than that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honour of them against whom they were intended: and | he will still shew himselfe the God of hostes in dooing great things by them whome many have sought to obscure: who, if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such, especially for the

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service at land, as would have made a mightie subject toope under them. I doo not see how any man could justly have laid any reproach upon him who commanded the same, but rather have lamented the iniquitie of this time, wherein men whom foreign Countries have for their conduct in service worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne Countrey not be seconded in their honourable endeavors, but mightily hindred, even to the impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they have adventured for the good of their Countries: whose worth I will not vallow by my report, least I should seeme guiltie of flatterie (which my soule abhorreth) and yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely, for your instruction, against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you ought to holde of such men, you shall understand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained up in the warres of the Admirall of France, and in verie young yeares had charge of men under the Erle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he there discharged, I leave to the reporte of them who observed those services. Upon the breach betwixt Don John and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the English forces there present or to come, which he continued two yeares: hee was then made Marshall of the field under Conte Hohenlo; and after, that Generall of the armie in Frisland: at his coming home, in the time of Monfiers government in Flanders, hee was made Lord Prefident of Monfter, in Ireland, which he yet holdeth: from whence within one yeare he was sent for, and sent Generall of the English forces her Maiestie then lent to the Lowe Countries: which hee held till the Earl of Leicesters

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going over. And hee was made Marshall of the Field in England, the enimie being upon our coast, and when it was expected | the crowne of England should have been tried by battaile. All which places of commandement, which never any English-man successefully attained unto in forraine Warres, and the high places her Majestie hath thought him worthie of, may suffice to perswade you that he was not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he undertooke.

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his journey about the world, by his adventures in the west Indies, and the scourges he hath laid upon the Spanish Nation, I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of, and referre you to the booke extant in our own language treating of the same; and beseech you, considering the waightie matters they have in all the course of their lives with wonderfull reputation managed, that you will esteeme them not well informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they undertooke, especiallie having gone thus farre in the viewe of the world, through so many incombrances, and disappointed those agreements which led them the rather to undertake the service. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either too much opinionated of the Voiage, or conceited of the cōmanders, that labouring thus earnestly to advance the opinion of them both, have not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes and wants, that have been amongst us, whereof they that returned did plentifulle report. True it is, I have conceived a great opinion of the Journey, and doo thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we finde in greatest antiquities that many Commanders have been received home with triumph for lesse merite, and that our

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owne countrey hath honoured men heretofore with admiration for adventures unequall to this: it might, therefore, in those daies have seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particuler remembrances, for that then all men were readie to give everie man his due. But I holde it most necessarie in these daies, sithence everie vertue findeth her directt opposit, and actions | worthy of all memory are in danger to be envioufly obscured, to denounce the praises of the action and actors to the full; but yet no further than with sinceritie of truth, and not without grieving at the injurie of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those mē and matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answere the reports which have been given out in reproch of the actors & action by such as were in the same. Let no man think otherwise but that they who, fearing the casuall accidents of warre, had any purpose of retourning, did first advise of some occasion that should moove them thereunto; and having found any what so ever did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seek out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some who, having noted the late Flemmish warres, did finde that many young men have gone over and safely retourned Soldiers within fewe Moneths, in having learned some words of Art, used in the warres, and thought after that good example, to spend like time amongst us: which being expired, they began to quarrell at the great Mortallitie that was amongst us.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunck with the plentie of Wines.

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The scarfetie of Surgions.

The want of Carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victualls in the Campe.

Thereupon divining that there would be no good done. And that, therefore, they could be content to lose their time, and adventure to returne home againe.

These men have either conceived well of their owne wits (who, by observing the passages of the warre, were become sufficient Soldiers in these few weeks) and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at, or missing of their Portugues and Milrayes they dreamed on in Portingall, would rather returne to their former manner of life than attend the end of the Iourney. | For, seeing that one hazard brought on another, and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light upon him tomorrow, the next day, or any day, & that y^e warre was not confined to any one place, but that everie place brought forth new enemies, were glad to see some of the poore Soldiers fall sicke, that they, fearing to be infected by them, might iustly desire to goe home.

Answere to The sicknes, I confesse was great, because any the first. is too much. But hath it been greater than is ordinarie amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whether soever they goe to want the fulnes of their flesh pots? Have not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating young fruites and drinking new wines? Have they not abundantly perished in the Lowe Countries with cold and rawnes of the Ayre, even in their Garrisons? Have there not more died in London in fixe moneths of the plague, than double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish Armie the last yeare (who had all

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provisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fitteſt ſeaſon of the yeare for our Climate) avoide ſicknes amongſt their Soldiers? May it then be thought that ours could eſcape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to diſtemper them withall?

But can it bee, that wee have loſt ſo many as the common ſort perſwade themſelves we have? It hath been proved, by ſtrickt examinations of our muſters, that wee were never, in our fulneſſe, before our going from Plymoth, 11000 Soldiers, nor above 2500 Mariners. It is alſo evident that there returned above 6000 of all ſorts, as appeareth by the ſeverall payments made to them ſince our coming home. And I have truly ſhewed you that of theſe number verie neare 3000 forſooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof ſome paſſed into France, and the reſt returned home. So as wee, never being 13000 in all, and having brought home above 6000 with us, you may ſee how the world hath been ſeduced, in beleevving that wee have loſt 16,000 men by ſickneſſe. |

Anſwere to To them that have made queſtion of the govern-
the ſecond. ment of the warres (little knowing what apper-
taineth therunto in that ther were ſo many drūkarde amongſt us), I anſwer that in their government of ſhires & pariſhes, yea, in their verie houſholdes, themſelves can hardly bridle their vaſſalls from that vice. For we ſee it a thing almoſt impoſſible, at any your fayres or publique aſſemblies, to finde any quarter thereof ſober, or in your Townes and Alepoles unfrequented: And we obſerve that though any man, having any diſordered perſons in their houſes, doo locke up their drinke and ſet buttlers upon it, that they will yet either by indirecť meanes ſteale them-

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felves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If, then, at home, in the eyes of your Iustices, Mayors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for everie pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor, doo they thinke that those base disordered persons whome themselves sent unto us, as living at home without rule, who hearing of wine do long for it, as a dainetie that their purses could never reach to in England, & having it there without money, evē in their houses where they lie & hold their garde, they can be kept from being drunk': and, once drunk, held in any order or tune, except we had for everie drunckard an officer to attend him. But who be they that have runne into these disorders': Even our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men; and, for the most parte, our slovenly prest men, whome the Iustices (who have alwaies thought unworthely of any warre) have sent us out as the scumme and dregges of their Countrey. And those were they who, distempering themselves with these hot wines, have brought in that sicknes which hath infected honefter men than themselves. But I hope (as in other places) the recoverie of their diseases dooth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countries where they be, so the remainder of these, which have either recovered or past without sicknes, will proove most fit for Martiall exercises.

Anfwere to the third. If we have wanted Surgions, may not this rather be laide | upon the Captaines, who are to provide for their severall Companies, than upon the Generalls, whose care hath been more generall? And how may it be thought that everie Captaine, upon whome most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a

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warre (which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the Prince). But admit everie Captaine had his Surgion, yet were the want of curing never the lesse, for our English Surgions (for the most part) bee unexperienced in hurts that come by shot ; because England hath not knownen warres but of late ; from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which, I hope, will warne those that heereafter goe to the warres to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

Anfwere to the fourth. From whence the want of carriages did proceede, you may coniecture, in that we marched through a Countrey neither plentiful of such provisions, nor willing to parte from any thing : yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprovided for. And that the Generall commanded all the Mules & Affes that were laden with any baggage, to be unburthened and taken to that use ; and the Earle of Effex and hee, for money hired men to carrie men upon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and Nobilitie, as it dooth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw his owne stuffe : I meane apparrell and necessaries which he had there, from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men upon them : Of whose most honourable deservings, I shall not neede here to make any particuler discourse, for that many of his actions doo hereafter give me occasion to observe the same.

Anfwere to the fifth. And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals, may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the warre ; for if to feede upon good beeves, | mutton and goats, be to want, they have indured great scarcitie at land ; whereunto they never

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wanted two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eate with their meate (in some quantitie), except it were such as had vowed rather to starve than to stirre out of their places for food: of whom we had too manie; who, if their time had served for it, might have seene, in manie Campes in the most plentifull Countries of the world for victuals, men daylie die with want of bread and drink, in not having money to buy, nor the Countrie yeelding anie good or healthfull water in anie place; whereas both Spaine and Portingall do in everie place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthfull than any wine for our drinking.

And although some have most iniurioullie exclaimed against the small provisions of victuals for the Sea, rather grounding the same upon an evill that might have fallen, than anie that did light upon us, yet knowe you this, that there is no man so forgetfull that will say they wanted before they came to the Groyne; that whosoever made not verie large provisions for himselfe and his company at the Groyne, was verie improvident, where was plentifull store of wine, beefe, and fish, and no man of place prohibited to laye in the same into their shippes; wherewith some did so furnish themselves, as they did not onely in the Iourney supplie the wants of such as were lesse provident than they, but in their return home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of provisions into the Fleete out of England, as no man that would have used his diligence could have wanted his due proportion thereof: as might appeare by the Remainder that was returned to Plymouth, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the Merchants ships after their coming into the Thames.

