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Sir Francis Brake

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BY

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART, F. R. G. S.







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BY FRANCIS RUSSELL HART, F. R. G. S.

URING the last quarter of the sixteenth century Spain was the strongest of European powers, and Philip the most powerful of monarchs. In the New World, Spanish rule was

absolute from Florida to the Rio de la Plata on the Atlantic coast, and from the Isthmus south on the Western coast of South America; in fact, a papal grant had conveyed the whole of America to the Spanish Crown. A small French settlement on the St. Lawrence in the North, and an expedition to Labrador by Frobisher, under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth, showed that the somewhat arrogant claim of Spain to the whole of America was not uncontested.

Protestant England under Elizabeth longed not only for a share of the rich plunder which the exploitation of the New World was gaining for Spain, but also for an opportunity to cross swords with Catholicism. On both sides the adventurous spirit was strangely mixed with religious enthu-Prayers and piracy were siasm. closely, and often with sincerity, blended. The fact that no commerce except with Spain was permitted in the New World made trade by English ships and men possible only when carried on by privateers or armed vessels. The inevitable result of these conditions was that English ships ostensibly fitted for trade turned to plundering the rich galleons of Spain, giving rise to reprisals with terrible excesses on both sides.

The story of the great seamen of Elizabeth's reign—Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, is almost the history of the England of their day; a story replete with the romance of dangerous adventure, reckless courage, cruelty and craft, but none the less the story of brave and gallant men who fought battles not only for their own but for succeeding generations.

Upon Drake's return from his great

voyage around the world, begun in 1577 and ended in 1580, he was received with great enthusiasm by both queen and country. On this voyage he had sacked the unguarded coast towns of Peru and Chili, and it is said returned with over half a million sterling of treasure taken chiefly from the Spanish possessions. That Drake himself was knighted and his company feted by all England, was not unnaturally received as an insult by Philip, and added fuel to the flames of war already kindled. There could be now no further question of conciliating Spain, and every effort was made by Elizabeth and her sailor counsellors to build up a naval establishment of a strength equal to that of Philip, his naval power having been almost doubled through the acquisition of Portugal by the failure of its royal line. To make havoc with the Spanish possessions in the New World appealed to both the political sagacity of the queen and to the business-like judgment of those imbued with the buccaneer spirit of the age.

It has been necessary to touch thus briefly on the general conditions affecting England and Spain at the time of the expedition against Cartagena and other towns of the Spanish Main, in order to more justly conceive the true value and motives of an attack which has been variously described as a great legitimate naval expedition and as a series of wanton piratical seizures. To more adequately gain a proper perspective it will be necessary to also touch briefly on the earlier history of Drake.

Few men whose deeds have played such an important and forceful part in actual events, have had associated with their names so much of almost legendary romanticism as has that of Francis Drake. Knighted and made an admiral by Elizabeth, and dubbed a pirate by the Spaniards, he was in truth a mixture of the great soldieradmiral and the adventurous bucca-

neer. His father, Edmund Drake, is said to have been at one time a sailor, but be this as it may, he had become vicar of Upchurch, living near Tavistock, under the patronage of the Earl of Bedford. It was the earl's son, Francis Russell, who endowed the son born to Edmund Drake with his own name.

Francis Drake was born about 1545. His early associations were strongly anti-Catholic. As a boy he was apprenticed to the master and owner of a small channel coasting vessel, and appears to have been treated as a son by the master, who upon his death not very long after left the vessel to him.

Sir John Hawkins, said by some to have been a kinsman of Drake, had been early engaged in the slave-trade and in trading expeditions to the West Indies and Spanish Main. In 1567 he visited the Spanish Main, and only succeeded in landing and selling his negroes at Rio de la Hacha after overcoming armed resistance. He finally at Cartagena abandoned this com-This voyage was in many respects unfortunate, and it was also alleged that many acts of bad faith on the part of the Spaniards brought great hardships, sufferings and death to many of Hawkins' unhappy companions. Hawkins himself says in his account of the expedition: "If all the miseries and troublesome affairs of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs."

Great indignation was felt in England over the mishaps of this voyage and the treatment of the voyagers by the Spaniards. Drake had taken part in this expedition in command of the "Judith," having previously sold his own little coaster and used the proceeds, with his other earnings, for the proper outfitting for this voyage with Hawkins. Having lost everything in this unhappy venture, from which he barely escaped with his life, Drake be-

came an ardent supporter of the doctrine, soon popular in England, that it was lawful to recover from the Spaniards that which their treachery had taken from the English traders.

