I.
HONORS FAME IN TRIUMPH RIDING.

BY

ROBERT PRICKET.

(1604.)

II.
A Trve Coppie of a Discourse
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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Sixty-two Copies only.

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1881.
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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 Sovldiers Wish Vnto His Soveraigne Lord King Iames. London, Printed by John Hanson, and are to be sold in Pater nofter row, at the signe of the Grewhound. 1603. (4to, 11 leaves.)

(b) Vnto The Most High And Mightie Prince, his Soveraigne Lord King IAMES. A poore subiect fendeth, A Souldiers 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 Papiists are in their true colours set forth, their purpoises laid open, and their hopes dissolued, 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 Churchyeard at the signe of the Crane. 1603. (4to, 24 leaves.)

(c) Times Anatomic Containing: The poore mans plaint, Brittons trouble, and her triumph. The Popes pride, Romes treasons, and her destruccion. Affirming that Gog, and Magog, both shall perishe, the Church of Chrifht shall flourith, 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 priuie Councell. Multis pateo, non
Introduction.

multiloquis. Imprinted at London by George Eld, and are to be sold by John Hodgetts. 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.

Thrift noble King, the wonder of our daies,
Give leave my Mufe may speake thy vertues praise;
A Souldiers hand made rough with Iron warre:
Not smoothly can with Poets lines conferre.
Aenian banches he dooth not use to tread,
But march where Mars a warlike step doth lead:
If roughly then into his verse he breakes,
A Cannons mouth, a boyfrous language speakes.
Thence doth he leaue: for muskets, pikes and swords,
Doe teach a fouldier no great choice of words.
Yet in the hope of his dread foueraigne's love,
A Poet's skill he thus desiers to prove.
Great peereliefe Prince, I need not to derive
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 contemporary 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 unaffected 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 inevitable force caused me to make this breife 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 injurie, 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, honorably deservng: for vnto them the Authour doth ascribe all honorable estimation" (p. 6). There was a sly hit in that "honorably deservng."

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

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Vnhappie time that sent him from this land,} \\
\text{Vnhappie warres that his imploymont fought:} \\
\text{Vnhappie broiles raif'd by rebellions hand,} \\
\text{Vnhappie caufe that fowle sufpiotion wroughte:} \\
\text{Vnhappie all, for all vnhappie be,} \\
\text{Vnhappie thoee that with't his miserie:} \\
\text{Vnhappie meanes that did direct,} \\
\text{The caufe to worke vntrue suspeet.} \\
\end{array}\]

(p. 10, st. 1.)

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

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Whilft noble honour shut vp in dignace,} \\
\text{Could not haue leaue to vertues Queen to goe:} \\
\text{Before her throne to speake and pleade his case,} \\
\text{And to her Mercy tell his griefes sad woe:} \\
\text{Then in that time an vndermining wit,} \\
\text{Did clofy frame all actions implyt fit.} \\
\text{Molehills were to mountains raisde,} \\
\text{Each little fault was much difpraisde.} \\
\end{array}\]

(p. 12, st. 1.)

Very pointed and interpenetrated with a regretful ruth,
Introduction.

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

The beaute of all kingdoms Peerleffe flat,
Whilst breathing life did make her state to florish:
Would that in publicke heard his case should be:
Whose life she lou'd, and ever fought to nourish:
But eloquence another plot compris'd,
Which to be bel't, her Highness was adu'de.
Herein lay hid the secret ill,
She fought to chide, they fought to kill.

A private hearing was appointed then,
Where loses be't Lord to each thing answer must:
The Councell grane with other noble men,
Commision had to proue him false or just:
To throwe him downe he lendes a powerfull hand,
Whose by his helpe was made aloft to stand.
Objections then with greatest force,
Gainst honours Earle hild on their course.

Valiant, renownd, and magnanimous spirit,
Submissively his humble felde did beare;
His lowly meeknesse wonderous praise did merit:
Of them who did his widomes answer beare:
No traitorous act then fain'd his honours brow,
No fault of his could treasons name allow.
O heavens! why then did after time,
Vrapp honours Lord in treasons crime?

The Queene of lastice hearing what was done,
That perfit honour with an humble minde:
With low submision to her throne did runne,
And cra'd he might her mercies favour finde:
Her Princely heart contentments joy imbra'd,
And in her love, loses Lord againe was plac'd:
Then was there hope that shortly he,
To place in Court reforde should be.

But Emuie, why didst thou againe conspire?
Abas'de occasion, why didst thou displea're?
Sufition, why didst thou inflame new fire?
Were all agreed bright honours creft to leafe?
What secret aicion did inact the thing,
That discontent to Mercius Queene did bring?
She was appea'de; what new towne feeds,
Brought forth such fruites her wrath to breele?
Introduction.

Was all things well, and all things ill to soone?
Was no mistrust, and now mistrust abounding:
Wañ't then a time to light a torch at noone?
Was honour the self-honours course confounding?
Why this was strange, from Court to keep him still,
T'was not amiss 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 months and yeares in refles harbour tost,
A patient hope endures a raging forme:
Bright honors shipp did find it selfe neare lost,
His Cables burst, and all his tacklings torn:
Through rocks, through cliftes, through walls of brass,
His noble mind did then refoloe to passe:
For if to Thisis get he could,
Saue life, and men, and ship he should.

Thence did proceede the rigor of that day,
VVhen haples life to live did helpeles slie:
Dilpaire inrag'd did hearre too great a fwayne,
Hope could not at his will for hauen arrive:
Reuenge, mistrust and hate, prevention wrought,
VVith bloody mouthes, they his destruction sought:
From euill to woro, poore Earle he fled,
So was he to the slaughter led.

Guarded with friends, vnitely forth he goes,
To raise a force to strong his part to take:
As that he might remoue his felled foes,
And to his Queene a quiet passaghe make:
But fearefull hate did presently deuise,
Proclayme him traytor; out aloude he cries;
The name of traytor kild him dead,
So he alioe was murthered.

Doubles I think he had no Traytors hart,
Gainst Queene and State he did no treafor 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 treafor make.
Such hostile armes no subieets vp must take.
Thus when he thought an euill to shun,
A greater euill by him was done.
Introduction.

The Law hath past, Justice his froke hath froke,
And he is dead, yet shall he still furnace:
Vpon his honoured Vertue will I looke,
And make them lie as were himselfe aliue:
He dyde for treason; yet no Traytor. Why?
The Treson 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 kingdoms State, and wraps her brest in blood;
Where peace in pomp with glorious plenty growes.
And for his cause, I thinke that Justice ment,
To make his death a mournfull President:
His tryall could example glue.
Why did not Mercy let him live?

Because that Mercy not arightly knew
His heart, whom for disloyall did account,
Report did feed her taste with Gall and Rue;
For by his fall, some other must mount,
And so they have the Gallowes top vnto;
For enuer so may such like Mounters doe;
But God is just, so shall they finde,
That lay their plots with bloody 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 glue.
Why did not Mercy let him live?"

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

And in my mind of Lords & Earles I view
A mourning troop, whose looks all downward thrown,
Told to the world, that they were mourners true;
They reap't the fruit that sorrowers seed had rauen:
Introduction.

Ladies wise, sayn, and chaste, they weeping went,
Sad time sad cause procured their discontent;
Though Law strict course of Justice kept,
The moat and bent of all forts wept.  \( \text{(p. 19, st. 2)} \)

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 brof* was falsely oft accus'd,
of cruel deeds but *She* was mercies child:
For honors death *She* well may be excus'd,
by private tales rough worke was smoothly fille.
Could he but once *Her* glories fight haue gained,
And unto *Her*, his wrongs and woes complained:
Then had he liu'd, and that they knew,
Whoe hate her hurt from him withdrew.

But could her eyes these weeping lines peruse,
her princely tears would show her sorrow's griefe:
*Her* selfe would say, they did her grace abuse,
that in that action were the actors chief.
And truth to say, I think her *Majesty*:
Was chiefest mourner in that tragedy,
Though now a fluent nimble wit,
Can boldly play the politicks.  \( \text{(p. 31, st. 1, 2)} \)

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 fo foule a fin,
He always flood for this approv'd Succession
Which happily doeth now the Throne poissefe:
Heauens mighty God protect his Mightiness.
*Dead Earle*, amidst bright Angels wings,
\( A\text{men thy heavenly Spirit sings}. \)  \( \text{(p. 20, st. 2)} \)

Most interesting is the recognition of the Primate (Whig-gift) 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:
Introduction.

Yet in the ranke of Honour, Honours grace,
Reuerend, renown'd, religious, vertuous, learn'd,
Graue, sober, chaste, vpold a Primate's place,
Whose godly wildeone England's eyes do see
His foule diuine was to that Earle a friend,
Whom froward fate bequeathed'd to fatale end:
But now their foules in purest love,
Live with their Chrift in heavens aboue.

Then Honours Syr, and Wildomes fountayne pure,
Judgemët approu'd, the rule of Conscience found,
His grieved thoughts did woes extreme endure,
As did his lose: so did his griefes abound.
A Justice chief, an equall lync preferes:
No kingdome hath two worthyer Inflicers:
Both thence did mourne when Honour fell;
For both were knowne to with him well.
(p. 18, st. 3; p. 19, st. 1.)

These characterizations and laments are especially thank-worthy:

His Wildome, Learning and his Eloquence,
His well grac't speech and flowing vitterance,
His quicke conceit and Wildomes comprehence:
All these rare Gifts his honour did advance,
And made him like the Mirrour of our time,
Bey'd whose worth, no worthier flay could clime.
God and Nature did content,
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 Antarikke seeke,
But never 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 shall he lyue,
Fame to his praise shall honor giue.

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

Who so beheld the choise of natures arte,
with noble presence and Maiestick steps,
When from his chamber honor did depart,
to place prepare a fatall death to fetch,
Might there have some shine in a princely eye,
The beames of honour and nobilitie:
Valiant proweffe, resolution rare,
Vndaunted thoughts to death did beare.

He like himselfe in robes of honor clad,
with countenance cleare and lookes heroicall,
Went on as if in heart he had bene glad,
to meet his friends at some great scæftuell.
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'st him to the scaffold brought.

Nay weep not yet, read on, an Earle behold,
as conftant as in heavens celeftall frame:
See how he mounts with valiant courage bold,
in bloud to write the letters of his fame.
Upon the scaffold see him walking now,
To deaths spectators doth he humbly bow:
Oh her[c]s a fight yet comes a worfe,
To make the world that time to curse.

(pp. 24, 25, st. 1–6.)

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

Stay, pawfe, thinke, figh, weepse first, & then read on,
now comes a fight to rend woes hart in funder:
No mounrefull eye did euer looke vpon
a woffull worke perform'd with greater wonder.
Refouled honour now perceuie you may,
All fearles for the stroake of death doth flay:
His eyes, his looke to heauen commends,
The place to which his soule intende.

Safe wretch, whose hand true honors bloud should spile,
deaths axe did first into his shoulder strike:
Vprear'd againe he strikes a blow as ill,
not one nor other were directed right.
Honor no're mood'd: a third blow did decide
The body from the worlds admired pride:
Was that the way to lose a head,
To have an Earle fo butchered?
From gaping wounds pure streams of blood gush forth
from azure vaines the foode of life diffild:
Wife, love, faith, renowne and honor both,
were all at once thus hackt, thus chopt, thus kild.
There was a fight to fend forth forowes fowl,
A Swaney whitesnes wrapt in robes of blood:
But thinke you saw him, and for his sake,
Then let your teares woes period make.