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But leaft I should feeme unto you too ftudious in confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I will | addrefle me to the true report of thofe actions that have paffed there; wherein, I proteft, I will neither hide anie thing that hath happened againft us, nor attribute more to anie man or matter than the iuft occasions therof leadeth unto: wherein it fhall appeare that there hath been nothing left undone by the Generalls which was before our going out undertaken by them, but that there hath been much more done than was at the firft required by Don Antonio, who fhould have reaped the fruite of our Adventure.

After 6 daies failing from the coaft of England, and the fifth after we had the winde good, beeing the 20 of April, in the evening, we landed in a Bay more than an Englifh mile from the Groyne, in our long boates and Pinnaces, without anie impeachment: from whence we prefently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile whereof we were encountred by the Enemie, who, being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our Armie lay in the villages, houfes, and milles next adioyning, and verie neare round about the Towne; into the which the Galeon named Saint Iohn (which was the fecond of the laft yeres Fleete againft England), one hulk, two fmaller fhips, and two Gallies, which were found in the Rode, did beate upon us and upon our Companies, as they paffed to and fro, that night and the next morning.

Generall Norris, having that morning, before day, viewed the Towne, found the fame defended on the land fide (for it ftandeth on the neck of an Iland) with a wal upon a drie ditch: whereupon he refolved to trie in two places what might be done againft it by *efcalade*, and in the meane

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time advifed for the landing of fome Artillarie to beat upon the fhips & Gallies, that they might not annoy us: which being put in execution, upon the planting of the firft peece the Gallies abandoned the Road, and betooke them to Farroll, not farre from thence: and the Armado, being beaten with the artillery & musketers that was placed | upon the next fhoare, left her playing upon us. The reft of the day was fpent in preparing the Companies, & other provifions readie for the furprife of the Bafe towne, which was effected in this fort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men, under the conduct of Colonell Huntley and Captaine Fenner, the Vizeadmirall, on that fide next fronting us, by water, in long boates and pynnifes, wherein were placed manie peeces of artillarie to beate upon the Towne in their approach. At the corner of the wall which defended the other water fide, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfeild, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampfon, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake, to enter at lowe water with 500 men, if they found it paffable, but, if not, to betake them to the *efcalade*, for they had alfo ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall, which ioyned to that fide that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Vmpton and Colonell Brett, with 300 men, to enter by *efcalade*. All the Companies which fhould enter by boate being imbarked before the lowe water: and having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfeild and Captaine Sampfon betooke thē to the *efcalade*, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boates landed without anie great difficultie, yet had they fome men hurt in y^e landing. Colonel Bret & Col. Umpton entred

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their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them : for Captain Hinder, being one of them that entred by water, at his first entrie (with some of his owne Companie, whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleered before that they offered to enter, & so still scoured the wall) till he came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Capteine Wingfeild & Captaine Sampson ; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found verie good resistance, till the Enemies, perceiving ours entred in two places at their backs, were driven to abandon the same. The reason why that place was | longer defended than the other is (as Don Iuan de Luna, who commanded the same, affirmeth) that the Enemie that day had resolved in counsell how to make their defences, if they were approached : and therein concluded that if we attempted it by water, that it was not to be helde ; and, therefore, on the discoverie of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fier, frō thence, that al the low Towne might make their Retreate thither : but they (whither troubled with the sodaine terror we brought upon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fier, which made them gard that place till wee were entred on everie side.

Then, the Towne being entred in three severall places with an huge crie, the inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne, which they might with lesse perill doe : for that ours, being strangers ther, knew not the way to cut thē of. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rockes in the Iland, and hid themselves in chambers and fellers, which were everie day found out in great nūbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna, a man of verie good

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commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a Commiffarie of vittels, called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groyne at our entrie 500 Soldiers, being in seaven companies, which returned verie weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the Iourney of England, namely:

Under Don Iuan deluna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz: his companie was that night in the galeon.

Don Antonio de Herera, then at Madrid.

Don Pedro de Mauriques, Brother to the Earle of Paxides.

Don Jeronimo de Mourray, of the order of Saint Iuan, with some of the Towne, were in the fort. |

Don Gomer de Caramafal, then at Madrid.

Captaine Manco, Caucafo de Socas.

Also, there came in that day of our landing, from Retanzas, the companies of Don Iuan de Mofalle, and Don Petro poure de leon.

Also, hee saith that there was order given for baking of 300000 of Bisquet, some in Bataneas, some in Rivadea, and the rest there.

There was then in the Towne 2000 pipes of wine, and an 150 in the ships.

That there was lately come unto the Marquis of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there was 1000 Iarres of oyle.

A greate quantitie of beanes, pease, wheate, and fish.

That there was 3000 quintells of beefe.

And that not 20 dayes before there came in three Barques, laden with match and harquebuses.

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Some others also found favour to bee taken prifoners; but the reft, falling into the hands of the common Soldiers, had their throates cut, to the number of 500, as I coniecture, firft and laft, after wee had entred the Towne; and in the enterie thereof, there was found everie celler full of Wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grewe themselves, for the prefent, fenceles of the danger of the fhof of the Towne, which hurt many of them, being drunke, and tooke the firft ground of their ficknes, for of fuch was our firft and chiefeft mortalitie. There was also abundant ftore of victualls, falt and all kinde of provision for fhipping and the warre: which was confeffed by the fayd Commiffarie of victualls, taken there, to be the beginning of a Magafin of all forts of provision for a new Voiage into England: whereby you may coniecture what the fpoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the King of Spaine.

The next morning, about eight of the clocke, the Enemie abandoned their Shippes. And, having overcharged the | artillarie of the Gallion, left her on fier, which burnt in terrible fort two daies together, the fier and overcharging of the peeces being fo great, as of 50 that were in her, ther wer not above 16 taken out whole; the reft, with overcharge of the poudre, being broken and molten with heat of the fire, was taken out in broken peeces into divers Shippes. The fame day was the Cloifter on the fouth fide of the Towne entered by us, which joyned very neare to the wall of the Towne, out of the Chambers and other places, whereof wee beate into the fame with our Mufquetiers.

The next day, in the afternoone, there came downe fome 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrie, even to the gates of the towne, as refolutlie (led by what fpirit I

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knowe not) as though they would have entered the same : but at the first defence made by ours that had the gard there, wherein were flaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speede than ours were able to followe. Notwithstanding, we followed after them more than a mile. The second day, Col. Huntley was sent into the countrie with three or foure hundred men, who brought home verie great store of Cowes and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day, in the night, the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munion house, builded upon their wall, opening towards us, which would have given us great advantage against them ; but they, knowing the commoditie thereof for us, burnt it in the beginning of the evening : which put him to a newe councell, for hee had likewise brought some Artillarie to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a verie great fire in the lower end of the towne ; which had it not been, by the care of the Generals, heedilie seen unto, and the furie thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses, which were most in danger, as next unto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance. |

The 4 day were planted, under the garde of the Cloyster, two demie Canons and two Culverings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, through the which our batterie lay ; the first & second tyre whereof shooke al the wall downe, so as the ordnance lay al open to the enemye ; by reason whereof some of y^e Canoniers were shot & some flaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordnance, Master Spencer, was flaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof ; whose valor being accompanied with an

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honorable care of defending that trust committed unto him, he never left that place, till he received direction from the Generall, his brother, to cease the Batterie, which hee presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and, in the night following, made so good a defence for the place of the Batterie, as after there were verie fewe or none annoyed therein. That day, Captain Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall that, when the assault should be given to the Towne, he should make a proper of an *escalade* on the other side, where hee helde his guard; but he (mistaking the signall that should have been given) attempted the same long before the assault, & was shot in the mouth. The same daye, the Generall, having planted his Ordinance readie to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the Towne shot at our Drum. Immediately after that, there was one hanged over the wall, and a parley desired, wherein they gave us to understand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before; wherein, also, they intreated to have faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts: the rest of the parley was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the Towne; but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris having, by his skilfull viewe of the Towne (which is almost all seated upon a rocke) found one place thereof myneable, & did presently set workmen in hand withal: who, after 3 daies labor (& the seventh after wee | were entred the base Towne) had bedded their powder, but, indeed, not farre inough into the wall. Agaynst which time, y^e breach made by y^e cannon being thought assault-

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able, and companies appoynted as wel to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen vp by the Myne; namely, to that of the Cannon, Captaine Richard Wingfeild, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generalls foote Companie; with whom, also, Captaine Yorke went, whose principall Commandment was over the horfmen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine John Sampson and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certain selected out of divers Regiments. All those Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be given in all places at an instant, fier was put to the train of the Myne; but by reason the powder brake out backwards, in a place where the cave was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time, Captaine Hinder was sent, with some chosen out of everie Companie, into the countrie for provisions, whereof hee brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day, Captaine Anthonie Sampson was sent out, with some 500, to fetch in provisions for the Armie, who was encountred by them of the Countrie; but he put them to flight, & returned with good spoyle. The same night, the Myners were set to worke againe; who, by the second day after, had wrought verie wel into the foundation of the wall. Against which time, the Companies aforesaid being in readines for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with 2 or 300 men in Pinnaces, making profer to attempt a strong Fort upon an Iland before the Towne, where he left more than 30 men), fier was given to the trayne of the Myne, which blewe up halfe the Tower under which the powder was planted. The Assailants having in charge, upon