In 1570 Drake again went to the West Indies, this time with two ships, the "Dragon" and the "Swan," and again in 1571 with the "Swan" alone. These voyages appear to have been mainly for acquiring information, or at least, that appears to have been their chief result. With the experience gained by these two voyages and the previous one with Hawkins, he sailed from Plymouth in May, 1572, with the "Pacha" of seventy tons, and "Swan" of twenty-five tons, with total crews of seventy-three men and boys. By the end of July he reached Nombre de Dios, and after a sharp but brief engagement, in which he himself was wounded, captured the town. From Nombre de Dios he sailed along the coast towards Cartagena, capturing several well-laden vessels on the way, but making no stop of consequence until arriving at the Isthmus of Darien. There he found settlements of the Cimarrones (or Maroons), negroes who had escaped from slavery, wit!1 whom he entered into intercourse and by the chief of whom he was shown from a "goodly and great high tree" on a commanding height a sight of the Pacific ocean. Drake is reported to have "besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail in an English ship on that sea.' This same chief guided and helped in an expedition overland to intercept the trains of mules which brought treasure from Panama to Nombre de Dios. Beyond taking possession of a small town on the road and destroying some property the expedition appears to have been fruitless, and it was only after great hardships and dangers that Drake and his men regained their ships. He returned to Plymouth from this voyage on August 9, 1573, somewhat enriched, but with his ambition in no way satisfied. A valventuresome seaman and

named John Oxenham, whose name is closely associated with the stirring events of that day in the Caribbean littoral, had served under Drake in this expedition. About two years later Oxenham, with one ship and seventymen, retraced the course of Drake to Darien with the object of intercepting one of the richly laden mule trains from Panama. Being informed by the Cimarrones that the trains were now accompanied by a strong guard, he abandoned this plan and, helped by a few of the Cimarrones, marched to the Pacific side, built himself a small pinnace, and gained the distinction of being the first Englishman to sail upon the Pacific ocean. In December, 1577, Drake started on his great trip of circumnavigation, already referred to, with a fleet consisting of the "Pelican" and four smaller vessels, having a total complement of one hundred and sixty-four men. That the plans for this voyage had the full, if secret, concurrence of the queen, there seems little doubt, notwithstanding the fact that one of its real if not avowed objects was to prey upon the colonies of a nation with which technical peace existed. The story of this voyage has no place here, but its great success from both a naval and "profit-sharing" standpoint, and the enthusiasm with which the voyagers were received on their return in September, 1580, "richly fraught with gold, silver, silk, pearls and precious stones," added greatly to the prestige of Drake.

For the next four years Drake remained in England, becoming mayor of Plymouth for a brief period and then entering Parliament as member

for Bossiney.

Early in 1585, Elizabeth could no longer blind herself to the certainty of the intention of Spain to attack England. A fleet of English ships laden with corn had been unfairly seized, and swift retribution was planned. Under letters of marque, Drake gathered about him at Plymouth the most formidable squadron of privateers ever gotten together,

consisting of twenty-five ships with a total of twenty-three hundred sailors and soldiers. His vice-admiral was the doughty Martin Frobisher; his rear-admiral, Francis Knollys, and Lieutenant-General Christopher Carleill was in command of the ten companies of land troops included in the

complement.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the twelfth of September, 1585. After threatening Bayona and Vigo, and by his promptness and courage doing much to injure the morale of the Spanish naval defences, Drake proceeded to the Cape de Verde Islands. taking almost unopposed possession of the chief town, Santiago, and plundering the islands for provisions and anything of value. From there he began his voyage towards the West Indies with the greatest armament which had ever crossed the Atlantic. His plan was to weaken Spain by cutting off the chief sources of her wealth in the New World and to strengthen England by obtaining the mastery of the rich Caribbean ports from which it seemed a limitless stream of gold could be made to flow into the Old World.

During the voyage to the West Indies the men suffered severe losses from deaths due to an infectious sickness, and the squadron arrived somewhat weakened in consequence at the Island of Dominica. This island is described by Thomas Cates, one of the company officers who wrote a complete account in Hakluyt's Voyages, as inhabited by "savage people, which goe all naked, their skinne coloured with some painting of a reddish tawny, very personable and handsome strong men." From thence the squadron proceeded towards Hispaniola (San Domingo), spending Christmas (1585) at anchor at the Island of St. Christopher (St. Kitts) where no people were found.