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 NORRISES—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, defend we to the Camps:
And from those elder times, to these of ours:
There find we (no less for the flames)
Williams (world's wonder for his native powers)
Out-daring Death in many sanguine flowers:
The singling Bullets made his soul rejoice,
As Musicke that the hearing most allure.
Introduction.

And, if the Canons bat’d it with their voice,
He seem’d as ravish’d with an Heavenly noise.

And when the Fo-men musket’d, spight did spitt
Then would he spitt, in sport, at them the while:
The Bless’d his courage gave, were plac’d by war,
For Witt and Courage dwelt still in his side:
While Cowardice, and Folly made them vile
Whole glory lay all in their Ladies’ lappe,
And when he came to Court, at them would smite
Yes, smooth-thief left at their soft-filken Happe.
Yet could, like Mars, take there fomtimes a napp.

Runne over all the Stories Tyuan aboord,
Or prye upon them with the sharpsift fight,
We shall not finde one did more with his sword
Than this braue Britaine, and true Trojan-Knight,
Who put Achilles in his Tent to flight
By such an over-dareing Enterprise,
As all that heare it, not beleue it might,
But that thes Tyuan have seen it with their Eyes,
And that the fame thereof to Heaven flies.

Quite through & through Death’s grizely lawes hee ran,
And made a way through Horror’s vilest Hell,
Yes, danted Death, more like fone God, then Man,
Untill the Prince, and Death he did compell
To file for life, which his sword fought to quell;
O Shriek, how blestf d went thou in his loose
That drie thee on through Death to Glorie’s well,
From whence thee the life of Fame doth flowing more
To all that for her sake such Danger prove.

Should I recount the petitel Miracles
By him perform’d, in his marshall course,
My words would scare be held for Orosco : 
Suffizeth me, the World (that knew his force) 
Well knew his Hart was Witt, and Valour’s source,
And they that most envie our Britishe fame
Muft needs thus much of him confesse (perforce) 
That whatsoeuer from this Britaine came
Was Witt and spight, or favor’d of the same:

But, should I inlawce in particular,
What Truth doth warrant for the Britaine’s glory;
I could (perhaps) runne vp their Race, as farre
As Ione, and finde them famouf’d in flory:
But, for in me it may be thought vaine glorie,

And, if the Canons bat’d it with their voice,
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What Truth doth warrant for the Britaine’s glory;
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As Ione, and finde them famouf’d in flory:
But, for in me it may be thought vaine glorie,
Introduction.

Sith being one, my felse I feeme to praife,
I will defift, although my foute be fory
I should defift from that which many waies,
Might Cramer crowne with everlafting Bales.

(Charles Worthy Library, edn. of Davies, vol. 1,
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 Wingfield.

To thee Belona's choiſeſt Champion
Whose woundes, if fteept in dew of Caſtalia,
(As they deſerve) would make theſe fuch an one
As Pagan's viſe for God to gloriſe.
How oft haft thou thy felves to woundes expof'd
To let in glory through thy gored ade?
That through thy felfe it might be fo disposed.
As in each part thereof it now abides?
How prodigall haft thou bin of thy blood?
No more is left then meereſly life maintaines:
The fett Caife muſt be kill'd to do thee good
Thy hart to comfort, and to fill thy Vaines.
O tis a glorious prodigalitie
That fpends what not? for God & Contrie!  (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 affaltaed another, overthrown a mightie Princes power in the
field, landed our Armie in three severall places of his Kingdom, marched heaven
daies in the hart of his Countrey, lyen three nights in the Suburbes of his
principal Citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possiffed two of
his frontier Forts, as shall in difcours 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 Flandern.  (pp. 40, 41.)
Introduction.

Again:

Our Armie, which hath not cost her Maiestie much above the third part of one yeres expences in the Low Countries, hath already spoyled a great part of the provision he had made at the Greynes of all forts, for a newe voyage into England; burnt 3. of his ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeres 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, maists, cables, and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of warre hee had in Galicia; made Don Pedro Enriqueis de Guzman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his Forces in Portuguese, shamefully runne at Peniche; lade along of his best Commanders in Lisbome: and by these seue adventures discouered how efface her Maiestie may without any great adventure, in short time pull the Tempt of the World upon his knees, as well by the disquieting his usurpation of Portugall as without difficulty in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an armie to accomplishe, as may not be suffer'd 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 fatetie 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 needless to procede by invasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two sujets of their qualitie to undertake. And, therefore, did not so advance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chances of warres bee things most uncertaine: for what people ever undertake them, they are in deede but as chattizements 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 yeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they bee that have made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to have beene none other than against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders: who, yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they have conferadly undertaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people united, and alwaies hold sufficientie warlike: against whom, what successe their invincible Armie had the last yere, as our very children can witness, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are even upon their owne doonehill: which, had it beene set out in such fort 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.)
Introduction.

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 lost; who, having three or foure great flones upon his lower parts, was held to fast, as neither himselfe could fire, nor any reasonable Companie recover him. Notwithstanding, the next daye, being found to be alive, ther was 10 or 12 lost in attempting to relieve him. (p. 62.)

Again of Captain Minshaw:

There was also two Hulks franged 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 boats 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 driteria, but might cattily judge by his long and good fight, that the Enemye could not but finde him much loffe, who setting also upon one other Hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sickke, wore 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 of, a sterne of us, they made towards her: but finding that the made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her; whereby it seemed their loffe being grete 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 assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloyfet 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 foolishly made proud) laid that misfortune upon us. (p. 63.)

It is curious to come on Toros Vedras and San Sebastian (pp. 72-79,) and other places later renowned in the Peninsula 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 suffered themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be deprived of their natural King, and to be tyrann-
nized over thus long as they? And what Countrey living in flavorie 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 routing themselves under it but they: They will promise much in speaches, for they be 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 proofe without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discovered their weakenes, and honorably performed more than could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners who feke occasions of slander, have reported him to bee fulpluously of a people, of whose invidelitie he had no testimonie: and to be fearful without cauld, if he had refused to give credite to their promises without ane adventure? Let no frivolous questioner therefore further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to Lisbon, and tarried there so small a while? (pp. 82, 85.)

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 paffed, that either doe not or will not conceive the Souldiers effete, 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 strange tales: For as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who defrons of honour, doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so dooth it manie more dull spirited, who though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe paff, and eyther beleaving what ane man will report unto them, are willingly caired away into errors, or tied to some greater mens faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one fort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than Panter 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 only for Voyage, complaing of 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 fee anie of those malecontents (as everie journey yeeldeth some) doe runne unto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they forsooke 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 ye have paffed, 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 drest, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to fee 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 discourse ordinarily 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.

(pp. 93, 94.)

Again very noble and pathetic is this summary and argument:

['T']he Voyage 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 safeties, by holding the Spaniard at a bay, so farre of: whereas, if we give him leave quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will bee danger to us all.

He taketh not Armes agaynst 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 towards our whole Nation and Religion: Her Majesties Scepter is already given by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards upon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soever, are offered for spoyle unto the common Soldier. 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 was not much for everie Justice of peace, who by his blew coate proteceth the properd 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 ritheth by the dentiones of his neighbors, to take but one yeres giftes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder everie Officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Majesties Courties, who without checke doo fodyable grow to great wealth, honestly to bring forth the myrtifull commoditie of one yeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke pricicely for the tenths of everie mans increase, simply to bring forth the tenth of one yeres gathering, and, in thankfullnes to her Majestie (who hath continued for all our safeties, a most chargable warre both at land and sea) bestowe the same, for her honour and their owne assurance, upon an Armie which may make this bloody Enemie, so to knowe himselfe and her Majesties power, as hee shall bethinke him what it is to move a stirrinc people? Who, though they have receaved some small checkes by the sicknesse of this last Iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowne, 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 desire to be in action, and some in love of such, would affectionately follow their fortunes: some in thristing to revenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentiful spoyle to be found in those Countreyes, having beene there alreadie and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make
Introduction.

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 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 ruin our land, with hope to bring us under the yoke of perpetuell flavorie. 

(pp. 99, 100, 101.)

In reproducing this 'Discourse' 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.'
HONORS
FAME IN TRIUMPH
RIDING.

(***)

OR,
THE LIFE AND DEATH
OF THE LATE HONORAB-
LE EARLE OF ESSEX.

(***)

LONDON,
Printed by R. B. for Roger Jackson, and are to be
sold at his Shoppe in Fleet-street, neere the
Conduit. 1604.
TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE THE
EARLES OF SOVTHHAMPTON
and Devonshire, and the Lord KNOVLES
Baron of Grayes, R.P. wiftheth all in-
crease of honor, and endlessse happinesse.

Right honorable, and worthily renowned
Lords, such is the mutabilitye of times
vnoconfiant motion: as that things wel done
cannot challenge, to themselues, the cer-
tainty of their event, nor without suspeçt of
euill (misconfirued imputation) build their hope. And when
the wel meaning actions of mighty men cannot (in perma-
nent stability) stand cleared from the after-rayl’d-vp misty
Meteors which may encomber them: what then should I
expect (being no other then poverity it selfe) but that this
work, by me adventured should with my selfe dangerously run
upon vncertaine hopes? although the vprightnes of my
conscience vowes, I have not herto bin lead by any parti-
cular inuectiviue 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 cõmended: and no lese cruelty
to charge the deceafed with vncommittted offences. There are
certain politians in this age, not vnlike the Grecian Ora-
tors, which Diogenes called τρισονθραπον, thrife double men:
their tongues and pens are miserably valiant: they may well
be
The Epistle Dedicatory.

be tearmed three times thrie double minded men: theyr ayery slattiōs tottering stands aloft, like windmils placed vp-pon a mountayns top, whose sayles can turne themselves to embrace the benefit of each variable blast: but, being climbd vnto an extraordinary height, are oft times by an vne-pected forme sodainly throwne headlong downe, and bro-ken at the mountains foote: leauing their recuerleffe ruines to remayne vnmoaned monuments of their preumputuous mounting. Some golden mony mouthed eloquence, that v-feth a detractors Oratory, may stope the vnequall current of his fine wits moft gros ingendred flux, by fetching from the tyrant Nero a very wel prescrib'd documēt. For plaine by thus his affirmation sayth: that it is no part of a wife man thence to draw credit to himselfe, from whence proceedeth discreditt to his friend. Is it not maruell that a rhetorick politician shoulde 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 vfe to say, Hac non sucessit: alia aggrediendum est via.