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the effecting of the Myne, presently to give the assault, which they did accordingly, but too soone; for, having entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the Tower, which by the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell upon our men: under which were buried about 20 or 30, then being under that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Myne. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild's were shot in the Breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfeilds by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon was Captaine Sydenham, pitifully lost; who, having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was helde so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor anie reasonable Companie recover him. Notwithstanding, the next daye, being found to be alive, ther was 10 or 12 lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the Cannon, was wonderful wel assaulted by them that had the charge therof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the Breach; and being readie to enter, the loose earte (which was, indeede, but the rubbish of the outside wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from under their feete. Whereby did appeare halfe the wal unbattered. For let no man thinke that Culverine or Demie Cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible Rampier; and of those peeces we had, the better of the Demi Canons, at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battrie was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

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In our Retreat (which was from both the breaches thorowe a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt; and Captain Dolphin, who served verie well that day, was hurt in the verie Breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, & of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the Myne; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather because the approach was unlooked for by the Enemie at that place, and, therefore, not so much defence was made there as in the other. Which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: For, finding that two dayes batterie had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall, he knewe in his experience there was no good to be done that way: which, I thinke, he first put in prooffe, to trie, if by that terror he could get the vpper Towne, having no other way to put it in hazard so speedelie, and which, in my conscience, had obtained the Towne, had not the Defendents been in as great perill of their lives by the displeasure of their King in giving it up, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day, before the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloyster within the Towne, and manie other houses adjoining the Castle, to make it the more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us sodainely made proud) laid that misfortune upon us.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure Cannons and other pieces of batterie promised to the iourney, and not performed, might have made her Maiestie Mistris of the Groyne; for, though the Myne were infortunate, yet, if the other breach had been such as the earth would have helde

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our men thereon, I doo not thinke but they had entred it throughly at the first affault given, which had been more than I have heard of in our age. And being as it was, in no more than the Prince of Parma hath, in winning of all his Townes, endured, who never entred anie place at the first affault, nor above three by affault.

The next day, the Generall hearing, by a prifoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had affembled an army of 8000 at Puente de Burgos, fixe miles from thence on the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an Armie, in that there was a greater leavie redie to come thether under the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieve the Groyne, or to encamp themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the | fame: for to that purpose had the Marques of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commisarie taken then confessed, or, at the least, to stop our further entrance into the Countrey (for during this time there were many incurfions made, of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victualls plenti-fullie). The Generall, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom he carried but nine Regiments: in the Vangard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk; and in the rere-ward Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake for the garde of the Cloyster and Artillarie.

About tenne of the clocke the next day, being the fixt of May, halfe a mile from the Campe wee discovered the

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Enemie. Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vanguard in chiefe, appoynted his Lieutenant Colonell, Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, to command the shot of the same, who devided thē into three troupes: the one he appoynted to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand; another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand; and the bodie of them (which were Musketers) Captaine Wingfeild tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way helde by Captaine Wingfeild; so, as he giving the first charge upon the Enemie, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfeild, who beate them from place to place (they having verie good places of defence, and crosse walls, which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is over a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone upon Arches. On the foote of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the Enemie, verie stronglie entrenched, who with our shot | beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris, marching in the poynt of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied by Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and divers others; who found the way cleere over y^e same, but through an incredible volie of shot, for that the shot of their armie flanked upon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells; but they, who should have garded the same, seeing the proude approach wee made, forooke the defence of the Barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with verie earnestnes in over-thrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was

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most honourable rescued by the Generall, his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder, also, having his caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword; and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same counter: yet were they so throughlie seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to give encouragement to the attempt (which was of wonderful difficultie) as their bravest men that defended that place being overthrowne, their whole Armie fell presentlie into route, of whom our men had chase three miles, in foure sondrie waies which they betooke themselves unto.

There was taken the Standard, with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many, two thousand men (for of so many consisted our Vangard) might kill in pursuit of the 4 sundrie parties, so many you may imagine fell before us that day. And to make the number more great, our men, having given over the execution, and returning to their stands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they despatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloyster, which he burnt and spoyled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onlie Captaine Cooper, | and one private fouldier: Captaine Barton was also hurt upon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong Barriades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would have thought it a rare resolution of ours to give so brave a charge upon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the Vangard one way,

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and the Battell another, to burne and spoyle; so as you might have seen the countrey more than three miles compassed on fire. There was found verie good store of Munition and Victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better fort left behind, they were so hotlie pursued. Our Sailors also landed in an Iland next adioyning our shippes, where they burnt and spoyled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groyne, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at us as we marched out, but not once in our coming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillarie landed for the Batterie, and of the rest taken at the Groyne; which, had it been such as might have given any assurance of a better batterie, or had there been no other purpose of our Journey but that, I thinke the Generall would have spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded upon the wall by the water side; but they within, suspecting as much, made so good defence against us as they prevented the same. In our departure, there was fire put into everie house of the lowe towne, in so much as I may justlie say there was not one house left standing in the Base towne or the Cloyster.

The next day, being the eight of May, we embarked our Armie, without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the Enemy at Puente de Burgos) had been impossible to have done; for that, without doubt, they would have attempted | something against us in our imbarcking, as appeared by the report of the Commissarie aforesayd, who confessed

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that the first night of our landing, the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, & to Terneis de Santiffo, to bring al the forces against us that they could possiblie raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an armie thether; wherewithall they might either besiege us in their Base towne, if we should get it, or to lie between us and our place of embarking, to fight with us upon the advantage: for they had above 15000 souldiers under their commandements.

After wee had put from thence, wee had the winde so contrarie, as wee could not under nine daies recover the Burlings; in which passage, on the 13 day, the Earle of Effex, and with him Master Walter Devereux, his brother (a Gentleman of wonderful great hope), Sir Roger Williams, Colonell generall of the foot men, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies been most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfeild, came into the fleete. The Earle, having put himselfe 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, (for, as the honorable cariage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highlie esteemed at home, so did his exceeding forwardnes in all services make him to be wondered at amongst us) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that wee left Plymouth in; where he lay, because he would avoide the importunitie of messengers that were daylie sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had been as farre as Cales in Andalofia, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with Corne,

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and brought them unto the Fleete. Also, in his returne from thence to meete with our Fleete, he fell [in] with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the river | which Cannas standeth upon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, & those Gentlemen that were with him, went on shore with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy that held guard upon the Coast would not abide, but fled up the country.

After his coming into the fleet (to the great reioycing of us all), he demaunded of the Generals that, after our Armie should come on shore, he might alwaies have the leading of the vanguard, which they easilie yeelded unto, as being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honor as this did; so as, from the time of our first landing in Portingall, hee alwaies marched in the poynt of the vangard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessitie of the place hee held) called him to other services.

The 16 day we landed at Penicha, in Portingall, under the shot of the Castle, and above the waft in water, more than a mile from y^e towne, wherein were many in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great and the Sea went high, which overthrew one boat, wherein 25 of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The Enemy, being five companies of Spanyards under the commaundement of y^e Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against us, & in our landing made their approach close to the water side. But the Earle of Effex, with Sir Roger Williams & his brother, having landed sufficient number to make 2 troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led y^e other over the Sandhils; which the Enemy seeing, drew

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theirs likewise further into the land ; not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but indeede to make their speedie passage away : notwithstanding, they did it in such sort as, being charged by ours which were sent out by y^e Colonell generall under Captaine Iacson, they stood the same even to the push of the pike ; in which charge, & at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The Enemie being fled further thā we had reason to follow them, al our companies were drawn to the town ; which, being unfortified in any place, we found undefended by anie man against us. And, therefore, the Generall caused the castle to be sōmoned y^t night ; which, being abandoned by him that cōmaunded it, a Portingall, named Antonio | de Aurid being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliver the same, which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the castle 100 shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portingalls withall, & 20 barrels of powder ; so, as possessing both y^e towne and the castle, we rested there one day ; wherin some Friers, and other poore men, came unto their newe King, promising, in the name of the Countrie next adioyning, that within two daies he should have a good supplie of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

The Generals having there resolved y^t the Armie should march overland to Lisbone, under y^e conduct of generall Norris, & that general Drake should meet him in the river thereof with the fleete ; that there should be one company of foote left in gard of the castle, & 6 of the shippes ; also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there, with pro-

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vifions for their cures. The General, to trie y^e event of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march on this fort: his owne regiment & the regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, & Colonel Medkirk, in the Vangard: Generall Drake, Colonel Devereux, S. Edward Norris, & Colonel Sidneis, in y^e Battaile: S. James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfeild, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntleis, & Colonell Brets, in the arrereward. By that time our armie was thus marshalled, general Drake, who, though he were to passe by sea, yet to make known the honorable desire he had of taking equal part of al fortunes with us, stood upō the ascent of an hil by y^e which our Battalions must of necessitie march, & with a pleasing kindnes tooke his leave severally of the cōmaunders of everie regiment, wishing us al happy successe in our iourney over the land, with a constant promise y^t he would, if the injury of y^e wether did not hinder him, meet us in the river of Lisbone with our fleete. The want of carriages the first day was such as they were enforced to carrie their Munion upon mens backes, which was the next day remedied.

