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Drake's Plate of Brass

EVIDENCE
OF HIS VISIT TO
CALIFORNIA
IN 1579



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Drake's Plate of Brass



Francis Drake's Plate of Brass*

BY HERBERT E. BOLTON

ONE of the world's long-lost historical treasures apparently has been found! Three hundred and fifty-seven years ago short and ruddy Francis Drake, in the *Golden Hinde*,¹ made his famous voyage round the world, the first accomplished by any Englishman. On June 17, 1579, Old Style,² while on the way to the Orient, he anchored in a "convenient and fit harborough" on the California coast and there reconditioned his ship. Before he left he nailed to a "firme post" a brass plate bearing an inscription. It was a bold notice to all the world that for Good Queen Bess, of England, he had taken possession of the country, which he called New Albion. He gave it this name because the white cliffs along the coast reminded him of the chalk cliffs of England, from which the Romans gave the name of Albion to that island.

These facts are recorded in the well-known narratives of Drake's voyage. But from that day to this—a period of more than three and one-half centuries—the plate has not been seen by any white man, so far as records show. Nor has anybody known the exact words in which Drake issued his challenge to the world. But the plate, it seems, has been found. England can now quote the very phrases with which her most celebrated sea-dog proclaimed Elizabeth's title to California. The relic tallies in a most astonishing way with the description in the narrative by Chaplain Francis Fletcher, who was with Drake, who doubtless saw the plate, and who witnessed its nailing to the "firme post," or to the "faire great poste," as it was also called. The relic is of solid brass, about five inches wide by eight inches long, and an eighth of an inch thick. It was picked up by Beryle Shinn in the summer of 1936 in Marin County not far from San Rafael. After keeping it some six months without an inkling of its unique character, he brought it to me early in February, 1937, and I told him what I thought it was. I surmised its identity even before seeing it, from a very general description which he gave me over the telephone. My mind

*A paper read before the California Historical Society at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel in San Francisco, on April 6, on the occasion of the announcement of the discovery of the Drake Plate.

leaped to the conjecture at once, because for years I have been telling my students to keep an eye out for Drake's plate and the silver sixpence bearing the image of Queen Elizabeth.³ The sixpence was not found with the plate and is still missing. The authenticity of the tablet seems to me beyond all reasonable doubt. On this assumption, its discovery is one of the most sensational in all California history.

With a view to announcing the event through the appropriate channel, and of obtaining the financial assistance necessary to acquire the precious relic for the University of California, I turned to Allen L. Chickering, President of the California Historical Society, who in times past has generously responded to more than one similar appeal. With his accustomed energy and enthusiasm in the cause of California history, he raised the necessary funds, from the donors whose names are elsewhere given, joined me in negotiations with Mr. Shinn, and acquired the relic. In fairness to Mr. Shinn it should be said that, as soon as he learned of its significance, his chief interest in the plate was to have it preserved for the public, and he never asked nor would he discuss a price for it.⁴ The sum paid was suggested by Mr. Chickering, and was regarded by him and his associates as merely a suitable reward for generous cooperation in releasing the plate in order that it might go to the University.

I shall not attempt in this paper to contribute anything new regarding Drake's celebrated voyage. Wagner has made that unnecessary.⁵ Indeed, it would be more fitting if he, the great authority on the subject, were in my place today. It is only through the accident that Mr. Shinn came to me that I have this honor. My aim in this brief sketch is simply to recall the circumstances under which Drake took possession of New Albion, and to present the convincing evidence of the genuineness of the plate which has been discovered.

The story of Drake's astounding adventure is too well known to need repeating here in detail. In the fall of 1577 he sailed from England with five ships bound for the Orient.⁶ Nearly a year later, after making captures in the Atlantic, he passed through the Strait of Magellan with only three vessels. Shortly after reaching the Pacific Ocean the ships were separated in a terrific storm, and Drake turned north up the South American coast on a buccaneering raid, with only one vessel, the *Golden Hinde*. On board was Fletcher, the chaplain, whose account of the great adventure has already been mentioned. Drake called Fletcher "Ye falsest knave that liveth." With the justice or injustice of this charge in general I am not concerned. But on one point—the one which will come out in the last

paragraphs of this paper—I present evidence which seems to constitute a complete vindication of the chaplain.

English historians generally glorify Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish, and the rest under the eulogistic designation of "Elizabethan Sea-dogs." Round their names is woven a figment of what is called romance, which often, as someone has said, is but another name for "crime in the past tense."⁷ The Spaniards, viewing the matter from the receiving end, called Drake and his fellows by the short and ugly name of pirates. That they had good reasons will appear as the narrative proceeds. However, this point is not germane to my story.