...When honor and vnstained nobility, by ill aduice and in confiderate thoughts, vntimely falls into some daungerous accident: then though the lawe, in robes of iustice armd, with quick purfuite doth follow euills amisse: yet shoulde no triumph on such dependance dwell: as if his wisht-for time of triumph were imbrac't, when he might glory in honored vertues fall: and like a lump of proude degenerate braven infolence, e-uen in the gall of enui, hate, and malice steept, scornfully impugne the honor of a Lands renownned noblenesse. God, with my foule, an vcontrold witnes beare: I not deire to speake against the iustice of the lawe, nor any honorable ma-gistrate in place of Counsell or of gouernment: only my words may neerly glance at fuch whole proud demeanour, & inful-
The Epistle Dedicatarie.

ting violence, made to the world an apparant demonstration
that they were moft joyfull actors in a mournefull tragedy:
but now the iustice of the heauens decree hath moft luftly
throwne themefelves vnto the froke of the felle fame iudg-
ment. And now, my honorable Lords, when I looke back vnto
my owne vnworthinesse, my Mufe doth found retrayte, and
bids me fay the further occurrence of some other things,
which wold moft willingly be iuffing forth. And for this lit-
tle worke already done by me, with lowe submiffion I intreate
your pardon: and do felemnly proteft, that the unfained loue
I beare vnto the late Honorable, and yet fihll honored Earle
of Effex, hath with an ineuitable force caufed me to make
this briefe description of his life and death. And though I
defire to be freed from a Poets name; yet because the mufick
of a mourning verfe doth beft confort with forrowes passion,
I haue made choyfe thereof, in hope your LL. will be plea-
sed to excuse my vnpolifht, rough, vnsmoothed Poe-
try. My greateft ftudie with religious care hath fought to
build my words vpon the ground of truth: & hauing brought
my labor to an end, I knew not better vnto whome to dedi-
cate the fame, then to your Honors. Not for my fake then,
but for his, whose vertues I defire shouuld liue, be pleased to
receuie this well meaning worke into your loues protection:
and thus, with all submiffionale humblenesse, a fouoldier
humbly throwes his liues feruice at your Honors feet.

Yours, in all dutifull obedience,

R. P.

To
To the Reader, health.

Although, right courteous Reader, my former writings haue not so imbouldned me, as that I shoulde againe adventure to bring my selfe vn-to so miserable a punishment, as the third time to indure the presse: yet chooing rather to dy, then not to manifest my loue vn-to an honorableneceased 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 establisshed, shoulde florish with a glorious dignity, doe not choose out any one particular, whose fame and prayfe you will desire to follow, with the generality of a popular estimation: nor inuole the perfon of a noble man in the aye-rie cloudes of your intemperate Aue: leaft the honour, which you most desire to preferue, bee vntimely poynoned by your breath: of which euent, this after following breife description containes a mournefull spectacile. Reade therefore with respectuoe diligence, and haue greate regard, you do no injury, 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 deferving: for vn-to them the Authour doth aSCRIBE all honourable estimation. Thus the good opinion of eache well affected reader he defireth, whose heart preferreth their content before his owne, whose life is readie in a fouldiers place, vn-to the laft article of death, to manifest the vnlayned loue he beareth vn-to his count ries publike benefite. Vale.
Honors fame, in Triumph riding.

From forth the dust, my lines desire to rayfe
bright honors fame, in triumphs state to ride,
Whose living worth did so adorn his prayse,
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 live, though long since dead,
   And crownes with bayes his buried head.

Whil't breath gave strength, vnto his warlike arme,
   he did vphould the pompe of Englands state :
He stroue to shield his native foyle from harme,
   and did the pride of proudest foes abate :
A kingdomes eyes once sawe his faithfull truft,
   And did accompt his actions wise and just :
   Greate Maleftie, and wisedomes Queene,
   Would say his like was never seene.

Euen from his youth, till yeares of ripre strength,
in vertues schoole, a studious life he spent :
His Honors thoughts, defir'd & gained, at length,
   Minervaes food the sweet of his content :
Apollo deckt his Muse in sluers shine,
And wrapt in gold his goulden thoughts divin:
   Honours wonder, wisedomes mirror,
   In his braue breast liued together.

When
in Triumph riding.

When creeping time had brought to manhoods yeers
this honord 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 maieftical
Made him to be great Leflers Generall;
Braue troupe of horfe he brauely led,
And thus at firft his fame was fpred.

But when to Frace his warlike mind had brought
him selfe, well arm'd, vpon bay Traces back:
The king and Lords his loue and favor fough,
 nor gold nor coyn that valiât prince could lack.
I fawe his fword all bath'd in Foemans bloud,
A broken lance in Traces breast there stood:
French king and Peers did dignifie
This Peerleffe warrriors Cheualry.

But when he went to fruitfull Portingale,
for to inthoane a mournfulle leamniht 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 deferred wondrous well:
His foes themselues keep in record,
That none durft combat with that Lord.

When
in Triumph Riding.

When Sun-burnt Spaine in heate of anger's toyle,
Did with his Lords in sfolome counsell set:
Vowing to worke faire Albions utter spoile,
Against whose state his breast with spleene did fret:
This newes no sooner vnto Albion came,
But this braue prince, was thought the worthieest man:
And as Spaine meant to worke our woe,
He thither went, and vied them so.

Let Cales tell forth the honor of his deeds,
His valiant prowess, and his iustice such:
As who fo 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 dateleffe 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 rai’ld by rebellions hand,
Vnhappie cause that fowle sufpiration wroughte:
Vnhappie all, for all vnhappie be,
Vnhappie those that wilght his miferie:
Vnhappie meanes that did direc’t,
The cause to worke vntrve sufpect.

His noble selfe, had he bene fortunate,
Ireland’s peace had well effect’d bin:
Without mistrust of danger to the state,
But when to marches his armie did begin,
Some misfe there was, directions all not kept,
Enui’roul’d vp, that wintk but neuer flept:
Advantage tooke, when harmeles thought,
To good effect would all have brought.

In course of warre, a Prince both wise and just,
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
Advantage of the cause, the time and place,
Precribed rules will else procure disgrace:
These paper plots wantes judgment right,
To teach an army how to fight.

But
in Triumphant Riding.

But this I think, and heauens me witnesse beare,
Though ill succeffe 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 reft secure vnder her shade,
  To whome she had a gratious miftris 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 refrained from Court a prifoner sent:
In Ireland thinde faire Englands golden Sun,
  Whose valiant minde to vertuous actions bent:
With wisdome care and honoured labor fought,
The meanes whereby rebellions land was brought:
  Vnto that peace which first was framde,
By him whome some vnuiuflly blamde.

Whilsste
Honours Fame,

Whilst noble honour shut vp in disgrace,
Could not have leave to vertues Queen to goe:
Before her throne to speake and please his case,
And to her Mercie tell his griefes sad woe:
Then in that time an undermining wit,
Did cloeely frame all actions impoly fit.
Molehills were to mountaines rais'd,
Each little fault was much dispraise'd.

The Vulgar eies they looke, 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 objections found:
But this in them more admiration mou'd,
When much was said, but nothing duly prou'd.
Such triall then they did exeect,
As might their thoughts to truth direct.

Oft early would the people swiftly through,
To that great Court where honoured wisdom fete's
He that went first would thinke he staid too long,
For golde or siluer there a place he gets:
Where it was said impeach'd honour should stand
To wash the guilt from of an unstain'd hand.
All this was yet but labour loft,
For policie that course had crost.

The
in Triumph Riding.

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

A priuate hearing was appointed then,
    VVhere loyces beft Lord to each thing anfwer muft:
The Councell graue with other noble men,
    Commiſſion had to proue him falfe or luft:
To throw him downe he lends a powerfull hand,
VVho by his helpe was made aloft to f tand.
    Obieſtions then with greateſt force,
Gainſt honours Earle hild on their courſe.

Valiant, renownd, and magnanimous spirit,
    Submiſſuely his humble felfe did beare:
His lowly meekeſeſe wonderous præſe did merit:
    Of them who did his widomes anſwers heare:
No traiterous act then f taind his honours brow,
No fault of his could treafons name allow.
    O heauens! why then did after time,
VVrap honours Lord in treafons crime?

The
Honours Fame,

The Queene of justice hearing what was done,
That perfite 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 refrorde should be.

But Enuiue, why didst thou againe conspire?
Abusive occasion, why didst thou displeafe?
Sufpition, why didst thou inflame new fire?
Were all agreed bright honours creft to feaze?
What secret actiion did inact the thing,
That discontent to Mercies Queene did bring?
She was appeas'd, what new soune seede,
Brought forth such fruite her wrath to breede.

Was all things well, and all things ill so soone?
Was no mistrust, and now mistrust abounding:
Waits then a time to light a torch at noone?
Was honour the 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 foule idolatrie.

But
in Triumph Riding.

But by this means true honour was restraine,
  From her the misrirs of his life and death:
He found himselfe of base-bred grommes disdaine,
  In passion then he sight forth forrowes breath:
The preface of his Queene whose fight most joyd him,
Had gien him life, the want thereof deftroid 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 louse:
Whose heart is found vnto the State and crowne,
  Whose thoughts do alwaies faithfull motions moue:
If exilde from his King he shoule remaine,
And as a traitor beare dishonours 
teaine:
  What would he thinke, or what courfe take?
Let noble mindes the answere make.

From hence at laft greefes boundleffe Ociaine howes,
  Turning woes fireames into a flood of sorrow:
And to such height fad discontentment growes,
  As that it seekes some meanes of helpe to borrow:
Hope tells a courfe, thats croft, an other fought,
This vrg'd occasion his confusion wrought:
  Still to his Queene he fttries to goe,
Kept back aferfh, begins his woe.

Thus
Honors Fame,

Thus monthes and yeares in restless harbour tost,
   A patient hope endures a raging storme:
Bright honors ship did find it selfe neare loth,
   His Cables burst, and all his tallings torne:
Through rockes, through cliffses, through walls of brasfe,
His noble minde did then resolute to passe:
   For if to Thetis get he could,
   Saue life, and men, and ship he shouleld.

Thence did procede the rigor of that day,
   When haples life to liue did helpeles struie:
Dispaire ingr'd did beare too great a sway,
   Hope could not at his wish for hauen arrive:
Reuenge, mistrust and hate, precaution wrought,
   With bloody mouthes, they his destruccion fought:
   From euill to worfe, poore Earle he fled,
   So was he to the slaughter led.

Guarded with friends, vntimely forth he goes,
   To raife a force so strong his part to take:
As that he might remoue his fetled foes,
   And to his Queene a quiet passagge make:
But fearfull hate did presently deume,
Proclayme him traytor, out aloude he cries;
   The name of traytor kild him dead,
   So he alieue was murthered.

Doubtles
in Triumph riding.

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

The Law hath paft, Iustice his stroke hath stroke,
And he is dead, yet shal he still fuluiue:
Upon his honoured Vertues will I looke,
And make them live as were himselves alive:
He dyde for treafon; yet no Traytor. Why?
The Treafon 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 Combution throwes
A kingdoms State, and wraps her brest in blood;
Where peace in pomp with glorious plenty growes.
And for this caufe, I thinkhe that Iustice ment,
To make his death a mournfull President:
His tryall could example giue.
Why did not Mercy let him live?

Because
Honours Fame,

Because that Mercy not aright 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 have the Gallowes top unto;
For ever so may such like Mounters doe:
    But God is just, so shall they finde,
That lay their plots with bloody minde.

With humble lines to Englands honored State,
    A Souldiers passion doeth desire to flye,
Who neuer fought that Lord to ruinate,
    Nor chase him with bloody-thirsty cruelty.
True honour? No, some bafer stuffe it was,
That fought to bring that stratagene to passe:
    For in that time Peers were no men,
They walkt about like shaddowes then.

Yet in the ranke of Honour, Honours grace,
    Reverend, renown'd, religious, vertuous, learn'd,
Graue, sober, chaste, upheld a Primates place,
    Whose godly wisdome Englands eyes discern'd,
His soule divine was to that Earle a friend,
    Whom froward fate bequeath'd to fatal end:
But now their soules in purest loue,
    Lye with their Christ in heauens above.
in Triumph riding.