In this march, Captaine Crispe, the Provost Marshall, caused one who (contrarie to the proclamation published at | our arrivall in Portingall) had broken up a house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example, providentlie given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectivelie regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doth onelie hold within compasse. The Camp lodged that night at Loriaña: The next day we had intelli-

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gence al the way that the enemy had made head of horse and foote against us at Toras Vedras, which wee thought they would have held ; but comming thither the seconde day of our march, not two hours before our Vangarde came in, they left the Towne and Castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victualls, especially of bread, upon a Commandment given from the Generall, that no man should spoyle the Countrey, or take anie thing from any Portingall : which was more respectively observed than, I thinke, would have been in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred : but the Countrey (contrarie to promise) having neglected the provision of victualls for us, whereby we were driven for that time into a great scarcitie. Which moved the Colonell Generall to call al the Colonels together, and with them to advise for some better course for our people : who thought it best first to advertise y^e King what necessitie we were in, before we should of our selves alter the first institution of abstinence : the Colonell general having acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the King ; who, after some expostulations used, tooke the more carefull order for our men ; and after that our armie was more plentifully relieved.

The third daye wee lodged our Armie in three fundrie villages, the one battallion lying in "Enchara de los Cavaleros, another in "Enchara de los Obispos, and the third in San Sebastians.

Captaine Yorke, who commanded the Generals horse companie, | in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the Enemy ; who, by one of his Corporalls,

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charged with 8 horses through 40 of them, and himselfe through more than 200 with some 40 horse, who would abide him no longer than they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Loris, and had divers intelligences, that the enemy would tarrie us there; for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with us in that place; which hee might have done advantageously, for we had a bridge to passe over in the same place; but, before our coming, hee dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared unto us that hee had in purpose to encampe there: for wee found the ground flaked out where their trenches should have been made; and their horsemen, with some few shot, shewed themselves upon a hill at our coming into that village. Whom Sir Henrie Norris (whose Regiment had the poynt of the Vanguard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therefore marched, without sound of Drum, and somewhat faster than ordinarie, thereby get neere them before hee were discovered; for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

Generall Drakes Regiment that night, for the commoditie of good lodging, drewe themselves into a Village more than one English mile from thence, and neare the Enemy; who, not daring to doo any thing against us in foure daies before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe upon that Regiment, crying *Viva el Rey Don Antonio*, which was a general salutation thorough all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were upon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but, having got within their guard,

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they fell to cut their throates : but the Alarme being taken inwards, the Officers of the two next Companies, whose captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead | at the Groyne, brought down their colours and pikes upon them in so resolute a manner, as they presently drave them to retire with losse : they killed of ours, at their first entrance, 14, and hurt fixe or seaven.

The next day we lodged at Alvelana, within three miles of Lisbone, where many of our Souldiers, drinking in two places of standing waters by the waie, were poyfoned, and thereon presently died : some doo thinke it came rather by eating of honnie, which they found in the houfes plentifully. But, whether it were by water or by honnie, the poore men were poyfoned.

That night the Earl of Effex and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleven of the clock, with 1000 men, to lye in Ambuscade neere the Towne ; and, having layd the same very neere, sent some to give the Alarme unto the Enemye : which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the Enemye refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned as soone as it was light without dooing anie thing, though he had in purpose, and was readie to have given an honourable Chardge on them.

The 25 of May, in the evening, we came to the Suburbes of Lisbone ; at the verie entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams, calling Captain Anthony Wingfeild with him, tooke thirtie shot, or thereabouts, and first scowred al the streetes till they came verie neere the Towne : where they found none but olde folkes and beggers, crying *Viva el Rey Don Antonio*, and the houfes shut up ; for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some

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houses by the water side full of corne and other provisions of victualls, leaft we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in manie houses.

The foure Regiments that had the Vangard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sydneys, and General Drakes, whome I name as they marched, the Colonell Generall caused to holde guard | in the neareft streates of the Suburbes. The Battaile and the arrierward stood in Armes al the night in the field neare to Alcantara. Before Morning, Captaine Wingfeild, by direction from y^e Colonell General, Sir Roger Williams, helde guard with Sir Edward Norris his Regiment in three places verie neere the Towne wal, and so helde the same till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight, they within the Towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall, either within or without, leaft we, possessing them, might thereby greatly have annoyed the Towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without perill) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and would have been a verie evill neighbour to the towne; but the Enemie, having more easie entrie into it than wee, gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the Battaile and arrierward in the Suburbes called Bona Vista, & in placing Musquetiers in houses, to frunt their shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streates verie dangeroufflie.

By this time our men, being thoroughly wearie with our fixe dayes March, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the Enemie being advertised, about one or two of the clocke, sallied out of the Town, and made

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their approach in three severall streates upon us, but chiefly in Colonell Bretts quarter ; who (as most of the Armie was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into Armes, and made head against them so thoroughly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carfey shot through the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Cave hurt (but not mortally), who were all of his Regiment.

The resistance made, as wel here as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonel Medkerke commanded, put them to a sodaine fowle retreat ; in so much as the Earle of Effex had the chafe of them even to the gates of the high Towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders : their Troope of horsmen also came out, and, being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Manie of them also left the streates, and betooke them to houses which they found open : For the Serjeant Maior, Captain Wilfon, flewe in one house, with his owne hands, three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kil manie others. Their losse, I can assure you, did triple ours, aswell in qualitie as in quantitie.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake, with the whole Fleete was come into Cascais, and possessed the Towne without anie resistance ; manie of the inhabitants, at their discoverie of our Navie, fled with their baggage into the Mountaines, and left the Towne for anie man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them, by a Portingall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnes, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the Armie he had brought : which offer they joyfully embraced, & presently sent two

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chiefe men of their Towne to signifie their loyaltie to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloyster called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the Castle, which being guarded with sixtie-five Spaniards held still agaynst him.

As our Fleete were casting anker when they came first into that Road, there was a small ship of Brasil, that came from thence, which bare too with them, and seemed, by striking her sayles, as though she would also have ankered; but, taking her fittest occasion, hoyfed againe, and would have passed up the River; but the Generall, presently discerning her purpose, sent out a Pinnace or two after her, which forced her in such sort as she ranne her selfe uppon the Rocks. All the men escaped out of her; and the lading (being | many chefts of sugar) was made nothing woorth by the salt water. In his going thether, also, he tooke ships of the Port of Portingall, which were sent from thence with fiftene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes, Serjeant Major of the same place, laden with men and victualls, to Lisbone: the rest that escaped put into Sant' Vues.

The next day it pleased General Norris to cal al ye Colonells together, and to advise with them, whether it were more expedient to tarrie there to attend the Forces of the Portingall horse and foote, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our Artillarie and munition which was all at our ships, saving that which, for necessitie of the Service, was brought along with us: Whereunto some, carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the Towne stood for us, held it best to make our abode there, and to

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send some 3000 for our artillarie ; promising to themselves that the Enemie, being wel beaten the day before, would make no more fallies. Some others (whose unbeleefe was verie strong of anie hope from the Portingall) perswaded rather to march whollie away, than to be any longer carried away with an opinion of things, where there was so little apparance. The Generall, not willing to leave anie occasion of blott to be layd upon him for his speedie going from thence, nor to loose anie more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio, tolde them that, though the expedition of Portingall were not the onely purpose of their Journey, but an adventure therein, which, if it succeeded prosperously might make them sufficiently rich & wonderfull honourable ; and that they had done so much alreadie in triall thereof as, what ende soever happened, could nothing impaire their credits, Yet, in regarde of the Kings last promise, that hee should have that night 3000 men, armed, of his owne Country, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong that hee might send the like number for his munition he would resolve to | trie his fortune for the Towne. But, if they came not, he found it not convenient to divide his Forces by sending anie to Cascais, and keeping a Remainder behinde, sithence he saw them, the day before, so boldly fall upon his whole Armie, and knew that they were stronger of Soldiers within the Towne than hee was without : And that, before our returne could be from Cascais, that they expected more supplies from all places of Souldiers, for the Duke of Bragantia, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was that, if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

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It may bee here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderlie regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an Armie against such an Enemie, before hee knewe either the fulnes of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place, when he should come to it? Wherein I pray you remember the decree made in the Councell at *Penicha*, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our Navie should meete us in the river of Lisbone, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the mean of our tariance in that place, which came not, thogh we continued till we had no Munitiō left to entertaine a verie small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of *Portingall* (whether carried away with imagination by the advertisements hee received from the *Portingalls*, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Countrie, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that uppon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: wherof there was some hope given at our first entrie to *Penicha*, by the manner of the yeelding of that Towne and Fort, which made the Generall thinke it most convenient speedilie to march to the principall place, thereby to give courage to the rest of the Countrie. The Friars also and the poore people that came unto him, promised that within two daies y^e Gentlemen | and others of the countrie would come plentifully in: within which two daies came many more Priestes, and some verie fewe Gentlemen on horsebacke; but not till we came to *Toras Vedras*, where they that noted y^e course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weakenes of that people. There they tooke two daies more: and at the ende

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thereof, referred him till our comming to *Lisbone*, with assurance, that so soone as our Armie should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall upon the Spaniards.

After two nights tarriance at *Lisbone*, the King, as you have heard, promised a supplie of 3000 foote, and some horse: but all his appoyntments being expired, even to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a Cornet of 40, nor his foote furnish two Ensignes fullie, although they carried three or foure Colours: and these were altogether such as thought to enrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders, in everie place wher we came by spoyle, than any of our own.