Drake had many old accounts to settle with the Spaniards, for this was not his first adventure on their shores. Some ten years previously he had been roughly handled by the Dons when with Hawkins he raided Vera Cruz. Five years later he liquidated a goodly part of that obligation when he waylaid and robbed the Peruvian silver-train on the Isthmus of Panamá.⁸ But he felt that his debt of vengeance was not yet fully paid. More to the point, piracy was a profitable business, in which even Queen Elizabeth was a co-investor. So now his progress up the American coast was devoted to plunder, to the destruction of any Spanish vessels which might contribute to his capture, and to picking up any information which might help him find his way across the Pacific. So unexpected was his foray on the western coast that he gathered his booty and made his get-away while the Spaniards were still rubbing their eyes. The sensation which he created as he made his way north can readily be imagined from the briefest enumeration of his audacious exploits.

At Valparaiso Drake captured a vessel from which he took a pilot, 1770 jars of wine, and gold worth \$24,000.⁹ To make room for the beverage he had to throw overboard six pipes of tar. At Tarapacá he found on shore a sleeping Spaniard who had silver worth \$3000, which he had just brought down from Potosí by llama pack train. Drake took not only "the man, the silver, and the llamas" but also a supply of jerked meat for his needy larder. At Arica he burned one ship, from which he took 300 jars of wine, and captured another having on board 37 bars of silver, \$500 in coin, a Corsican, a Negro, and a Fleming. Soon afterward he turned adrift three captured vessels which he had taken along, because they retarded his progress. Speed was imperative.

February 13, 1579, found Drake near Callao, the port of Lima, capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru. At this very moment, though Drake perhaps did not know it, John Oxenham, an erstwhile fellow-buccaneer, was

cooling his heels in a Spanish dungeon at Lima. Here Drake cut the cables of a numerous fleet of vessels—estimated all the way from nine to thirty sail—and disabled the two largest of the craft. The Spaniards gave chase but failed to overtake the invader. A ship captured farther north, near Piata, yielded sixty jars of wine, a quantity of wax, and a pilot named Rodríguez, whom Drake took along because he thought he might be useful. Another vessel, seized near Guayaquil, on the Ecuador coast, paid tribute of several cannons, gold and silver worth some \$20,000, and the famous emeralds “half a finger long” which Drake presented to Queen Elizabeth on his return to England.

It was on March 1 that the bold sea-dog made his luckiest haul—luckiest for him, that is to say. That day, when a short distance above Guayaquil, off Punta de Galera, he spoke a vessel bound for Panamá with a cargo of silver. The ship was called the *Cacafuego*, a name which has been politely translated as “Spitfire.” *The World Encompassed* characterized this craft as “the great glory of the South Sea.” Boarding the saucy vessel, Drake fed her treasure into the yawning maw of the *Golden Hinde*, and never has ruminant of the genus *cervus* had a richer repast. One account says that Drake filled the hold of his ship with silver bars as big as brickbats. I never knew the exact size of a brickbat, but historians have estimated the silver and other treasure thus deftly transferred from the *Cacafuego* to the *Golden Hinde* from half a million to several million dollars.¹⁰ For the best of reasons Drake left Panamá at one side—the place was too well defended. On the Nicaragua coast he captured a ship from which he obtained maps and sailing charts which proved to be of the utmost assistance to him in crossing the Pacific.

On up the coast came the freebooter, seeking plunder wherever he might find it. On April 13, seeing a ship at anchor on the southern shore of Mexico, he put into the little port of Guatulco. The shock which he gave the place was equal to one afforded by the best earthquakes of that most nervous region. The town was a slender affair, with a handful of Spaniards, a few small houses, a modest church, and the ship in the harbor. Drake sent twenty-five bold fellows ashore, “armed with harquebuses, swords, and shields” in the true style of chivalry. The inhabitants fled into the woods, but three of them were captured, Miranda the parish priest, a relative of his named Díaz, and Gómez Renfigo, who was some sort of a shipping agent. Drake's men captured Gomez Renfigo and took from him a silver chain, smashed the attached crucifix to smithereens, and relieved him of 7,000 pesos in coin and goods. Under these circum-

stances, when told to come along to the ship without fear because Drake was "a good man," Gómez could not be blamed for being a little skeptical. The Englishman's standard of goodness may have seemed new to the simple-minded Spaniard. Drake's lusty men soon cleaned the church of everything of value, smashing "images and crucifixes, slashing the pictures with knives, and even breaking the altar stone." Altar cloths were used for handkerchiefs, one of the heroes donned the curate's chasuble, and a tall hunch-backed sailor took the church bell down from its moorings.