Then Honours Seat, and Wifdomes fountayne pure,
  Judgemët approu'd, the rule of Conscience found,
His grieued thoughts did woes extreme endure,
  As did his loue : fo did his griefes abound.
A Justice Chief, an equall loue preferres :
No kynghome hath two wortheyer Justicers :
  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 troup, whose looks all downward thrown,
Told to the world, that they were mourners true ;
  They reapt the fruit that forrowes feed had fown :
Ladies wife, fayre, and chaste, they weeping went,
Sad time fad cause procured their discontent ;
  Though Law strict courte of Justice kept,
  The most and best of all forts 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 wore,
  They sigh to thinke of that sinifter chance,
Whose bloody hadd with fatal death snatcht hence
That honored Earle, true Honours Excellence,
  Doe him this right, and Honour gayne,
  Pluck from his Hearfe false rumours itayne.

Oh

19
Honours Fame,

Oh how I grieue! Report doeth wound my foule:
So many treasons 'gainst that Earle obieected,
Who whilst he liu'd, could those reports cötreule;
And but in one, that laft, and laft 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 falfe to say, hee would a King haue bin:
   From faith & honor he made no fuch digreffion:
His heart was cleare from fuch fo foule a fin,
   He always stood for this approu'd Succeffion,
Which happily doeth now the Throne posseffe:
Heauens mighty God protefct his Mightineffe.
   Dead Earle, amidft bright Angels wings,
   Amen thy heauenly Spirit fings.

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

No cause there was, that in his luckless fall,
  So proudly some should triumph as they did,
Against an Earl to spit impoyioned gall:
  But bloody thoughts were made in bloud so red
As heat and rage too much himselfe forgot,
And boldly speake, he car'd not how, nor what.
  No vp-start groome sprung from the Cart,
Should braue the honour of a lands deart.

So vse base minds in greatnesse to forget
  The place whence first they their beginning had,
Their proud disdayne the noblest breft would hit:
  The fall of honour makes them wondrous glad,
So was't: or else he rather would haue wept,
Then proudly such a ruffling coyle haue kept:
  In this I joy, his Prophecy
  The time hath turn'd to foolery.

He was not last, though last that so shall end.
  We haue a Bud, sprung fro that honored Branch:
God, in thy loue do thou that Earle defend,
  And so his state by vertues steps aduance,
As he may grow an honour to his King,
Whose mercy did his youth to honor bring:
  And he that dreef his fathers dith,
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 deside,
Gayne by thy losse, his noble heart denyde:
   To doe thee good, he spent his wealth,
His Ioy confisted in thy health.

The Church of God, Divine religions Grace
   Was grac'd by him, his heavenly sanctity,
Vnto the written Truth of God gaue place,
   His heart did loue the reverend Ministery:
All Popish trath, and Romes inuentions vilde,
Were from his Soule, as hatefull things exilde.
   Good men from foes hee did protee,
The poore he neuer did reliee.

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

He
in Triumph riding.

He faithfull was and constant to his friend,
   In love and justice always permanent,
His honors word, who did thereon depend,
   Found, that true action with his promise went,
No purse nor pocket could that Lord contain
Who gives most. Fy, he scorned such hateful gain.
   No partial eye made bad things good;
   Twixt both, that Prince uprightly stood.

He was not hollow, like the vaults of hell,
   His soundness fled from base hypocrisy,
He fetched no rules from hell-born Machiavel,
   His learning was divine Philosophy,
His word and deed without a false intending.
In honors lyft went on, the truth commending;
   His virtues steps to truth enclin'd,
Close subtle falsehood vindicated.

In deeds of war, he was a soildier tryde,
   True fortitude dwelt in his valiant breath,
The hope of England on his sword relyde,
   Amongst our worthies let him stand for best:
When he was arm'd in warres habitments,
His glory seemed a matchless excellence;
   His person, as his virtues rare,
Might peerless with the world compare.

His
Honours Fame,

His Wifdome, Learning and his Eloquence,
His well grac't speech and flowing utterance,
His quicke conceit and Wifdomes comprehension:
All these rare Gifts his honour did advance,
And made him live the Mirrour of our time,
Beyend whose worth, no worthier stepe could clime.
God and Nature did consent,
To make his Substance excellent.

He was not proud, but humble, courteous, meeke:
Ambitious then, who rightly term he him can?
From Articke Pole to the Antartike seeke,
But neuer finde a brauer Gentleman:
Croffe all the Zoans, and in no Clymate dwells
A Vertue, that his Vertues worth excels:
But he is dead, yet shall he live,
Fame to his praise shall honor glie.

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 servuant had,
No Subject 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 presence and Maiestick steps,
When from his chamber honor did depart,
to place preparde a fatall death to fetch,
Might there haue seene shone in a princely eye,
The beames of honour and nobilitie:
   Valiant prowess, resolution rare,
   Undanted thoughts to death did beare.

He like himselfe 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 seeft him to the scaffold brought.

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

The
Honours Fame,

The oracle of godly wisdom then,
with silver found, these speeches forth did send:
My Lords, and all you worthy Gentlemen,
that comes to see the period of my end.
I not deny, but this confess I must,
My trial hath been honourably, iuft:
And so the law my cause did try,
As justice doom'd me thus to die.

Yet in the presence of that all Creators fight,
before whose throne I presently shall stand:
Against the state I never bent my might,
nor gainst my sovereign reared a traitor's hand,
Some private foes my sword would have disparted,
By whom I thought my honour was disgraced:
From that intent grew my amis,
For which offence death welcome is.

With things below I have not now to deal,
my peace with God and conscience must I make:
And that my Christ his world's my world may heal
pray all with me that God for Christ his fake,
Would in his death intome my sins most vile,
That dying, I may dye his faithfull childe:
So kneeling downe, zeale, sorrow, faith,
To God a heavenly prayer 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 plainly, nor made better testament,
That from this world his soule to glorie went,
    With gracious spirite he begins,
      And gratiously his prayer ends.

Then rising vp, with vnstainde glorie still,
    he doth himselfe for strouke 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 felle layes by,
    with smilling lookes, andCheerefull maiestie,
    To read, and weep, is order kept,
      With him that sigh'd, and wrat, and wept.

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

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 fuch like danger knew.
Oh let his fame vnto the world be fpred,
Whose fortitude was never conquer'd:
Let thy conceit his action see,
And reade, and figh, and weepe with me.

Now takes he leave of all the standards by,
his comely grace was virtues ornament:
Griefe then drown'd vp each fad beholders eye,
whelpe his blest soule was wrapt in sweet content.
Then kneeling downe, all prostrate flat he lies,
With neck on block, his bloud to sacrifce,
And to his deaths man fay he did,
Strike when thou feeft my armes are fpred.

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 foule to heauen çomends,
My Chrifh faith he, I come, thy armes vsfolde,
My foule do thou in thy embracements holde:
And thus he bids the world adue,
And then his armes abroad he threw.

Stay
in Triumph riding.

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

Bafe wretch, whose hand true honors bloud shoulde 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 fo butchered?

From gaping wounds pure streams of bloud guft forth
from azure vaines the foode of life diffild:
Wishedome, loure, faith, renowne and honor both,
were all at once thus hackt, thus chopt, thus kild.
There was a fight to fend forth forrowes floud,
A Swanny whitenes wrapt in robes of bloud:
But thinke you faw him, and for his fake,
Then let your teares woes period make.

Thus
Honours Fame,

Thus mafacard in strength of lufty youth,
   was England's Earle, whose worth the world admir'd
His life till now had prou'd his honors truth,
   vntimely was his fatall death consipr'd.
If any read, whose hand was stain'd therein,
Let some vild death, make known his damned sin,
   The rest that mourne let forrowes 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 fighs 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 fighs and teares be found:
   Faire ladies they with droyned vp eies
   To honors fame will sacrifice.

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

Her
in Triumph riding.

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

But could her eyes these weeping lines perufe,
    her princely teares would shou hir forrows grieue:
Her felle would fay, they did hir grace abufe,
    that in that action were the actours chiefe.
And truth to fay, I think her Majestie:
Was chiefeft mourner in that tragedie,
    Though now a fluent nimble wit,
    Can bouldly play the politick.

I doe not striue Inunctuely 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 fings this forrowes song,
    For him who did a fouldeir loue,
    Whose death a fouldeirs grieue 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 sferuice bent.

His

31
Honours Fame,

His mother England having slain her sonne,
The world will say it was unkindly done:
   Though justice may with this dispence,
   It wanted mercies influence.

This Yron world hath Angell mercy left,
   worlds worldlings they that vertue hence haue driven:
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 orbs by heauenly angels led,
   Vi to that place where ioye excels,
   And there the soule of honour dwells:

Where God and Christ, and holy ghost combin'd,
   inuironde are with glory more, then if
Ten hundred thousand funnes at once all shine,
   and clearly should their radiant splendence guifte.
Amidst that glory the foule of Essex stands,
In endless joy upheld by Angles hands,
   Then mourne no more, heauen hath his spirit,
   Whose life on earth such praiue did merit.

But now heauens God, King, Queene & Prince and state,
   inuiron royd 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 Mufe his farewell giues,
   And tells the world Fames honour liues.

FINIS.
Vpon the Author and his subject.

Thou that true Honor from the graue doest raise,
And on Fames golden wings doest make it fly:
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,
Whole death to Britaine yeeldes the faddest storie.
Oh give me leave thy faithfull hart t'admire.
Which suffrest not thy loue with him to dye:
But with thy Mufe doest make affections fire
To shine most bright, now he intomb'd doth lye.
And as thy sword while he enioy'd his breath,
So now thy Pen doth ferue him after death.
Thy worke I cannot say doth match his worth,
For heauen and earth doth equall that no more:
Tis praise for Pickets Pen, if it pricke forth
Some gowned Mufe his fortunes to deplore.
Schollers and Souldiers both, were to him bound,
Why should they not be both like thankefull found:
All those braue Romanes whom the world admir'd
So much for their high magnanimitie,
With morall vertues were not more inpir'd,
Besides his cleare light of Diuinitie.
All his lyes morn he like a Romanes led,
At noone like a Diuine went to deaths bed.

Epita. There fleedes great Eser, deareling of mankinde,
Faire Honors lampe, foule Enuies pray, Artes fame,
Natures pride, Vertues bulwarke, lure of minde,
Wildomes flower, Valours tower, Fortunes flame:
Englands sunne, Belgias light, Frances star, Spaines thüder,
Lysbones lightning, Irelands clowde, the whole worlds
Ch. Bef. Arm. (wonder.
A TRVE
Coppie of a Discourse written by a Gentleman,
employed in the late Voyage of
Spaine and Portingale:

Sent to his particular friend, and
by him published, for the better satisfaction
of all such, as having been seduced by particular report, have entered into
certain concepts tending to the discredit of the enterprise, and
Actors of the
fame.