The city of San Domingo in Hispaniola was one of the chief strongholds of the Spaniards in the West Indies, and so strongly built and for-

tified that no serious attack had previously been attempted upon it. It was surrounded by walls and batteries of some strength and reputed to be garrisoned by a powerful force, although the Spanish acounts state that about 2,000 only of the 8,000 inhabitants were capable only of bearing arms and that in the actual defense of the city a few hundred only participated. Cates refers to the "glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of country thereabouts."

The squadron arrived at a safe

landing-place about ten miles from the city, on New Year's day, 1586, and notwithstanding the commotion created in the city by the approach of the large flotilla, the troops were secretly landed without molestation under cover of the night. In the morning following, Drake made a feint at landing on the opposite side towards which Carleill with the men already landed was approaching. The advantage gained by this manœuvre was pushed home, and after a short engagement in the streets and market-place the victory was won.

Extract from account published by Thomas Cates (v. Hakluyt's Voyages), entitled:

SUMMARIE AND TRUE DISCOURSE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S EST INDIAN VOYAGE, BEGUN IN THE YEERE 1585."

This worthy knight for the service of his Prince and countrey having prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them down to Plimmouth in Devonshire, to the number of five and twenty saile of ships and pinnesses, and having assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300 in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12 day of September 1585, being accompanied with these

men of name and charge, which hereafter follow:

Master Christopher Carleil Lieutenant General, a man of long experience in the warres as well by sea as land, who had formerly carried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Major.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine John Sampson, Corporals of the field. These officers had commandement over the rest of the land-Captaines, whose names hereafter follow:

Captaine Anthony Plat, Captaine Edward Winter, Captaine John Merchant, Captaine William Cecill, Captaine Walter Bigs, Captaine John Hannam, Captaine Richard Stanton. Captaine John Goring, Captaine Robert Pew, Captaine George Barton,

Captaine Martine Frobisher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in sea-faring actions, who had carried the chiefe charge of many ships himselfe, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the Primrose.

Captain Francis Knolles, Reereadmirall in the Galeon Leicester.

Master Thomas Vennor, Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure under the Generall.

Master Edward Winter, Captaine in the Aide.

Master Christopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White, Captaine of the sea Dragon. Thomas Drake, Captaine of the Thomas. Thomas Seelie, Captaine of the Minion. Baily, Captaine of the Barke Talbot. Robert Crosse, Captaine of the Bark Bond. George Fortescue, Captaine of the Barke Bonner. Edward Carelesse, Captaine of the Hope.

James Erizo, Captaine of the White Lyon. Thomas Moone, Captaine of the Vantage. John Vaughan, Captaine of the Drake. John Varney, Captaine of the George. John Martin, Captaine of the Benjamin.

Edward Gilman, Captaine of the Skout, Richard Hawkins, Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.

Bitfield, Captaine of the Swallow.



This Picture was taken from an Original Painting. Communic by the Honble S' Phillip Sydenham Bar! Kn! of y shire for Somers.

The town being rather large for complete occupancy by the small number of troops under Carleill, he was directed by Drake to intrench himself in the most important part of the town, the Spanish troops being then divided into two divisions, one which had fled to safety well outside of the city, and the other remaining in that part not invested by the English forces.

Drake now demanded a large ransom for the release of the town. During the negotiations he sent a negro boy with a flag of truce to the Spanish camp; the boy being met by a few Spanish officers was so wounded by one of them that he could barely crawl back within his own lines to die. This so inflamed the natural anger of Drake that in the first burst of his fury he had hanged, on the spot of the boy's death, two friars who were among the prisoners, and declared that until the cowardly Spaniard who killed the boy was publicly executed two more prisoners would be hanged daily. This demand was quickly met. The amount of the ransom which the city, even with difficulty, could pay, was not so great as Drake had expected, and he had to be contented with twenty-five thousand ducats, probably equivalent to about sixty thousand dollars of American money. In addition, all valuable property of a shape to permit of removal was taken aboard the ships, including from two to three hundred guns and ample stores of provisions. A few of the better vessels in the harbor were taken and the remainder destroved.