The Generall, as you see, having done more than before his comming out of *England* was required by the King, and given credite to his many promises even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer; in which time he might have engaged himselfe further, than with any honor he could come out of againe, by attempting a Towne fortified, wherein where more men armed against us, than wee had to oppunge them with all our Artillarie and Munition, being fiftene miles from us, and our men then declining; for there was the first shewe of any great sicknes amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies he sawe no semblance: or he like a fillie lover, who promiseth himselfe favour by importuning a coy mistress, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the ende taking pitie on him, they | would let him in.

What end the Friars had by following him with such de-

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votion, I knowe not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie would sway; fearing to shewe themselves apparantlie unto him, leaft the *Spaniard* should after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to accompt: yet sent they under hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to save their owne, if he became King; but indeede verie well contented to see the *Spaniards* and us trie by blowes, who should carrie away the Crowne. For they bee of so base a mould, as they can verie well subject themselves to any government where they may live free from blowes, and have libertie to become rich, being loath to endure hazard either of life or goods. For, durst they have put on anie minds thoroughly to revolt, they had three wonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not above 5000 *Spaniards* in that part of the Countrie, of which number the halfe were out of the Towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easilie they might have prevailed against the rest, any man may conceive. But upon our approach they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thether when the fallie was made uppon us by their most resolute *Spaniards*, how easilie might they have kept them out, or have given us the Gate which was held for their retreate, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two daies after our comming to Cascaies, when 6000 *Spaniards* and *Portingalls* came against us as farre as S. *Julians* by land, as you shall presentlie heare, (all which time I thinke there were not many *Spaniards* left in the

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Towne) they had a more fit occasion to shewe their devotion to the King, than any could be offered by our tarrying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would have fought with them upon that advantage, having fought them in *Galitia* upon disadvantage to beate them : and, having taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof wee gave sufficient testimonie in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the *Spaniard* had taken so deepe impressiion within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them upon anie hazard.

For, what civil Country hath ever suffred themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were ; to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized over thus long as they ? And what Countrey living in slavery under a stranger whom they naturally hate : having an Armie in the Field to fight for them and their libertie, would lie still with the yoke upon their neckes, attending if any strangers would unburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves under it but they : They will promise much in speeches, for they bee great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their Countrey : But they performed little in action, whereof wee could have had no prooffe without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discovered their weaknesse, and honourably performed more than could be in reason expected of him : which had he not done, would not these maligners who seeke occasions of slander, have reported him to bee suspitious of a people, of whose infidelitie he had no testimonie : and to be fearfull without cause, if he had refused to give credite to their promises without anie ad-

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venture? Let no frivolous questionist therefore further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to *Lisbone*, and tarried there so small a while?

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gave order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Roger Williams* remaining with the Stande that was made in the high streete, till the whole Armie was drawne into the field, and so marched out of the Towne, appoynting Captain *Richard Wingfield*, and Capitaine *Anthonie Wingfield* in the Arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the Enemye (as | it was most likelie) would have issued out uppon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the field, everie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night unto *Cascaies*. Had wee marched through his Countrie as enemies, our Souldiers had been well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of *Lisbone*, wee had been the richest Armie that ever went out of *England*: for besides the particuler wealth of everie house, there were many ware-houses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Marchandizes.

In our march that day, the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed us at *Lisbone* (for that our way lay along the river) attended us till we were past S. *Julians*, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving [th]at they strooke off a private Gentlemans legge, and killed the Sergeant Majors moyle under him. The horsemen also followed us a farre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had been two daies at *Cascais*, wee had intel-

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ligence by a Frier, that the Enemie was marching strongly towards us, and then come as farre as *S. Julians*: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of *Essex* and the Generalls, as they offered euerie one of them to give the messenger a hundred Crownes if they found them in the place: for the Generall desiring nothing more than to fight with them in field rouse, dispatched that night a messenger with a Trompet, by whom he writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gave them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from *Lisbone* in disorder and feare of them (which indeede was most false) for that it was five of the clock in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to followe out upon us. Also he challenged him therein, to meete him the next morning with his whole Armie, if he durst attend his coming, and | there to trie out the iustnes of their quarrell by battaile: by whom also the Earle of *Essex* (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his Countries, before his own safetie) sent a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie: or, if they would not admit of that, fixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoynt, should meete so many of theirs in the head of our Battaille to trie their fortunes with them, and that they should have assurance of their returne and honorable intreatie.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie by three of the clocke in the morning and marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sodaine feare that we had been come upon them, as the Generall was the next daye certainly informed: so as the

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trumpet followed them to *Lisbone*, but could not get other anfwere to either of his letters, but threatning to bee hanged, for daring to bring such a message: howbeit the Generall had caused to bee written uppon the backside of their passport, y^t if they did offer any violence unto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter and to returne them home, but without anfwere.

After our armie came to *Cascais*, and the Castle summoned, the *Castillan* thereof graunted, that upon five or fixe shot of the Cannon hee would deliver the same, but not without fight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victualls as he could not hold it many daies, because he sawe it otherwise defencible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessitie, than to bring the Cannon, and therefore onlie set a gard upon the same, leaft anie supplie of those things which hee wanted should bee brought unto them. But he still standing upon those conditions, the Generall about two daies before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or four peeces of batterie | against it: upon the first Fire whereof he rendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes: he had one Cannon, two Culverings, one Basiliske, and three or foure other field-peeces, threescore and five Souldiers, verie good store of munition, and victualls enough in the Castle; infomuch as hee might have held the same longer than the Generall had in purpose to tarie there. One Companie of foot men was put into the garde thereof, til the Artillarie was taken out, and our Armie embarked; which without having that Fort, we could not without great perill have done. When we

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were readie to fet faile (one half of the fort being, by order from the General, blown up by myne) the Companie was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Fleete began the second of June, and so continued fixe daies after to fetch in some Hulks to the number of 60 of *Dansik, Staten, Rastock, Lubec, and Hamburgh*, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the Kings provision, and going for *Lisbone*: their principall lading was Corne, Mastes, Cables, Copper and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the King's provision, to reinforce his decayed Navie: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them, which carried two Mifnes, was known to be verie inward with the Cardinall, who rather than hee would be taken with his ships, committed himself unto his small boate, wherein he recovered *S. Sebastians*. Into the which our men, that before were in Fleeboates, were shipped, and the Fleeboates sent home with an offer of Corne to the value of their hire. But the wind being good for them for *Rochel*, they chose rather to lose their Corne than the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into *England*.

The third of June, Colonell *Devereux* and Colonell *Sidney* being both verie sicke, departed for *England*, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves verie forward to all services, and in their departure verie unwilling to leave us: that day we embarked all our Armie, but lay in the Road until the eight thereof.

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The sixt day the Earle of *Essex*, upon receipt of letters from her Majestie by them that brought in the victualls, presentlie departed towards *England*, with whom Sir *Roger Williams* was verie desirous to goe, but found the Generals verie unwilling he should do so, in y^t he bare the next place unto them, and if they should miscarrie, was to command the Armie. And the same day there came unto us two small Barkes that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of *England* with victualls, which were passed upwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after wee set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go to the Iles of *Açores*, the second day, which was the ninth, wee met them coming backe againe towards us, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding, we resolved to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the *Marchant Royal*, with three or foure other shippes sent to *Penicha*, to fetch away the Companies that were left there; but Captaine *Barton* having received letters from the Generalls that were sent overland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedie marching thether, either to bring away the Artillarie, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gave him; for hee was no sooner gone, than the Enemy possessed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the Road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperour of *Moroco*, called *Rays Hamet Bencafamp*, returned, and with him Master *Ciprian*, a gentleman of good place and defart, was sent from Don Anthonio and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperour.

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The | next morning, the nine Gallies which were sent not five daies before out of *Andolosia* for the strengthening of the river of *Lisbone* (which being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though wee lay hard by them at *S. Julians*, durst never make any attempt against us upon our departure from thence) were returning home, and in the morning being a verie dead calme, in the dawning thereof fell in the winde of our Fleete, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling Barke of *Plymouth*, of the which Captaine *Caverley* being Captaine of the land Companie, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners abandoned the shippe, and betooke them to the ship boates, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captain wer, was overrun with the Gallies, and they drowned. There was also two Hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their boates to have relieved them, but could not be recovered; in one of which was Captaine *Minshaw*, with his Companie, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discern, but might easilie judge by his long and good fight, that the Enemie could not but susteine much losse, who setting also upon one other Hulk wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he verie sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their Artillarie, and attempted to board her. And seeing, also, one other Hulke a league off, a sterne of us, they made towards her: but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed their losse being

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great in the other fights, they were loath to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerlie wee should plie for the *Açores*; but if Southerlie, for the Iles of *Bayon*. Wee lay with contrarie windes about that place | and the Rockes, till the Southerlie wind prevailing carried us to *Bayon*, part of our ships to the number of 25 in a greate winde which was two dayes before, having loft the Admiralls and Fleete, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with *Bayon*, among whome, was Sir *Henrie Norris*, in the *Ayde*: who had in purpofe (if the Admiralls had not come in) with fome 500 men out of them all, to have landed, and attempted the taking of *Vigo*. The rest of the Fleete helde with Generall *Drake*, who, though he were two dayes before put uppon those islandes, cast off againe to sea for the *Açores*: but remembring how unprovided he was for that Journey, and seeing that he had loft manie of his great ships, returned for *Bayon*, and came in there that night in the Evening, where he passed up the river more than a mile above *Vigo*.