AT LONDON:
Printed for Thomas Woodcock
dwelling in Paulus Churchyard, at
the signe of the blanke Beare.
1589.
OME holding opinion, that it is one-ly proper to men of learning (whose Arte may grace their doings) to write of matter worthie to be com-mitted to the viewe of future Ages, may judge the publication of such Discourses as are contained in this Pamphlet, to be an adventure too great for a professed Souldier to undertake: but I, more respecketing the absolute truth of the matter, than the faire shew that might be set there-on; and preferring the high reputation of the Act-ors in this Journey before the request of my partic-ular friend, haue presuemed to present vnto you a report of the late Voyage into Spaine and Portugal, sent vnto me almost 4 moneths sithence fro a Gen-tleman my verie nere friend, employed in the fame; who, as it appeareth in his obseruations, hath aduai-fedlie seene into euerie action thereof: and because I haue often conferred with manie that were in the fame Journey, verie nere vpon euerie particular of his relation, and finde as much confirmed as I haue receuied, I presupue to deliuere it vnto you for true & exact. Howbeit, forasmuch as it came vnto my hands with his earnest request to refere it to my selue, I had almost contented thereunto, had not the desire I haue to reconcile the contrarieties of opini-ons that be held of that action, & to make it known what honour the causse hath laid vpon our whole Nation, moued me to publish the fame: whereof fith there may growe a greater benefit in publique, (for that manie shall partake thereof) than the plea-sure can be to him in smothering the labors he hath bestowed
beftowed in fetting downe the Discourse, I doubt not but he, efteming a common good before his private facie, will pardon me herein. In the behalfe of whom, I befeech 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 unpollished. And you that were companions with him of the Journey, if anie of you may thinke your felues not fully satisfied in the report of your serverings, let me intreate you to excuse him, in that he indewouing to write thereof briefly for my particular understanding, did onely take notice of them, who commaunded the services in chiefe, as being of greatest marke, and lay the blame vpon me, who can by no meanes auoyd it: fauing 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 beeing ignorant, was led into an erronious 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 agaynft the same. I will therefore commend the man and matter to your friendly censure, forbearing to notifie his name, leaft I might increafe mine offence agaynst him; & be namelesse my selfe for other good considerations: which I leave, friendly Reader to thy beft construction.
THE TRUE COPIE

of a letter sent from a Gentleman, who was in all the services that were in the late Journey of Spaine and Portingall, to a friend of his.

Although the desire of advancing my reputation caused me to withstand the manie persuasions you used, to hold me at home, and the purfuite of honorable actions drew me (contrarie to your expectation) to neglecht that advice, which in love I know you gave me: yet in respect of the manie assurances you have yeelded me of your kindeft friendship, I can not suspet that you wil either love or esteme me the leffe, at this my returne: and therefore, will not omit anie occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge anie part of that duty I owe you; which now is none other, than to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portingall have past 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 persuade 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 fame.
A True Coppie of a Discourse.

Having, therefore, determinately purposed to put on the habit of a Souldiour, I grewe doubtfull whether to impoy my time in the warres of the Lowe Countreyes, which are in auxiliarie manner maintaine by her Maiestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an adventure of her and manie honorable personages, in revenge of un-sufferable 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 jorney 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 upon 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 renowne to the Assailant, than the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encoiters, 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 affirue 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 Enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, wee have wonne a Towne by efcalade, battred and assaulted another, overthrown 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 poiffeased two of his frontier Forts, as shal 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 perfwations 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 Journey, will judiciously convince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the Conquest of these Countreys 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 Monarch of France? the affi ance 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 poiffeased of a verie few frontier Townes: And shal it now be laid upon her Maiesties shoulers to remooe so mightie an Enimie, who hath left us but 3. whole parts of 17. uncouered? It is not a Journey of a few months, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeres, that can damnifie the King of Spaine in those places, where we shal 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. men's wages, where all the Country is quartered by Rivers, which have no passage unfortified: and where most of the best Soldiers of Christendom that be on our adverse partie, be in pension. But our Armie, which hath not cost her Maiestie much above the third part of one year's 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 year's expedition, taken from him above 150 pieces of good artillerie, 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, victuals, mafts, cables, and other merchandizes; flaine and taken the principal men of warre hee had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enrique de Guimara, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his Forces in Portingall, flamefullie runne at Penicha; laide along of his best Commanders in Lisbon: and by these fewe adventures discovered how easilie her Maiestie may without any great adventure, in short time pull the Tyrant 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 means shall rather be enforced 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 necessary 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 disliked by some, who, either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against us, or too unworthily of them that undertook this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needless to proceed 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 success thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most uncertain; 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 beene none other than against the barbarous Moors, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlands; whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they have considerately undertaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people united, and alwaies held sufficiently warlike: against whom, what succeffe their invincible Armie had the last yeare, as our very children can witnesse, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are even upon their owne dounghill: which, had it beene fet out in such fort
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as it was agreed upon by their first demand, it might have made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of Artillerie, which was promised unto the Adventure, loft her Maecifie 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) cold 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 Fuente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portingall, who foreranne us fixe daies together. Did wee not want heaven of ye thirteene old Companies, we shoulde 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 justly say we wanted, in that we might have had so many good fouldiers, 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, advized themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the journey?

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

What miseric the detracting of the time of our setting
out, which should have been the first of Februarie, did lay upon us, too many can witness: and what extremities the want of that moneth victuals 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 seen; where our owne force and fortune revictualled us largely: of which cross victuals that held us two daies after our going out, the Generalls, being weary, thrust to Sea in the fame, wisely choosing 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 shooare: 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 Vnhant.

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

For the loss 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 hoasts in doinge great things by them whome many have fought 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
service at land, as would have made a mightie subject to loose under them. I do not see how any man could justly have laid any reproach upon him who commanded the fame, but rather have lamented the iniquity 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 vallay by my report, leaft I should seeme guiltie of flattery (which my foule abhorreth) and yet come short in the true measure of their praiie. 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 servved 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 Marthall of the field under Conte Hohenlo; and after, that Generall of the armie in Frieland: at his comming home, in the time of Monsiers government in Flanders, hee was made Lord President 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 Marshell of the Field in England, the enemie being upon our coast, and when it was expected | the crowne of England should have been tried by bataille. All which places of commandement, which never any English-man successively 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 Spaniish 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 befeech you, considering the weightie 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 opiniated of the Voiage, or conceited of the commanders, that labouring thus earnestly to advance the opinion of them both, have not so much as touched any part of the miorders, weaknesses and wants, that have been amongst us, whereof they that returned did plentifullie 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 particulur remembrances, for that then all men were readie to give everie man his due. But I holde it moft necessarie in these daies, fithence everie vertue findeth her direct opposit, and actions | worthy of all memory are in danger to be enviously obscured, to denounce the praifes of the action and actors to the full; but yet no farther than with sinceritie of truth, and not without grieving at the injurie of this time, wherein is enforced a necefitie of Apologies for those me and matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applaufe that might be. But to anfwer the reports which have been given out in reproch of the actors & action by such as were in the fame. Let no man think otherwife but that they who, fearing the casuall accidents of warre, had any purpose of retournig, did firft advife of some occaion that shoule moove them thereunto; and having found any what so ever did thinke it sufficiently luft, 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 Flemmifh warres, did finde that many young men have gone over and safely retourned Soldiers within fewe Moneths, in having learned some words of Art, ufed 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.
The scarletie 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 fewe weeks) and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondered at, or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes they dreamed on in Fortingall, 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 ye 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 suitly 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 foever they goe to want the fulnes of their flesh pots? Have not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating young fruietes and drinking new wines? Have they not abundantly perifhed in the Looke Countries with cold and rawnes of the Ayre, even in their Garrisons? Have there not more died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, than double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish Armie the last yeare (who had all
provisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke
the fittest season of the yeare for our Climate) avoide sickness 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 com-
mon fort perfwade themselves we have? It hath been
proved, by strict examinations of our musters, that wee
were never, in our fulnes, before our going from Plymough,
11000 Soldiers, nor above 2500 Mariners. It is also evident
that there returned above 6000 of all forts, as appeareth by
the severall payments made to them since our comming
home. And I have truly shewed you that of these number
vere 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 beleewing that wee have lost 16,000 men by
sickness.

Answere to To them that have made question of the govern-
ment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that ther were so many drûkards
amongst us), I answer that in their government of shires &
parishes, yea, in their vere houisholds, themselves
can hardly bridle their vaialls from that vice. For we fee
it a thing almost impossible, at any your hayres or pub-
lique assembilys, to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in
your Townes and Alepales unfrequented: And we observe
that though any man, having any disordered persons in their
houses, doe locke up their drinke and fet butlers upon it,
that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale them-
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selves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If, then, at home, in the eyes of your Justices, Mayors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for everie pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor, doo they thinke that thoe bafe difordered 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 guarde, 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 idllest men; and, for the moost parte, our slovenly preft men, whome the Justices (who have alwayes thought unworthy of any warre) have sent us out as the scumme and dregges of their Countrey. And thoe were they who, distempering themselves with these hot wines, have brought in that sicknes which hath infected honest men than themselves. But I hope (as in other places) the recoverie of their diseafes 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.

Answere to If we have wanted Surgions, may not this rather the third. 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 whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a
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 leffe, for our
Englishe 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 thofe that hereaftter
goe to the warres to make preparation of such as may
better preferve mens lives by their skill.

Answer to From whence the want of carriages did proceede,
the fourth, you may conjecture, in that we marched through a
Country, neither plentiful of such provifions, 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 & Asses that were laden with any baggage, to be un-
burthened and taken to that use; and the Earle of Essex
and hee, for money hired men to carrie men upon Pikes.
And the Earle (whose true vertue and Nobilitie, as it doth
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 defervings, I shall not neede here
to make any particuler discourse, for that many of his
actions doo hereafter give me occasion to obserue the fame.

Answer to And the great complaint that thofe men make
the fifth. 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 carcetie 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 plentiful Countries of the world for viuitals, 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 affoord the beft water that may be, and much more healthfull than any wine for our drinking.

And although some have most iniuriouſlie exclaimed againſt the small provisions of viuitals for the Sea, rather grounding the fame uppon an evill that might have fallen, than anie that did light uppon us, yet knowe you this, that there is no man fo forgetful that will fay they wanted before they came to the Groyne; that whoſsoever made not verie large provisions for himſelfe and his company at the Groyne, was verie improvident, where was plentifulſſore of wine, beeſe, and ﬁſh, and no man of place prohibited to laye in the fame into their ſhippes; wherewith some did fo furniſh themſelves, as they did not onely in the Journey 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 ufed his diligence could have wanted his due proportion thereof: as might appeare by the Remainder that was returned to Plymouth, and the plentifulſſe ſale thereof made out of the Merchants ſhips after their coming into the Thames.
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But leaft I shou'd seeme unto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or anfwering frivolous questions, I will address me to the true report of those actions that have passed there; wherein, I protest, I will neither hide anie thing that hath happened against us, nor attribute more to anie man or matter than the iuft occasions thereof leadeth unto: wherein it shall 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 first required by Don Antonio, who should have reaped the fruitie of our Adventure.