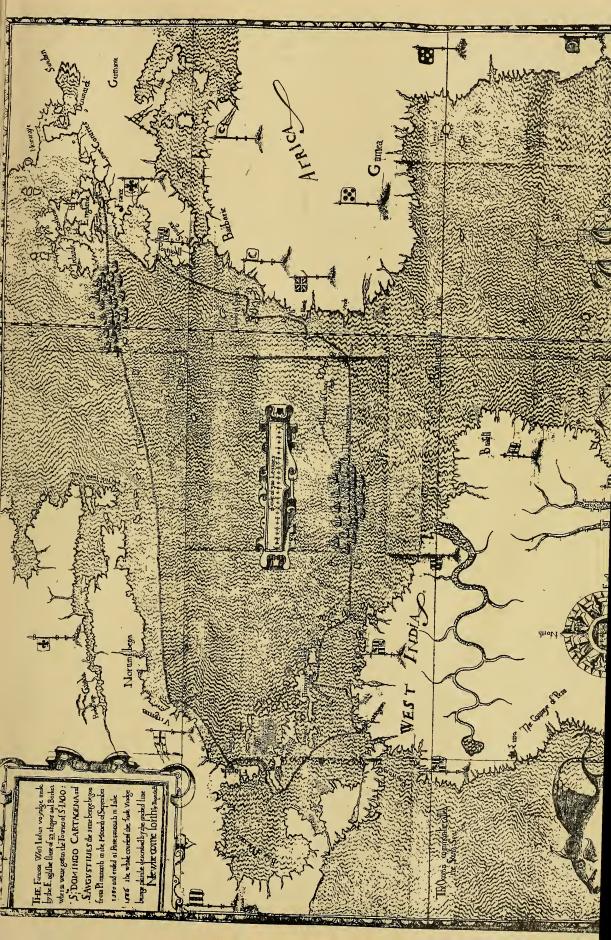
Exhilarated by victory, and with his squadron in reinforced condition, Drake sailed the middle of February for Cartagena on the Spanish Main. It was now that the experience which he had gained in his earlier voyages stood him in good stead, for he could approach this difficult shore and harbor with the confidence of an experienced pilot.

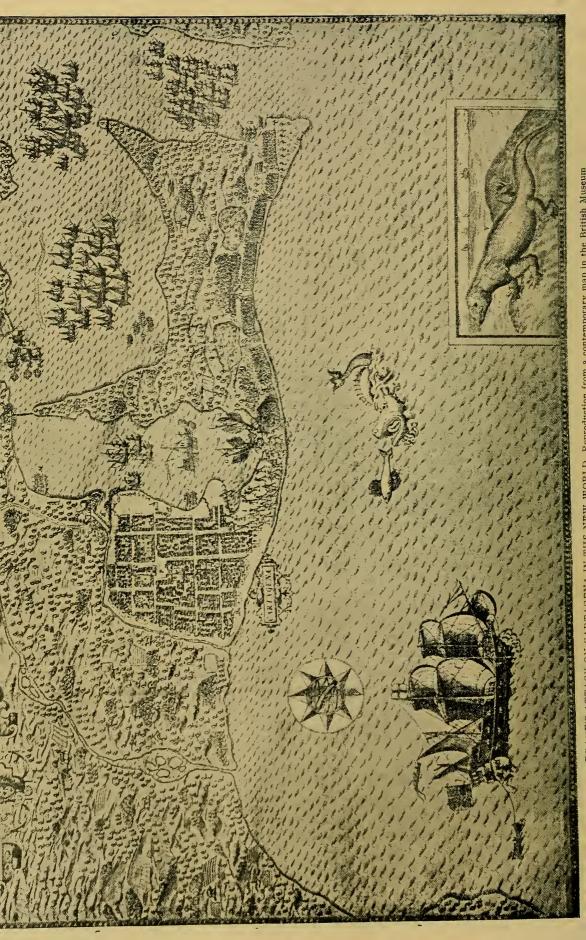
The town of Cartagena had been founded a little more than fifty years

before Drake's attack, and was already well fortified, although its system of walls and fortifications which were afterwards intended to make it impregnable, were not then wholly completed. The town is situated at the eastern extremity of the harbor or Bay of Cartagena, on low level land. While its southwestern side faces the harbor, its northwestern face is actually on the open sea itself and the surf breaks near the base of strong walls on that side. The remaining boundary is largely made up of a great shallow lagoon almost connecting with the sea on the one side, and connecting with the harbor on the other. The harbor itself is made nearly a closed basin by the Island of Tierra Bomba, at each end of which in Drake's time was an entrance for ships, the larger called Boca Grande being nearer the city, and the smaller and more difficult called Boca Chica being near the western end of the bay.

The Boca Grande entrance was subsequently closed by artificial means, which, when once effected, was greatly helped by the natural drift of the sands. It has now been closed for all but the smallest boats for over two centuries.