The next morning we landed as manie as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes wee continued on board wee had cast manie of our men over boord) with which number the Colonell Generall marched to the Towne of *Vigo*, neare the which when hee approached, hee sent Captaine *Anthonie Wingfield* with a troope of shot to enter one side of the same, who found upon everie streetes end a strong Barricade, but altogether abandoned: for having entered the Towne, he found but one man therin, but might see them making way

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before him to *Bayon*. On the other side of the Towne entred Generall *Drake*, with Captaine *Richard Wingfield*, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Vizeadmirall to lye close before the Towne, to beate upon the same with their Artillarie.

In the afternoone were sent 300 under the conduct of Captaine *Petuin* and Captaine *Henry Poure*, to burne another village betwixt that and *Bayon*, called *Borsis*, and as much of the Countrey as the day would give them leave to doo; which was a verie pleasant rich Valley, but they burnt | it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the Towne, both that and the next day, so as the Country was spoyled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the Towne, but not anie thing els: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gave them a respite to carrie all away.

The next morning by breake of the day, the Colonell Generall, (who in absence of the Generalls that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our Companies to be drawn out of the Towne, and sent in two Troops to put fier in everie house of the same, which done we imbarked againe.

This day there were certaine Marriners (without anie direction) put themselves on shoare, on the contrarie side of the River from us, for pillage; who were beaten by the Enemie from their boates, and punished by the Generalls for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against *Bayon*, were before shewed to bee want of artillarie, and may now

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be alledged to be the small number of our men : who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with verie good souldiers ; as was showed by *Juan de Versa* taken at the *Groyn*e, who confessed that there were 600 olde Souldiers in Garrison there, of *Flanders*, and the *Tercios* of *Naples*, lately also returned out of the Journey of *England* : under the leading of

Capitan Puebla.

Christofero Vasques de Viralta, a Souldier of *Flanders*.

Don Petro Camascho, del tercio de Naples.

Don Francisco de Cespedes.

Capt. Juan de Solo, del Tercio de Napoles.

Don Diego de Cassava.

Capt. Sauban.

Also, he saith, there be 18 peeces of brasse, and foure of yron lately layd uppon the walls of the Towne besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generalls seeking what weake estate our Armie was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall 20 of the best ships for the Isles of *Açores*, with Generall *Drake*, to see if he could meete with the *Indian* Fleete, and Generall *Norris* to returne home with the rest. And for the shifting of men and victualls accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Islands of *Bayon* againe, and to remaine there that daye. But Generall *Drake* according to their appoyntment being under sayle, never strooke at the Isles, but put straight to sea ; whom all the Fleete followed saving 33 which being in the River further than he, and at the enterance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast Anker there for that night : amongst

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whom, by good fortune was the *Forefight*, and in her Sir *Edward Norris*. And the night following, Generall *Norris* being driven from the rest of the Fleete by a greate storme, (for all that daye was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came agayne into the Islands, but not without great perill, hee being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a Councell of as manie as he found there, holding the purpose he had before concluded with Sir *Francis Drake* the day before, and directed all their courses for *England*, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse, by having victualls that came last, carried away the day before to sea.

The next day he fet sayle, and the tenth day after, which was the second of July came into *Plymouth*, where he found Sir *Francis Drake*, and all the Queenes ships, with manie of the others, but not all : for the Fleete was disperfed into other harbors ; some lead by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the Hulkes, sought other ports from their Generals eye, wher they might make their private commoditie of them, as | they have done to their great advantage.

Presently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the Armie, faving 8 Companies, which are yet held together, giving everie Souldier five shillings in money and the Armes he bare to make money of, which was more than could by anie meanes be due unto them ; for they were not in service three months, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse than halfe their

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pay; for such is the allowance in her Majesties ships to her Marriners, so as there remained but ten shillings a month more to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparell and furniture to his own use, so as everie common Souldier discharged, received more in money, victualls, apparell and furniture, than his pay did amount unto.

Notwithstanding, there be, even in the same place where those things have passed, that either doo not or will not conceive the Souldiers estate, by comparing their povertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some injuries upon the Generalls and the action. Where, and by the way, but especiallie here in *London*, I finde there have been some false prophets gone before us, telling straunge tales: For as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who desirous of honour, doo put themselves into the actions thereof, so dooth it manie more dull spirited, who though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet doo they listen how other mens acts doo passe, and eyther believing what anie man will report unto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than *Paules* to enquire what hath been done in this Voyage: where, if they meete with anie, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them live, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complayning on the hardnesse and miserie thereof, they thinke they are bound | to give credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in verie charitie become of their opinions. The others to

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make good the faction they are entred into, if they see anie of those malecontents (as everie journey yeeldeth some) doo runne unto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresawe before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleiving everie report, for you see there have been many more beholders of these things y^t have passed, than actors in the same; who by their experience, not having the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, have thought that to lie hard, not to have their meate well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not having so given their minds to the service as they are anything instructed thereby, doo for want of better matter discourse ordinarilie of these things: whereas the journey (if they had with that judgement seen into it, and as their places required) hath given them farre more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings before our comming home, have made me labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of everie thing, because I would not willinglie have you miscarried in the judgements of them, wherein you shall give me leave somewhat to delate upon a question, which I onlie touched in the beginning of my letter, namelie, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintaine an offensive warre against the King of *Spaine* in the Lowe Countries, or, as in this journey, to offerd him in his nearer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this journey have given us.

There is no good subject that will make question, whether

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it bee behoofefull for us to hold friendship with these neigh- |
bours of ours or no, aswell in respect of the infinite propor-
tion of their shipping, which must stand either with us or
against us ; as of the commoditie of their Harbors, especiallie
that of *Vlissing*, by the favour wherof our Navie may con-
tinuallie keepe the Narrow Seas, and which would harbour
a greater Fleete against us, than the *Spaniard* shall neede to
annoy us withall ; who being now distressed by our common
Enemie, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend
them, and if it may bee to give them a re entrie into that
they have of late yeares lost unto him. The one without
doubt her Majestie may doo without difficultie, and in so
honorable fort as he shall never be able to dispossesse her or
them of any the towns they now hold. But if any man
thinke that the *Spaniard* may bee expelled from thence
more speedilie, or convenientlie by keeping an Armie there,
than by sending one against him in his own Countrie : let
him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that
Armie must consist, and what intollerable expences it re-
quireth. And let him thinke by the example of the Duke
of *Alva*, when the Prince of Orrenge had his great Armie
against him : and of *Don Jon* when the States had their
mightie assemblie against him, how this wife Enemie, with
whom wee are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight
with us, leave us occasions enough for our Armie within fewe
moneths to mutine and breake ; or by keeping him in his
Townes leave us a spoyled field : where though our provi-
sion may be such of our own as wee starve not, yet is our
weaknes in a strange Countrie such, as with sicknes and
miserie we shall be dissolved. And let him not forget what
a continuall burthen wee hereby lay upon us, in that to

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repoffesse those Countries which have been lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance than wee shall be able to endure.

In the verie action whereof, what should hinder the King of *Spaine* to bring his forces home unto us? For it is certaine [th]at he hath long since set downe in Councell, that there | is no way for him whollie to recover those Lowe Countries, but by bringing the warre uppon *England* it selfe, which hath alwaies assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath been vehementlie urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained uppon our Coasts, and the great dishonor this journey hath laid uppon him; no doubt if wee shall give him respite to doo it, but he will mightelie advance his purpose, for he is richlie able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of revenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish, even in true and honest zeale to my Countrie, that wee were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busie him with a well furnished armie in *Spaine*, which hath so many goodlie Bayes open, as wee may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an invasion. And having an Armie of twentie thousand royallie furnished there, we shall not neede to take much care for their paiment: for shall not *Lisbone* be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had wee madeemie of them, they had largely enriched us all? Which with what small losse it may be wonne, is not here to shewe; but why it was not wonne by us, I have herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of *Civill* sufficient to pay more than shall be needful to be sent against it, whose defence (as that of *Lisbone*) is

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onlie force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, it is not to be esteemed, because wee have discovered what kinde of men they bee ; even such as will never abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours against them : for during the time wee were in many places of their Countrey, they cannot say that ever they made twentie of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfy our forces ?

But admit that if upon this Alarme that we have given him, he, tendring his naturall and nearest foyle before his | further removed off governments, do drawe his forces of old Souldiers out of the Low Countries for his own defence, is not the victorie then wonne by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should have kept an Armie there at a charge by many parts greater than this, and not stirred them ?