After 6 dailes falling from the coast of England, and the sift after we had the winde good, beeing the 20 of April, in the evening, we landed in a Bay more than an English mile from the Groyne, in our long boates and Pinnaces, without anie impeachement: from whence we presently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile whereof we were encountred by the Enemie, who, being charged by ours, retir'd into their gates. For that night our Armie lay in the villages, houfes, and milles next adjoyning, and verie neare round about the Towne; into the which the Galeon named Saint Iohn (which was the second of the last yeres Fleete against England), one hulk, two smalle ships, and two Gallies, which were found in the Rode, did beate upon us and upon our Companies, as they paied 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 side (for it standeth on the neck of an Iland) with a wal upon a drie ditch: whereupon he resolued to trie in two places what might be done against it by efealade, and in the meane
time advisèd for the landing of some Artillarie to beat upon
the ships & Gallies, that they might not annoy us: which
being put in execution, upon the planting of the first piece
the Gallies abandoned the Road, and betook them to
Faroll, not farre from thence: and the Armado, being
beaten with the artillery & Musketers that was placed |
upon the next shoare, left her playing upon us. The rest
of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, & other
provisions readie for the surprisfe of the Bafe towne, which
was effectèd in this fort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men, under the
conduett of Colonell Huntley and Captaine Fenner, the
Vizeadmirall, on that side next fronting us, by water, in
long boates and pynnifes, wherein were placed manie
pieces of artillarie to beate upon the Towne in their
approach. At the corner of the wall which defended the
other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wing
feld, 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 passable, but,
if not, to betake them to the ecalade, for they had also lad-
ders with them: at the other corner of the wall, which
joynd to that side that was attempted by water, were ap-
pointed Colonell Ympton and Colonell Brett, with 300
men, to enter by ecalade. All the Companies which shold
enter by boate being imberked before the lowe water: and
having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine
Sampfon betook the to the ecalade, for they had in com-
mandement to charge all at one instant. The boates landed
without anie great difficultie, yet had they some men hurt
in ye landing. Colonel Bret & Col. Ympton entred
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 own Companie, whom he trusted well, betooke himself to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, & so still scour’d the wall) till he came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Capteine Wingfeld & Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found verie good resitance, 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 Enemy that day had resolvd in councel 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 fire, from 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 gird 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 leffe peril doe: for that ours, being strangers ther, knew not the way to cut the 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 cellers, which were everie day found out in great nübers.

Amongst thole Don Iuan de Luna, a man of verie good
commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a Commissarie of vittels, called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groyne at our entrée 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 baftard fonde of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his companie was that night in the galeon.

Don Antonio de Herera, then at Madrid.

Don Pedro de Maurides, 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, Caucofo de Socas.

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

Also, hee faith that there was order given for baking of 300000 of Bifquet, 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, peafe, wheate, and fish.

That there was 3000 quintells of beeefe.

And that not 20 dayes before there came in three Barques, laden with match and harquebufes.
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Some others also found favour to be taken prisoners; but the rest, falling into the hands of the common Soldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I conjecture, first and last, after we had entered the Towne; and in the enterie thereof, there was found ev'ry celler full of Wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grewe themselves, for the present, fencers of the danger of the shot of the Towne, which hurt many of them, being drunk, and tooke the first ground of their sickness, for of such was our first and chiefest mortalitie. There was also abundant store of victualls, salt and all kinde of provision for shippinge and the warre: which was confessed by the fayrd Commissarie of victualls, taken there, to be the beginning of a Magasin of all sorts of provision for a new Voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the King of Spain.

The next morning, about eight of the clocke, the Enemie abandoned their Shippes. And, having overcharged the | artillarie of the Gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible fort two daies together, the fier and overcharging of the pieces being so great, as of 50 that were in her, ther were not above 16 taken out whole; the rest, with overcharge of the powder, being broken and molten with heat of the fire, was taken out in broken pieces into divers Shippes. The same day was the Cloister on the south side 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 same with our Musquetiers.

The next day, in the afternoone, there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the country, even to the gates of the town, as resolutely (led by what spirit 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 slaine about eighteen of theirs, they tooke them to their heales 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 countie 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 Munition 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, heedlie feen unto, and the furie thereof prevented by pulling downe many houeses, 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 Cloyfter, two demie Canons and two Culverings against the towne, defended or gabtioned with a crosse wall, through the which our batterie lay; the first & second tyre whereof shotke al the wall downe, so as the ordnance lay al open to the enemie; by reason whereof some of ye Canoniers were shot & some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordnance, Master Spencer, was slaine faft 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 he presentely 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 profer of an escalade on the other side, where he 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 Ordenance readie to batter, causd the towne to be summoned; in which sommons 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 promis 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 almoist all seated upon a rocke) found one place thereof myneable, & did presentely 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 enoufh into the wall. Agaynst which time, ye breach made by ye cannon being thought assault-
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able, and companies appoynted as wel to enter the fame, as that which was expected shoule be blowen vp by the Myne; namely, to that of the Cannon, Captaine Richard Wingfeld, 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 Sampfon and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeld, Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certain seleceted 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 reafon 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 fent, with some choften out of everie Companie, into the countrie for provifions, whereof hee brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day, Captaine Anthonie Sampfon was fent out, with some 500, to fetch in provifions 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 fet to worke againe; who, by the second day after, had wrought verie wel into the foundation of the wall. Against which time, the Companies aforefaid 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 blew up halfe the Tower under which the powder was planted. The Affailants having in charge, upon
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the effecting of the Myne, presently to give the assault, which they did accordingly, but too soon; for, having entered the top of the breach, the other halfe of the Tower, which by the first force of the powder was only 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 flood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruins of the Myne. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Capitaine Anthonie Wingfeld's were shot in the Breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Capitaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Capitaine Wingfelds by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon was Capitaine Sydenham, pitifully loft; who, having three or four 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 well assaulted by them that had the charge therof, who brought their men to the pufh 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 slippd outwards from under their feete. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall unbattred. For let no man thinke that Culverine or Demie Cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible Rampier; and of those pieces we had, the better of the Demi Canons, at the seconde shot brake in her carriages, so as the battrie was of leffe force, being but of three pieces.
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In our Retreat (which was from both the breaches thowere 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 beft judgement, 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 profe, to trie, if by that terror he could get the upper Towne, having no other way to put it in hazard so speedelie, and which, in my conscience, had obtained the Towne, had not the Defendants been in as great peril 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 journey, and not performed, might have made her Maiestie Miftres of the Groyne; for, though the Myne were unfortunate, yet, if the other breach had been such as the earth would have helde
our men thereon, I doo not thinke but they had entred it
throughly at the first assault 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
assault, nor above three by assault.

The next day, the Generall hearing, by a prifoner that
was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assemblled
an army of 8000 at Puente de Burgos, sixe 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 pur-
pose to relieve the Groyne, or to encamp themselves neere
the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same: for
to that purpose had the Marques of Seralba written to
them both the first night of our landing, as the Commiss-
sarie taken then confessed, or, at the leaft, to stop our fur-
ther entrance into the Countrey (for during this time there
were many incursions made, of three or four hundred at a
time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victualls plent-
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 Battalle, that of the Generall,
of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk; and in the re-
ward Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell
Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with
Generall Drake for the garde of the Cloyfter and Artillarie.

About tenne of the clocke the next day, being the fift
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 Wingfield, to command the shot of the same, who devided the into three troupes: the one he appoynted to Captaine Middleton to be conduct ed in a way on the left hand; another to Captaine Eri gton to take the way on the right hand; and the bodie of them (which were Musketters) Captaine Wingfield 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 Wingfield; so, as he giving the first charge upon the Enemie, was in the instant secon ded by Captaine Wingfield, who beate them from place to place (they having verie good places of defence, and croffe walls, which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is over a creake 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 fromglie entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris, marching in the poyn 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 ye same, but through an incredible volie of shot, for that the shot of their armie flanked upon both fides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells; but they, who shold have garded the same, feeing the proude approach wee made, forsooke the defence of the Barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with verie earneftnes in over-thrusting, fell, and was grieviously hurt at the sward in the head, but was
moft honourable were 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 fame counter: yet were they so throughlie seconed 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 overthrown, their whole Armie fell presentlie into route, of whom our men had chase three miles, in foure fondrie waiies 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 pursuite 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 returing to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they despatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloyfter, which he burnt and spoylede, 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 Barriecades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped therabouts, 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,
and the Battell another, to burne and spoyle; so as you might have seen the countrie more than three miles compass 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 hotly pursued. Our Sailors also landed in an Iland next adjoyning our shippes, where they burnt and spoyled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groyne, bringing small comfort to the enemie within the same, who shoot many times at us as wee 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 thinkke 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, suspeeting 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 somuch as I may justly say there was not one house left standing in the Bafe towne or the Cloyfter.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie, without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the Enemie at Puente de Burgos) had been impossible to have done; for that, without doubt, they would have attempted something against us in our imbarking, 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 Terenis de Santifíc, to bring all the forces against us that they could possibly raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an armie thither; 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 soldiers under their commandements.

After wee had put from thence, wee had the winde so contrary, as wee could not under nine daies recover the Burlings; in which passage, on the 13 day, the Earle of Essex, 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 Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle, having put himself into the Journey against the opinion of the world, and, as it seemed, to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, (for, as the honorable carriage 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 avoiding 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 Andalòsia, 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 Fleece. Also, in his returne from thence to meete with our Fleece, 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 enemie that held gard upon the Coast would not abide, but fled up the country.

After his coming into the fleet (to the great rejoicing of us all), he demanded of the Generals that, after our Armie should come on shore, he might alwaies have the leading of the vantgard, 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 poynct of the vangard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessity of the place hee held) called him to other services.

The 16 day we landed at Penicha, in Portingall, under the shot of the Caftle, and above the waft in water, more than a mile from ye 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 Enemie, being five companies of Spayndyes under the commandement of ye 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 Essex, 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 ye other over the Sandhils; which the Enemy seeing, drew
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their likewise further into the land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but indeed to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort as, being charged by ours which were sent out by ye Colonel general
under Captaine Iaccon, they crossed the same even to the push of the pike; in which charge, & at the push, Captaine
Robert Piew was slain. The Enemie being fled further thā we had reason to follow them, all 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 stormed ye next night; which, being abandoned by him that commanded 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 ye towne and the castle, we rested there one day; wherein some Friars, and other poore men, came unto their newe King, promising, in the name of the Countrie next adjoynynge, 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 horse and shippes were unshipped.

The Generals having there resolved ye the Armie should march overland to Lisbone, under ye conduct of generall Norris, & that generall 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-
visions for their cures. The General, to trie ye 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 ye Battaile: S. James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfeld, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Hunteis, & 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, flood upó the ascent of an hil by ye which our Battalions must of necessitye march, & with a plesing kindnes tooke his leave severally of the commandours of everie regiment, wishing us al happy successe in our journey over the land, with a constant promise ye he would, if the injury of ye 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 Munition upon mens backes, which was the next day remedied.

In this march, Captaine Crifpe, the Provoft Marshall, caufed one who (contrarie to the proclamation publish'd at | our arrivall in Portingall) had broken up a house for pillege, to be hanged, with the caufe of his death upon his breaf, in the place where the act was committed: which good example, providentlie given in the beginning of our march, caufed the commandement to be more respectfullie regarded all the journey after, by them whom feare of punishment doth onlie hold within compasse. The Camp lodged that night at Lorioña: The next day we had intelli-
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gence al the way that the enemie had made head of hors
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 Caftle to the possession of Don
Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, espe-
cially 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 respec-
tively 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 victuals for us, whereby we were driven for
that time into a great fearcitie. Which moved the Colo-
nell 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 advertife ye King what necessity
we were in, before we shuld of our selves alter the first insti-
tution of abstinence: the Colonell general having ac-
quainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allow-
ance thereof, went to the King; who, after some expostula-
tions 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 sundrie
villages, the one battallion lying in "Enchara de los Cava-
leros, 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
horsmen of the Enemie; who, by one of his Corporalls,
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charged with 8 horfes through 40 of them, and himselfe through more than 200 with some 40 horfe, 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 enemie would tarrie us there; for the Cardinall had made publique promife to them of Lisbone, that he would fight with us in that place; which hee might have done advantageoufle, for we had a bridge to paffe over in the same place; but, before our comming, 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 horfmen, with some few shot, shewed themselves upon a hill at our comming into that village. Whom Sir Henrie Norris (whose Regiment had the poyn't of the Vangard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therefore marched, without found 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 betwene him and them: but before he could draw his companies anie thing neere, they retired.