Cartagena, by reason of its magnificent harbor and its nearness to the great river Magdalena, which led down from the rich country in the interior, had become the storehouse of Spain in the New World, and the headquarters of all Spanish commerce. Relying upon the reputation of Cartagena for strength to keep itself from being attacked and having no conception that such an audacious attack upon his American possessions would be made, Philip had not had time to send out in advance of Drake's arrival any reinforcements. So that although warned in advance of the impending visit of Drake with his formidable squadron, the governor of Cartagena, Pedro Vique, could not depend on more than eleven or twelve hundred men all told for the defence of his city. This force was made up





of fifty lancers, four hundred and fifty harquebussiers, one hundred pikemen, twenty negro musketeers, four hundred India bowmen and one hundred and fifty harquebussiers who manned

two galleys in the harbor.

The entrance to the inner harbor was defended by a fort at the place now called Pastelillo, but otherwise there were no fortifications except those surrounding the city itself. The aproach to the inner harbor was further protected by chains, and the narrow neck of land reaching from the city to Boca Grande was defended by a stone breastwork armed with a few guns and several hundred men.

Drake entered through Boca Grande between three and four in the afternoon without resistance. At nightfall he landed the troops under the command of Carleill close to Boca Grande. About midnight, having failed to find paths through the thick growth which covered the neck of land, they marched along the beach on the side towards the sea, meeting only the slight resistance offered by a small body of horsemen who retired at the first volley.

The sound of this slight engagement was a signal to Drake to order the carrying out of a pre-arranged plan, by which the ships attacked the fort at the entrance to the inner harbor. This attack was a diversion and was not pressed to a successful conclusion, as indeed would have been difficult in view of the narrowness of channel, the chains, and the well-sustained gun fire from the fort.

During this attack by the ships the troops pressed forward against the breastworks, which consisted of a well-built stone wall with a ditch without and flankings covering every part. A small passing space was protected by wine-butts filled with earth, the whole mounted with six guns and further protected by drawing into the harbor shore the two large galleys.

Carleill forced the attack on the space protected by the wine-butts, and largely through the superiority of the

English pikes and armour a breach was made and quickly carried by storm. The defenders were forced into the city, where the streets were strongly barricaded. The Indians rendered active help to the Spaniards, fighting with poisoned arrows and with small sharp poisoned sticks about eighteen inches long, and so placed in the ground that contact with the poisoned ends was difficult to avoid. Many of the Spanish leaders were killed and Drake was soon in possession of the city. While Drake's idea had been to permanently hold Cartagena and use it for a base from which to attack the other Spanish settlements, the reduction which he had already suffered in his forces and the persistence of yellow fever among his men, changed his plans and he determined to exact the largest possible ransom and leave the place. At a general council of land captains held at Cartagena on the twenty-seventh of February, it was resolved that it was inexpedient to proceed with the intended capture of Panama and it was resolved to proceed home by the way of Florida.

Drakedemanded a ransom of £100,-000, but this sum was declared by the Spaniards impossible to be gotten together and paid, and an amount equivalent to about £28,000 was tendered. In the meantime, notwithstanding, various courtesies exchanged between the higher officers on each side, much irritation appears to arisen over the matter of the ransom, and a considerable part of the city was burned. Finally a ransom stated by Cates to have been 110,000 ducats, and by Spanish authorities to have been \$400,000, was paid and the English troops evacuated. Drake, however, after leaving the city, insisted that an abbey or priory just outside had not been included in the terms of settlement, and continued to hold it until an additional sum of 1,000 crowns was paid.

Altogether the fleet had remained at Cartagena six weeks when it finally

set sail the last of March, and was even then delayed by leaky vessels and did not arrive off Cape Anthony on the eastern end of Cuba until the twenty-seventh of April. Here the fleet took water and proceeded to the coast of Florida, where St. Augustine and various smaller and less important places were captured. The fleet then sailed for Plymouth and arrived there the twenty-eighth of July, 1586.

There were on this voyage a total of seven hundred and fifty men lost from all causes, the greater number

being from disease.

The total value of the booty gained was about £60,000, not counting some two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance, of which about two hundred pieces were of brass, including sixty-

three from Cartagena.

Drake had ably and bravely executed the task which had been given him and returned home with increased popularity and prestige. The actual injury to the king of Spain by the expedition was less than the harm done to individuals in the Spanish possessions, a fact which served to create a hatred of the English which survived for generations.