Admit further our Armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall Roades, are wee not in possibilitie to meete with his Indian Merchants, and verie like to prevent him and his provisions comming out of the East Countries ? without the which, neither the subject of *Lisbone* is long able to live, nor the King able to maintain his Navie : for though the countrey of *Portingall* doo some yeres finde themselves corne, yet are they never able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the King of *Spaine* be the richest Prince in Christendome, yet can he neyther draw cables, hew mafts, nor make powder of his mettalls, but is to bee supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they be not our enemies ;

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and that our difagreeance with them, will impeach the trade of our Merchants, and so impoverish our Countrey. Of whose minde I can hardly be drawn to be: For, if my enemie fighting with me doo breake his sword, so as I thereby have the advantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kil me withal? And may it not be thought more fitting for us in these times to loose our trades of cloath, than by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard, whether we shall have a Countrey left to make cloth in, or no? And yet, though neither *Hamburgh*, *Embsen*, nor *Stode* doo receive our cloth, the necessarie use thereof in all places is such, as they will finde meanes to take it from us, with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that wee damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for unlesse it bee with a much more mightie Armie than ours, he shall never be able to withstand | us) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free ourselves from the warrè at our owne walls: the benefite whereof let them consider, y^t best can iudge, and have observed the difference of invading, and being invaded; the one giving courage to the Souldier, in that he it dooth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearfull terror to the Countrey man, who if by chaunce hee play the man, yet is he never the richer: and who, knowing many holes to hide himselfe him in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Invador casteth up his accompt before he goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust unto. I will not say what I observed in our Countrey men, when the enemie offered to affaile us here: but I wish that all *England* knewe what

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terror we gave to the same people that frightened us, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not *Alexanders* fortunes great against the mightie *Darius*, onely in that his *Macedonians* thirsted after the wealth of *Persia*, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knewe no safer waye to save himselfe, than by fighting? Whereas the *Persians*, either trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Invador, began to practise against their owne king: or having more inward hopes, did hide themselves even to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the advice of *Scipio*, though mightely impugned at the first, prove verie sound and honorable to his Countrey? Who, seeing the Romanes wonderfully amazed at the nearnesse of the enemies Forces, and the losses they dayly sustained by them, gave counsaile, rather by way of diversion to carrie an Armie into *Affricke*, and there to assaile, than by a defensive warre at home to remaine subject to the common spoyle of an assailing Enemy. Which being put in execution, drew the Enemy from the Gates of *Rome*, and *Scipio* returned home with triumph; albeit his beginnings at the first, were not so fortunate against them, as | ours have been in this small time against the *Spaniard*. The good successe whereof, maye encourage us to take armes resolutely against him, and I beseech God it may stirre up all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the *Spaniard* at a baye, so farre of: whereas, if wee give him leave quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will bee with danger to us all.

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He taketh not Armes againſt us by anie pretence of title to the Crowne of this Realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious deſire to command our Countrey, but with hatred towardes our whole Nation and Religion: Her Majeſties Scepter is alreadie given by *Bull* to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are beſtowed for rewardes upon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition ſoever, are offered for ſpoyle unto the common Souldier. Let everie man therefore in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the ſmalleſt part of their ſtore for the aſſurance of the reſt. It were not much for everie Juſtice of peace, who by his blewe coate protecteth the properſt and moſt ſerviceable men at everie muſter from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of theſe idle men do put him to for one yere: nor for the Lawyer, who riſeth by the diffentions of his neighbors, to take but one yeares giſtes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder everie Officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Majeſties Courtes, who without checke doo ſodainlie grow to great wealth, honeſtly to bring forth the myſticall commoditie of one yeres profites? Or the Clergie, who looke preciſely for the tenths of everie mans increaſe, ſimply to bring forth the tenth of one yeares gathering, and, in thankfulnes to her Majeſtie (who hath continued for all our ſafeties, a moſt chargeable warre both at land and ſea) beſtowe the ſame, | for her honour and their owne aſſurance, uppon an Armie which may make this bloodie Enemy, ſo to knowe himſelfe and her Majeſties power, as hee ſhall be-thinke him what it is to moove a ſtirring people? Who, though they have received ſome ſmall checke by the ſick-

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nesse of this last Iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like Voyage were to be supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample provision) but there would of all fortes most willingly put themselves into the same: some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, and some in love of such, would affectionately follow their fortunes: some in thirsting to revenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentiful spoyles to be found in those Countreyes, having been there alreadie and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honor of our own, would with courage take Armes to hazard their lives against them, whom everie good English man is in nature bound to hate as an implacable Enemie to *England*, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring us under the yoke of perpetuall slavery.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that wee shall no sooner set foote in their land, but that every steppe we tread will yield us newe occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrie rather to regarde, than to followe those soft unprofitable pleasures, wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three Townes of *Spaine* is the wealth of all *Europe* gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profites of the East and West *Indies*: whereunto I wish our young able men, who against the libertie they are borne unto, (terme themselves Serving men) rather to bend their desires and affections, than to attend their double liverie and fortie

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shillings by the yeare wages, and the reversion of the old Coppie-hold, for carrying a dish to his | masters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and crave pardon, for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is alreadie laid upon a most grave and honorable Councill, who will in their wisedomes foresee the dangers that may bee threatned against us. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happie Gentlemen, and the trade of those honest Serving men, by perswading them to the warres, when I see the profession therof so slenderlie esteemed? For though al our hope of peace bee frustrate, and our quarells determinable by the sword: though our Enemie hath, by his own forces and by his pensionaries industrie, confined the united Provinces into a narrow rounge, and almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbour himselfe in the principall Havens of *France*, from whence he may frunt us at pleasure: yea though wee are to hope for nothing but a bloudie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how farre the common sort are from reverencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our journey, wherein the base and common fouldier hath been tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the fouldier and Captaine against the generalls, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condition doo dare to censure the dooings of them, of whose acts they be not worthie to talke.

The auncient grave degree of the Prelacie is upheld, though *Martin* rayle never so much, and the Lawyer is after the olde manner worshipped, whosoever inveigh against him: But the auncient English honour is taken from our

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Men of Warre, and their Profession in disgrace, though never so necessarie. Either we commit Idolatrie to *Neptune*, and will put him alone still to fight for us as he did the last yere, or we be enchanted with some divellish opinions, that travaile nothing more than to diminish the reputation of them, upon whose shoulders the burthen of our defence against the Enemy must lie when occasion shall be offered. For whensoever he shall set foote | upon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remove him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perills, who are now thought unworthie of any estimation.

May the burning of one Towne (which cost the King then being, fixe times as much as this hath done her Majestie, wherein were lost seaven times as many men as in any one service of this journey, and tarried not the tenth part of our time in the Enemies Countrie) bee by our elders highly reputed, and founded out by the historie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanlie esteemed, wherein wee burned both Townes and Countries without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our Kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for overthrowing a number of poore *Scots*, who, after one battle lost, were never able to reenforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who have overthrowne our mightie Enemy in battaile, and taken his royall Standerd in the field, besieged the Marques of *Saralba* fifteen daies together, that should have been the Generall of the Armie against us, brought away so

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much of his Artillarie (as I have before declared) be unworthelie esteemed of?

Is it possible that some, in some times, should receive their reward for looking uppon an Enemie, and ours in this time not receive so much as thanks, for having beaten an Enemie at handie strokes?

But it is true that no man shall be a Prophet in his Countrey: and, for mine owne part, I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shall have more reputation, and live with my friends in the Countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to use them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But | what shall the blind opinion of this Monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalitie of old been termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation; or diminish my love to my Countrey, which hitherto hath nourished mee? No, it was for her sake I first tooke Armes: and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to use them: not regarding how some men in private conventicles doo measure mens estimations by their own humours; nor how everie populer person doth give sentence on everie mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Sovereigne, who never yet left vertue unrewarded: and depending upon the justice of her most rare and grave advisors, who by their heedie looking into everie mans worth, doo give encouragement to the vertuous to exceede others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall never anything happen more pleasing unto me, than that I may once again be a partie in some honorable Journey against the *Spaniard* in his owne Countrie, I

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will cease my complaint: and with them that deserve beyond me, patiently endure the unadvised censure of our malicious reprovers.

If I have seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome unto you in the discoursing of those impediments, and answering the flanders which, by the vulgar, malicious, and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes upon the journey, and reproaches upon the Generalls (having indeede proceeded from other heads): let the necessitie of conserving the reputation of the action in generall, and the honors of our Generalls in particuler, be my sufficient excuse: the one having by the vertue of the other made our Countrie more dreaded and renowned than any act that ever *England* undertooke before. Or if you have thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my Countries good be therein answerable for me. And, such as it is I pray you accept it, as onely recommended to your selfe, and not to be delivered to the publique | view of the world, least any man take offence thereat; which some particuler men may seeme justlie to doo, in that having deserved verie well, I should not herein give them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this private discourse, hath been onelie to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that have passed, wherein I have onelie taken notes of those men who either commanded everie service, or were of chieftest marke; if, therefore, you shall impart the same to one, and hee to another, and so it passe through my hands, I knowe not what constructions would be made thereof to my prejudice; for that the Hares eares may happelie bee taken for hornes. Howbeit, I hold it verie necessarie (I must confesse) that there should bee

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some true manifestation made of these things : but bee it farre from me to be the author thereof, as verie unfit to deliver my censure of any matter in publique, and most unwilling to have my weaknes discovered in private. And so doo leave you to the happie successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruites of your studies, than there hath been of our hazards in the warres. From London the 30 of August, 1589.

FINIS.

Errors in sundrie names must thus be read.