Generall Drakes Regiment that night, for the commoditie of good lodging, drew themselves into a Village more than one English mile from thence, and near the Enemie; who, not daring to doo anie 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 discharget) began to entertaine kindly, but, having got within their guard,
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they fell to cut their throates: but the Alarame 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 prefently drave them to retire with losse: they killed of ours, at their first entrance, 14, and hurt fixe or feaven.

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

That night the Earl of Essex 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 fame very neere, sent some to give the Alarame unto the Enemie: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the Enemie refued to issue after them, so as the Earle returned as soone as it was light without doing anie thing, though he had in purpofe, and was readie to have given an honourable Chardge on them.

The 25 of May, in the evening, we came to the Suburbes of Lisbonne; at the verie entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams, calling Captain Anthony Wingfeild with him, tooke thirtie shot, or thereabouts, and first scourred at the streets till they came verie neere the Towne: where they found none but olde folkes and beggers, crying Viva el Rey Don Antonio, and the houeses shut up; for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some
houfes by the water side ful of corne and other provisions of victuals, leaft we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in manie houfes.

The foure Regiments that had the Vangard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sydneys, and General Drakes, whom I name as they marched, the Colonell Generall caufed to holde guard | in the nearest tretates of the Suburbes. The Batalla and the arrierward flood in Armes at the night in the field neare to Alcantara. Before Morning, Captaine Wingfeild, by direction from ye 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 houfes that flood upon their wall, either within or without, leaft we, possesling 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 joyned 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 Batalla and arrierward in the Suburbes called Bona Viáta, & in placing Mufquetiers in houfes, to frunt their shot upon the wall, who from the fame fcowred the great tretates verie dangeroufie.

By this time our men, being thoroughly wearié with our fixe dayes March, and the laft nights watch, were defirous of reft: whereof the Enemie being advertifed, about one or two of the clocke, fellied out of the Town, and made
their approach in three severall freates 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 well here as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerke commanded, put them to a sodaine fowle retreate; in so much as the | Earle of Essex had the chase of them even to the gates of the high Towne, wherein they left behind them many of their best Commanders: their Troope of horfmen also came out, and, being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Manie of them also left the freates, and betook them to houses which they found open: For the Serjeant Maior, Captain Wifon, flewe in one house, with his owne hands, three or foure, and caufed them that were with him to kil manie others. Their losse, I can affure you, did triple ours, as well in qualitie as in quantitie.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake, with the whole Fleete was come into Caiais, and poiffeed the Towne without anie resiſtence; manie of the inhabitants, at their discoverie of our Navie, fled with their baggage into the Mountains, and left the Towne for anie man that would poiffe it, till Generall Drake sent unto them, by a Portingall Pilot which he had on board, to offer them all peaceable kindnes, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minifter 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 Cloyfter called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the Castle, which being guarded with fixtie-five Spaniards held still agaynft him.

As our Fleete were cafting 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 fitteft occasion, hoyfed agayne, 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 fort 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 thither, also, he tooke ships of the Port of Portingall, which were sent from thence with fifteen other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes, Serjeant Major of the same place, laden with men and victualls, to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Sant' Vues.

The next day it pleased General Norris to call 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 foot, whereof the King had made promife, and to march some convenient number to Cafcais 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 flood for us, held it beft to make our abode there, and to
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fend some 3000 for our artillarie; promising to themselfes that the Enemie, being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallyes. Some others (whose unbellee was verie strong of anie hope from the Portingall) perfwaded rather to march whollie away, than to be any longer carried away with an opinion of things, where there was so little apparence. 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 exped-ition of Portingall were not the onely purpose of their Journey, but an-adventure therein, which, if it succeded prosperously might make them sufficiently rich & wonder-full honourable; and that they had done so much alreadie in triall thereof as, what ende foever happened, could nothing impaire their credits, Yet, in regarde of the Kings laft pro-mise, that hee shoule 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 re-solve 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 Caccais, and keeping a Remainder behinde, it hence he saw them, the day before, so boldly sally 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 Caccais, that they expected more supplies from all places of Souldiers, for the Duke of Braganitia, 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 flenderlie 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 Counsell at Penicha, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our Navie shoulde meete us in the river of Lisbone, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the mean of our variance in that place, which came not, thogh we continued till we had no Munition left to entertaine a verie smal 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 upon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope given at our first entrie to Penicha, by the manner of the yielding 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 Friers also and the poore people that came unto him, promised that within two daies ye Gentlemen | and others of the country would come plentifully in: within which two daies came many more Priests, and some verie fewe Gentlemen on horsebacke; but not till we came to Teras Vedras, where they that noted ye courfe of things how they pased, 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 Lisbon, 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 Lisbon, the King, as you
have heard, promis'd a supplie of 3000 foote, and some
horfe: but all his appoyntments being expired, even to the
last of a night, all his horfe could not make a Cornet of 40,
nor his foote furnish two Ensignes fullie, although they car-
ried three or foure Colours: and these were altogether such
as thought to inrich themselves by the ruine of their neigh-
bours: for they committed more disorders, in everie place
wher we came byspoyle, than any of our own.

The Generall, as you fee, 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 laft, he defi'd not to perfwade him to stay yet nine
daises longer; in which time he might have engaged him-
selfe 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 feemeth,
that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in periwading
him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies he fawe no
semblance: or he like a fillie lover, who promiseth himselfe
favour by importuning a coy mitris, thought by our long
being before his Towne, that in the ende taking pitie on
him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers 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 fway; fearing to shewe themselves apparentlie unto him, leaft the Spaniards 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 carry away the Crowne. For they bee of so bafe 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 throughly 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 moft 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 Capeaies, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugalls came against us as farre as S. Julians by land, as you shal prefentlie 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 disad- vantage to beate them: and, having taken so much paines to feeke 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 impression within them, as they durft not attempt any thing against them upon anie hazard.

For, what civil Country hath ever sufferd 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 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 promife much in speaches, 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 proofe without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discovered their weakness, and honourably performed more than could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners who feeke occasions of flander, have reported him to bee fulfitious of a people, of whose infideltie 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 question if therefore further enquire, why he marched so many days to Lisbon, 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 f treaty, till the whole Armie was drawne into the field, and so marched out of the Towne, appoynting Captain Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the Arreeward of them with the shot; thinking that the Enemie (as it was most likelie) would have issued out upon 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 Lisbon, wee had been the rich-est Armie that ever went out of England: for besides the particulier 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 Lisbon (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 stooke off a private Gentlemans legge, and killed the Sergeant Majors moyle under him. The horsemens also followed us a farre of, and cut off as many fickle men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had been two daies at Cascais, wee had intell-
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iligence 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 defiring nothing more than to fight with them in field roume, 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 Lisbon in disorder and fear of them (which indeede was most false) for that it was five of the clock in the morning before wee fell into Armies, and then went in such fort, 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 comming, and there to trie out the justnes 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 detail) 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 Lisbon, but could not get other answer to either of his letters, but threatening to bee hanged, for daring to bring such a message: howbeit the Generall had caus'd to bee written upon the backside of their passport, y' 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 return home, but without answer.

After our armie came to Cascais, and the Castile summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that upon five or sixe shot of the Cannon hee would deliver the same, but not without fight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distress within had been such for want of men or victuals as he could not hold it many days, because he fawre it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeld 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 days before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or four pieces of batterie against it: upon the first Fire whereof he rendered, and compounded to goe away with his bagage and Armes: he had one Cannon, two Culverings, one Basiliske, and three or foure other field-pieces, threecore and five Souldiers, verie good store of munition, and victuals enough in the Castile; infomuch as hee might have held the same longer than the Generall had in purpose to tarie there. One Company 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 peril 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 Fleet 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 Hamburg, laden with Spanish goods, and as it feemed for the Kings provision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Maftes, Cables, Copper and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well built 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 Miñes, 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 Fleebotes, were shipped, and the Fleebotes 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, prefentlie departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was verie desirous to goe, but found the Generals verie unwilling he should do so, in yt he bare the next place unto them, and if they should miscarrie, was to com-
mand the Armie. And the same day there came unto us two smal 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 meet-
ing 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 expe
tation. Notwithstanding, we resolued 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 Com-
panies 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 enemie's 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 Enemie posseffed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the Road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Empeor 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 Usley from the Generals to the Empeor.
The next morning, the nine Gallies which were sent not five daies before out of Andolofia for the strengthening of the river of Lisbon (which being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though wee lay hard by them at S. Julians, durft 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 afforded 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 strengthe 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 laft; yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well dicerne, but might easilie judge by his long and good fight, that the Enemie could not but suffer much losse, who setting alfo upon one other Hulk wherin 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 Artillerie, and attempted to board her. And feeing, alfo, one other Hulke a league of, a sterne of us, they made towards her: but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durft 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 shps to the number of 25 in a greate winde which was two dayes before, having loft the Admiralls and Fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom, was Sir Henrie Norris, in the Ayde: who had in purpofe (if the Admiralls had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all, to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the Fleet held with Generall Drake, who, though he were two dayes before put upon those islandes, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembering how unprovided he was for that Journey, and seeing that he had lost 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 board) 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 firetees 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 alse 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 Borfs, 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, houfes 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 repitie to carry all away.

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

This day there were certaine Marriners (without anie
direction) put themselves on hooare, 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 aginst Bayon,
were before shewed to bee want of artillarie, and may now
be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with very good soldiers; as was shewed by Juan de Verfa taken at the Groyne, who confessed that there were 600 olde Soldiers in Garrifon 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 Camaecho, del tercio de Naples.
  Don Francisco de Cepedes.
  Capt. Juan de Solo, del Tercio de Napoles.
  Don Diego de Caffava.
  Capt. Sauban.

Alfo, he faith, 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 fickleffe, determined to man and victual 20 of the best ships for the Islandes 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 victuals accordingly, purposèd the next morning to fall downe to the Islandes of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that daye. But Generall Drake according to their appoyntment being under fayle, never strooke at the Islandes, 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 great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came agayne into the Islands, but not without great peril, hee being forced to trust to a Spanish Fishier-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 course for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victual, as were left in wonderfull distress, by having victualls that came last, carried away the day before to sea.

The next day he set sail, 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 dispersed into other harbors; some lead by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the Hulkes, fought other ports from their Generals eye, when they might make their private commoditie of them, as they have done to their great advantage.