In the following year, 1587, when an invasion of England was again feared by Elizabeth, Drake was appointed to command the English fleet which was immediately formed to prevent the "joining together of the king of Spain's fleet out of their several ports." He attacked Cadiz, where he destroyed thirty-three vessels and carried away others. After several other captures he returned to England, to be sent out again in July, 1588, as vice-admiral, under Lord Howard, of the fleet sent to intercept the "Spanish Armada," the history of which is too well-known to need repetition here. The next year Drake was in command of an expedition to invade Spain and Portugal. After his return from this service he again served in Parliament, but the sea once more claimed him in August, 1595, when he sailed, on what was to be his last voyage, for the West Indies with Sir John Hawkins as his vice-admiral. Hawkins died off Puerto Rico in November, and on the twenty-eighth of January, 1596, Drake himself died on board of his ship when off Nombre de Dios after a fortnight's illness in his cabin.

Transcript from "a resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they think most expedient to be taken. Given at Cartagena the xxvij. of Februarie, 1585"

Whereas it hath pleased the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what course, they thinke most expedient to be now undertaken, the Land-Captaines being asembled by themselves together, and having advised hereupon, doe in three points deliver the same.

The first, touching the keeping of the towne against the force of the enemie, either

that which is present, or that which may come out of Spaine, is answered thus:

We holder opinion, that which this troope of men which we have presently with us in land-service, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the towne, albeit that of men able to answere present service, we have not above 700. The residue being some 150 men by reason of their hurts and sicknesse are altogether unable to stand us in anystead; wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewise to give their resolution, how they will undertake the safetie and service of the Shippes upon the arrivall of any Spanish Fleete.

The second poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe presently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in undertaking such like enterprises as we have done already, and thereby to seeke after that bountifull masse of treasure for recompence of our travailes, which was generally expected at our comming

forth of England: wherein we answere:

That it is well knowen how both we and the souldiers are entred into this action as voluntarie men, without any imprest or gage from her Majestic or any body els, and forasmuch as we have hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now

by the great blessing and favour of our good God there have bin taken three such notable townes, wherein by the estimation of all men would have been found some very great treasures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Islands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Donningo the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, and the head government not only of that Iland, but also of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firme land, as were next unto it, & a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of merchandise; and now lastly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of most especiall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the West India; we doe therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods and prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities being all put together, are found farre short to satisfie that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceived: And being further advised of the slendernesse of our strengthe, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a little in regard of the slacke disposition of the greater part of those which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either consumed by death, or weakened by sicknes and hurts: And lastly, since that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seeme convenient to be undertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withall of such certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good successe which it may please him to bestow upon us, the same may promise to yeeld us any sufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to returne towards our gracious Soveraigne and Countrey, from whenece if it shall please her Majestie to set us foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are most ready and willing to goe through with anything that the uttermost of our strength and indevour shall be able to reach unto; but therewithal we doe advise, and protest that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the present shalbe further required or directed to be done by us from our Generall.

The third and last poynt is concerning the ransome of this citie of Cartagena, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some xxviij.

thousand pounds sterling.

Thus much we utter herein as our opinions agreeing (so it be done in good sort) to accept this offer aforesayde, rather then to break off by standing still upon our demaunds of one hundred thousand poundes, which seemes a matter impossible to bee performed for the present by them, and to say trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that summe offered by them at the first (if they will now bee contented to give it) then we might at that time with a great deale more, inasmuch as we have taken our full pleasure both in the uttermost sacking and spoyling of all their householde goods and merchandize, as also in that we have consumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by us, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who have willingly adventured their lives and travailes, and divers amongst them having spent their apparell and such other little provisions as their small meanes might have given them leave to prepare, which being done upon such good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes caried with it, meaning, against the Spanyard our greatest and most dangerous enemie: so surely we cannot but have an inward regardes so farre as may lye in us, to helpe either in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them some little benefite to incourage them and to nourish this readie and willing disposition of theirs both in them and in others by their example against any other time of like occasion. But because it may bee supposed that herein wee forgette not the private benefite of our selves, and are thereby the rather mooved to incline our selves to this composition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of ourselves of all such suspition, to declare heereby, that what part or portion soever it bee of this ransome or composition for Cartagena, which should come unto us, wee doe freely give and bestowe the same wholy upon the poore men, who have remayned with us in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seeme a sufficient rewarde for their painfull indevour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we have thought meete to subsigne these presents with our owne hands in the place and time aforesayd. Captaine Christopher Carleill Lieutenant Generall.

Captaine Goring. Captaine Sampson, Captaine Powell &c.





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