Pag 16, lin. 31, reade *Santa Cruz* ; lin. 23 reade at *Madrid*. Pag 17, lin. 1, reade at *Madrid* ; lin. 2, reade Capt. Manço. Pag 21, lin. 12, reade Cap. *Sydenham*. Pag 29, lin. 8, reade at *Loriña* ; lin. 34-35 reade *los Cavalleros*. Pag 34, lin. 6, reade *Sant Vués*. Pag 45, lin. 29-31 read del Tercio de Napoles, lin. 34, reade Capt. Sauban.

[All corrected in the places.—G.]

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I. — HONORS FAME IN TRIVMPH RIDING.

- Page 3, Epistle-dedicatory, ll. 3-4, . . . *Southampton* = Shakespeare's 'Southampton'; . . . *Deuonshire* = Stella's 'Devonshire'; . . . the *Lord Knowles* = William Knollys, Treasurer of the Household for Elizabeth; created Lord Knollys of Grey, co. Oxford, 13 May, 1603; Viscount Wallingford in 1616; earl of Banbury, 18 August, 1626; died 25 May, 1632, aged 88. l. 7, '*renowmed*' — the contemporary and much earlier as well as later spelling, but see p. 15, l. 9, for '*renowne*,' as now.
- „ 4, l. 7, '*recuerlesse*' = cureless or incurable; l. 9, '*mony mouthed*' = well paid for or fee'd.
- „ 5, l. 1, '*insulting*' = boastful; *ibid.*, '*apparant*' = evident; l. 24, '*a souldier*' — see Introduction; last line, '*R. P.*' = Robert Pricket or Prickett. See p. 33, l. 15.
- „ 6, To the Reader, l. 28, '*article* of death' = at the most critical moment (*articulus*).
- „ 7, l. 7, '*long since*' — not so very long, viz., 21st February, 1601. This is to be noted as parallel with the way men then spoke of themselves as 'old' when in the prime of life or little beyond in our present reckoning; l. 21, '*Apollo deckt his Muse*' — see his collected POEMS in our Fuller Worthies' Library Miscellanies.
- „ 8, l. 5, '*prince*' = noble; l. 6, '*Lefters*' = earl of Leicester's; ll. 13-14, '*I sawe his sword*,' &c. — so that Pricket was a 'soldier' in Essex's expedition. We also here learn that the earl's horse was named 'Trace'; l. 18, '*leannisht*' = impoverished, but qu. banisht? l. 21, '*Lisborne*' = Lisbon. See the *True Coppie* — second moiety of this volume.
- „ 10, l. 10, '*Irelands peace*' — the poet would scarcely have ventured this and onward, if Elizabeth had still been alive; l. 22, '*Prescribed*' = prescribed; l. 23, '*plots wantes*' = collective plural nominative, and so *frequenter*.
- „ 11, l. 22, qu. delete : (colon).
- „ 12, l. 5, '*an vndermining wit*' — doubtless Bacon was intended here, and p. 13, ll. 5-8, and especially ll. 13-14; l. 6, '*iumply*' = suitably.
- „ 13, l. 16, '*hild*' = held, or qu. hilled or heaped up?
- „ 14, ll. 23-4, '*worshippers* of policie *commits*' = policie (singular) the nominative.
- „ 15, l. 4, '*sight*' = sighed.

Page 16, l. 12, '*wisht*'—qu. wisht?

„ 17, l. 22, '*Prefident*' = precedent.

„ 18, l. 19, '*the Primates place*' = archbishop of Canterbury, *i.e.*, John Whitgift, who died 29th February, 1603-4.

„ 21, l. 7, '*No upstart groome*'—a bold stroke against James's early favorites;
l. 14, '*coyle*' = noise, tumult; last two lines = Bacon again probably.

„ 22, l. 13, '*vilde*' = vile; l. 21, '*Some could in print*' = Bacon once more.

„ 24, l. 3, '*comprehence*' = comprehension, *r.g.*

„ 25, l. 23, '*her's*' = here's.

„ 26, l. 4, '*period of my end*' = beginning of the end (as the saying runs).

„ 27, ll. 15-16, the poet was evidently a spectator of the execution. This is important with reference to the tragical description in p. 29, st. 2-3. See Introduction.

„ 31, l. 17, '*Inuectiuely*' = accusingly; l. 21, '*triumpherate*' = triumvirate, *i.e.*, trinity; l. 23, '*primate*' = master?

„ 33, l. 25, '*dearling*'—earlier form of our 'darling.'

II.—A TRVE COPPIE OF A DISCOURSE, &C., &C.

„ 38, l. 7 (from bottom), '*sectaries*' = factions and fractions.

„ 39, l. 2 (from bottom), '*following the warres*'—the flower of the gentry and nobility of England then did so—as volunteers.

„ 40, l. 16—note that (';) was the then, as earlier and later, form of our (?) or interrogative sign.

„ 41, l. 10 *et frequenter*, '*sithence*' = since; l. 16, '*iudicially*' = according to Law and Justice; l. 2 (from bottom), '*damnified*,' and p. 98, l. 14 = hurt. So Spenser, *Fairie Queen*, I, xi, 52, 'had nought him damnifyde.'

„ 42, l. 5, '*pencion*' = pay; l. 10, '*last yeares expedition*' = the Armada of 1588.

„ 43, l. 2, '*more importing*' = importing more; l. 7 (from bottom) '*considerately*' = deliberately.

„ 44, last line, '*detracting*' = protracting, delaying.

„ 45, l. 12, '*harborough*' = harbour. See Nares, *s.v.*, for good quotations.

„ 47, l. 8 (from bottom), '*opinionated*' = strongly in favour of.

„ 48, l. 8 '*denounce*' = pronounce, proclaim; l. 12, '*Apologies*' = defences.

„ 49, l. 11, '*Portegues*' = Portuguese Crusado = £3 12s.; Milrayes = 14s. 6d. (gold coin)—*Holyke's Dictionary*, *s. v.*

„ 51, l. 15, '*prest*' = impressed.

„ 52, l. 2 (from bottom), '*beeves*' = oxen; *ibid.*, '*mutton*' = sheep.

„ 54, l. 16, '*impeachment*' = hindrance or obstruction. So Shakespeare (*Henry V.*, iii, 6) "... could be willing to walk on to Calais without *impeachment*."

„ 55, l. 9, '*Base*' = low, cf. p. 56, l. 7 (from bottom); l. 14, '*pynnifes*' = pinnaces.

„ 57, l. 3, '*vittels*' = victuals; l. 22, '*Bisquet*' = biscuit; last line, '*match*'

= ammunition match then used for fire arms, or qu. matchlock pieces? *ibid.*, '*harquebuses*' = arquebusses.

Page 59, l. 13 (from bottom), '*heedlie*' = heedfully; l. 8 (from bottom), '*Culverings*' = ordnance — long and slender, and carrying shot a great distance. It was a favorite sea-piece, an 18 pounder, about 5½ inches bore, 9-12 feet long; l. 7 (from bottom), '*gabbioned*' = baskets of wicker-work filled with earth, of cylindrical form.

„ 63, l. 2 (from bottom), '*infortunate*' = unfortunate.

„ 66, l. 3, '*caske*' = helmet or casque; l. 6, '*counter*' = encounter.

„ 71, l. 5 (from bottom), '*prudentie*' = providentially.

„ 73, l. 19, '*shadowed*' = concealed.

„ 80, l. 11 (from bottom), '*oppunge*' = oppugn, oppose.

„ 82, l. 12, '*civil*' = civilized.

„ 83, l. 4 (from bottom), '*moyle*' = mule?

„ 84, l. 7 (from bottom), '*intreatie*' = treatment.

„ 85, l. 10, '*Castellan*' = castle-keeper; l. 22, '*rendered*' = surrendered; l. 24, '*Culverings*' — see on p. 59, l. 8 (from bottom); *ibid.*, '*Basiliske*' = ordnance — “Of *basilisks*, of cannon, culverin” (1 *Henry IV.*, ii, 3).

„ 86, l. 16, '*Miznes*' = mizzen — as in mizzen-mast and mizzen-sail. Ships had, formerly, an inner and outer mizzen [sail], and also two mizzen masts, Bonaventure being the name of the aftermost one near the poop; *ibid.*, '*inward*' = intimate; l. 20, '*Fleeboates*' = flat-bottomed Dutch vessels, from 300 to 600 tons burden — had remarkably high stern, and broad at lower part of stern about water line.

„ 90, l. 4, '*artificially*' = with scientific art and skill.

„ 94, l. 9 (from bottom), '*delate*' = dilate, enlarge; l. 4 (from bottom), '*offered*' = [to have] offered, or qu. offend, *i.e.*, attack?

„ 97, l. 18, '*impeached*' = hindered. Cf. on p. 54, l. 16.

„ 99, l. 9, '*practise*' = plot.

„ 102, l. 11 (from bottom), and 105, l. 4 (from bottom), '*conduction*' = men of light and leading, as Lord Beaconsfield put it in our own time; l. 3 (from bottom), '*Though Martin rayle*' = Martin Marprelate.

„ 103, l. 6, '*poore Scots . . . one battle*' = Flodden, when “The flowers of the forest were all wede away.”

„ 104, l. 6 (from bottom), '*heedlie*' = heedfully, as before.

„ 105, l. 6 (from bottom), '*chieftest*' = chiefest.

„ 106, l. 3, '*censure*' = judgment.

A. B. G.