Prefently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the Armye, having 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
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, receaved 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 pass'd, that either doo not or will not conceave the Souldiers estate, by comparing their poverty and the shortness 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 strange tales: For as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who deireous 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 farthest goe no farther than Paules to enquire what hath been done in this Voyage: where, if they meete with anie, whose capaciteit before their going out could not make them live, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complainging on the hardneffe 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 beleeving everie report, for you see there have been many more beholders of these things ye 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 purpofe and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and miflikings before our comming home, have made me labour thus much to instruct you in the certeintie 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, nameley, 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
it bee behooffull 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, especiallly
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 loft unto him. The one without
doubt her Majestie may doo without difficultie, and in fo
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-
quith. 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 Fon when the States had their
mightie assemblie against him, how this wise 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 strainge 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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repoffe thofe Countries which have been lately loft, 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 thofe Lowe Countries, but by bringing the warre uppon England it selfe, which hath alwaies affisted them againste him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath been vehementlie urged by the laft yeeres losse he susteined uppon our Coasts, and the great dishonor this journey hath laid uppon him; no doubt if wee shall give him rejpite 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 wift, even in true and honest zeale to my Countrie, that wee were all persuaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busie him with a well furnishe 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 invasfon. And having an Armie of twentie thousand royallie furnishe there, we shall not neede to take much care for their payement: for shall not Lisbon be thought able to make fo few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found fo abounding in riches, as had wee made enemie 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 needfull to be sent againste it, whose defence (as that of Lisbon) is
onlye force of men, of whom how many may for the present
be rafied, it is not to be esteemed, because we 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 Countrie, they cannot say that ever they
made twenty of our men turne their faces from them.
And be there not many other places of leffe difficultie to
spoyle, able to satisfy our forces?

But admit that if upon this Alarume that we have given
him, he, tendring his naturall and neareste 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 possesling his principall
Roades, are wee not in possibilitie to meeke with his Indian
Merchants, and verie like to prevent him and his provisios
coming out of the East Countries? without the which,
neither the subject of Lisbon is long able to live, nor the
King able to maintaine his Navie: for though the countrye
of Portingall doo some yeres finde themselves corne, yet are
they never able to viuall the leaft part of that Citie. And
albeit the King of Spaine be the richest Prince in Christen-
dome, 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 disagreeance with them, will impeach the trade of our Merchants, and so impoverish our Country. 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 thesfe mischieues, to put in hazard, whether we shall have a Countrey lefte to make cloth in, or no? And yet, though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doo receive our cloth, the necessarie use thereof in all places is fuch, as they will finde means to take it from us, with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that wee damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for unlefe it bee with a much more mightie Armie than ours, he shal never be able to withstand us) yet shal we by holding him at his home, free our selves from the warre at our owne walls: the benefite whereof let them consider, yf beft can judge, and have observed the difference of invading, and being invaded; the one giving courage to the Souladier, in that he it dooth fet before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearfull terror to the Countrey man, who if by chance hee play the man, yet is he never the richer: and who, knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in peril 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 truift unto. I will not say what I observed in our Countrey men, when the enimie offered to affaile us here: but I wish that all England knewe what
terror we gave to the fame people that frighted us, by visit-
ing them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanderes fortunes great against the mightie
Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirfted after the
wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the laft
man, because the laft man knewe no safer waye to save
himselfe, than by fighting? Whereas the Persians, either
trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yelding
to the Invader, began to practise against their owne king:
or having more inward hopes, did hide themselves even to
the laft, to see what course the Conquerour would take in
his Conquest. And did not the advice of Scipio, though
mightly impugned at the first, prove verie found and
honorable to his Countrey? Who, seeing the Romanes won-
derfully amazed at the nearnesse of the enemies Forces,
and the losses they dayly sustyned by them, gave counfaile,
rather by way of diversion to carrie an Armie into Aftrich
and there to assaile, than by a defensive warre at home to
remaine subject to the common spoyles of an affailing
Enemie. Which being put in execution, drew the Enemie
from the Gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with
triumph; albeit his beginnings at the first, were not so for-
tunate against them, as ours have been in this small time
against the Spaniard. The good success whereof, maye
encourage us to take armes resolutely against him, and I
befeche God it may stirre up all men that are particularly
interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a
matter will affure them of their safeties, 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 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 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 reit. It were not much for everie Iustice of peace, who by his blewe coate protecteth the propereft and moft 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 diuidentions 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 fodorainle grow to great wealth, honestly to bring forth the mysticall commodity of one yere 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 thankfulness to her Majestie (who hath continued for all our safeties, a moft chargeable warre both at land and sea) bestowed the fame, for her honour and their owne assurance, upon an Armie which may make this bloodie Enemie, fo to knoue himselfe and her Majesties power, as he shall be-thinke him what it is to moove a stirring people? Who, though they have receaved some small checke by the sick-
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neffe of this last Journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made known, 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 affecionately 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 poor, 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 slaverie.

Against them is true honour to bee gotten, for that wee shall no sooner feet foote in their land, but that every steppe we tread will yield us newe occasion of action, which I with 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 Spain is the wealth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magazins of the fruits and profites of the East and West Indies: whereunto I with our young able men, who against the libertie they are borne unto, (termes themselves Serving men) rather to bend their desires and affections, than to attend their double liverie and fortie
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flillings 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 flate and consequence, the care whereof is alreadie laid upon a most grave and honorable Counsell, 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 perfwading them to the warres, when I see the profession thereof so flenderlie 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 roume, 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 frustr us at pleasure: yea though wee are to hope for nothing but a bloudie warre, nor can truft to any helpe but Armes; yet how farre the common fort are from reverencing or regarding any persons of conduccion, was too apparant in the returne of this our journey, wherein the base and common soldier hath been tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the soldier and Captaine against the generalls, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condition doo dare to cenfure the doings 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, whosoeuer inveigh against him: But the auncient English honour is taken from our
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 whenever he shall set foot 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 profession: 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 unworthy of any estimation.

May the burning of one Towne (which cost the King then being, five times as much as this hath done her Majestie, wherein were lost seven 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 eemeed, 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 overthrown our mightie Enemy in battle, and taken his royall Standerd in the field, besieged the Marques of Saratba fifteen daies together, that should have been the Generall of the Armie against us, brought away fo
much of his Artillarie (as I have before declared) be unwor-thelie esteemed of?

Is it possible that some, in some times, should receive their reward for looking uppon an Enemy, and ours in this time not receive so much as thankes, for having beaten an Enemy 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 do measure mens estimations by their own humours; nor how everie popular person doth give sentence on everie mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soveraigne, 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, do 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 aginst 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 fort are laid as blemishes upon the journey, and reproaches upon the Generalls (having indeed proceeded from other heads): let the necessitie of conserving the reputation of the action in generall, and the honors of our Generalls in particular, 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 perfidious 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 publicke view of the world, leaft any man take offence thereat; which some particular men may feeme juftlie to doo, in that having deferred 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 chieftefte marke; if, therefore, you shall impart the fame to one, and hee to another, and so it passe through my hands, I knowe not what conceptions would be made thereof to my prejudice; for that the Hares eares may hapnelie bee taken for hornes. Howbeit, I hold it verie necessarie (I must confesse) that there should bee
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some true manifsetation made of these things: but bee it farre from me to be the author thereof, as verie unfit to deliver my cenfure of any matter in publique, and moft unwilling to have my weaknes discovered in private. And fo doo leave you to the happie succeffe of your accustomed good exercifes, earneftlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studiies, 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.


[All corrected in the places.—G.]
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.—Honors Fame in Triumph Riding.

Page 3, Epistle-dedictory, ll. 3-4, ... Southampton = Shakespeare's 'Southampton'; ... Downshire = Stella's 'Devonshire'; ... the Lord Knollys = 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, 'renowned' — the contemporary and much earlier as well as later spelling, but see p. 15, l. 9, for 'renowned,' as now.

4, l. 7, 'reuerleffe' = cureless or incurable; l. 9, 'mony mouthed' = well paid for or fed'd.

5, l. 1, 'insulting' = boastful; ibid., 'apparent' = evident; l. 24, 'a fouldier' — see Introduction; last line, 'R. P.' = Robert Pricket or Pickett. 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 Mytle' — see his collected Poems in our Fuller Worthies' Library Miscellanies.

8, l. 5, 'prince' = noble; l. 6, 'Letters' = earl of Leicester's; ll. 13-14, 'I force his foreward,' &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, 'teamrife' = impoverished, but qu. banish't; l. 21, 'Libornes' = Lisbon. See the True Coffeee — second moiety of this volume.

10, l. 10, 'Irelanda pace' — the poet would scarcely have ventured this and onward, if Elizabeth had still been alive; l. 22, 'Prescribed' = prescribed; l. 23, 'plots wanting' = collective plural nominative, and so frequenter.

11, l. 22, qu. delete: (colon).

12, l. 5, 'an undermining sort' — doubtless Bacon was intended here, and p. 13, ll. 5-8, and especially ll. 13-14; l. 6, 'tumply' = suitably.

13, l. 16, 'hild' = held, or qu. killed or heaped up?

14, ll. 23-4, 'worshipers of politic committ' = police (singular) the nominative.

15, l. 4, 'fight' = sighted.
Page 16, l. 12, 'wifh'—qu. whist?

"17, l. 22, 'Profident' = precedent.

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

21, l. 7, 'No effiart 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, 'comprehencence' = comprehens, 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, 'Inunctuiously' = accusingly; l. 21, 'triumpharet' = triumvirate, i.e., trinity; l. 23, 'primeate' = master?

33, l. 25, 'dearing' = earlier form of our 'darling.'

II.—A TRUE COPPE of a DISCOURSE, &c., &c.

38, l. 7 (from bottom), 'factions' = factions and factions.

39, l. 1 (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, 'silence' = since; l. 16, 'indicatly' = according to Law and Justice; l. 2 (from bottom), 'damniifed,' and p. 98, l. 14 = hurt. So Spenser, Faerie Queene, i, xi, 52, 'had nought him damniifde.'

42, l. 3, 'pension' = pay; l. 2, 'les yeares expedition' = the Armada of 1588.

43, l. 2, 'more importe' = importing more; l. 7 (from bottom) 'confidently' = deliberately.

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

45, l. 12, 'harbors' = harbour. See Nares, t.v., for good quotations.

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

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

49, l. 11, 'Portingue' = Portuguese Crusado =£3 12s.; Milrayes = 14s. 6d. (gold coin) = Holk'et's Dictionary, 5. v.

51, l. 15, 'prof' = impressed.

52, l. 2 (from bottom), 'beves' = 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, 'Beaf' = low, cf. p. 56, l. 7 (from bottom); l. 14, 'pygyniaus' = pinnacles.

57, l. 3, 'vittels' = victuals; l. 22, 'Bisqute' = biscuit; last line, 'match'
Notes and Illustrations.

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

Page 59, l. 13 (from bottom), 'headtie' = 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), 'prudently' = providentially.
., 73, l. 19, 'shaded' = concealed.
., 80, l. 11 (from bottom), 'opponge' = oppugn, oppose.
., 82, l. 12, 'civil' = civilized.
., 83, l. 4 (from bottom), 'moyle' = mule?
., 84, l. 7 (from bottom), 'intretie' = treatment.
., 85, l. 10, 'Caffles' = castle-keeper; l. 22, 'rendered' = surrendered;
., l. 24, 'Culverings' — see on p. 59, l. 8 (from bottom); ibid., 'Bayliks' = ordnance — 'Of basiliks, of cannon, cuverin' (1 Henry IV', ii. 3).
., 86, l. 16, 'Mizens' = mizzen — as in mizen-mast and mizzen-sail. Ships had, formerly, an inner and outer mizen [sail], and also two mizen masts, Bonaventure being the name of the aftermost one near the poop; ibid., 'inward' = intimate; l. 20, 'Flibustiers' = 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 royle' = Martin Marprelate.
., 103, l. 6, 'poore Scot... one battle' = Flodden, when 'The flowers of the forest were all wade away.'
., 104, l. 6 (from bottom), 'headtie' = heedfully, as before.
., 105, l. 6 (from bottom), 'chiefeft' = chiepest.
., 106, l. 3, 'censure' = judgment.

A. B. G.