The prisoners were now taken on board the *Golden Hinde*, and there with generous hospitality Drake served them a substantial dinner. Then he held a religious service, which in form was likewise probably new to his guests. Nine Englishmen sat round a table while Drake read to them from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*; then, crossing his hands and kneeling on a cushion "he lifted his eyes to heaven" and for a quarter of an hour remained in an attitude of prayer. Four violins were now brought forth, "and to their accompaniment they sang together some lamentations, no doubt psalms. After this was finished a boy came out and danced." The Admiral informed Gómez that in his playful raid he was merely obeying the orders of his Queen, and added, "I am not going to stop until I collect two million [pounds] which my cousin, Juan de Aquines [Hawkins], lost at San Juan de Ulua."¹¹ Here he refers to the raid on Vera Cruz a decade previously. Liberating the prisoners before he departed, Drake showed his kindly intentions by presenting them with "two bags of flour, two jars of wine, one of oil, and two loaves of sugar." On April 16, he resumed his voyage north.¹² He had "satisfied vengeance."

Drake's plan was to continue across the Pacific to the Moluccas, but it was now too late to catch the favorable winds. The *Golden Hinde* bore a dead cargo of twenty-five or thirty tons of precious metal, besides ten or more tons of cannons and arms. He could not risk the vessel so heavily laden for so long a voyage at the wrong season of the year. He dared not return through the Strait of Magellan, for the Spaniards would be sure to lie in wait for him there. By the same token, he dared not remain on the coast of Mexico, for his sacking of Guatulco would be relayed at once to the Viceroy—and we know that it was. So he swung wide into the ocean and sailed to the North Pacific, there to await the best season to continue to the Moluccas.

When the proper time arrived he coasted south, looking for a harbor in which to recondition the *Golden Hinde* before striking across the

Pacific on the long, hard voyage. On the way he anchored in an unsatisfactory inlet which Wagner with great learning has shown to be Trinity Bay.¹³ Thence he continued down the coast and in "38 deg. 30. min. . . . fell with a convenient and fit harborough, and June 17. came to anchor therein," remaining till July 23.¹⁴ Drake's dates of course were Old Style, so by the new calendar his sojourn here was from June 27 to August 2.

Historians used to assume, as a matter of course, that this "convenient and fit harborough" in latitude 38° was San Francisco Bay. In more recent times, on the authority of Davidson, it has generally been held that the place where Drake repaired the *Golden Hinde* was the small inlet just above the Golden Gate which by reason of this opinion we now call Drake's Bay. But Wagner thinks the celebrated mariner's anchorage was in Bodega Bay, still farther north, and no one else is so well qualified as he to hold an opinion on the subject.¹⁵

The World Encompassed, which at this point in the voyage is chiefly Chaplain Fletcher's account, tells us in great detail what took place while Drake and his men were anchored in this "convenient and fit harborough." Parts of the tale are manifestly fanciful, but other portions are fully confirmed by reliable contributory data.¹⁶ First of all, much was made of the suffering of the men during the entire five weeks from the "nipping cold," and of the continuous fogs day and night which made it impossible to "take the height of sunne or starre."

The discovery of the "plate of brasse" lends fresh interest to the bizarre scene enacted that cold summer of 1579 on the California coast. Fletcher's gossipy old chronicle now takes on the lively interest of headline news of today. The natives near the landing were numerous, and excessively friendly, but Drake was cautious, and when he made camp on the shore he built and occupied a stone fortification.¹⁷ It is possible that the remains of the bulwark may yet be discovered. The Indians came to the fort in great numbers almost daily, bringing presents and regarding the strangers with awe. Drake and his men went some distance into the interior, which was pronounced much better country than the bare hills near the harbor. With a missionary spirit he gave the primitive nudists clothing to cover their nakedness, and did his best to induce them to worship the true God. In this he must have felt quite successful, if we can believe Chaplain Fletcher's account, for the natives were almost hypnotized by the religious services regularly held by the visitors on the shore. At each pause in the Parson's sermons or in the Pirate's prayers they shouted in unison what seemed to the chronicler to be a hearty

Amen! Frequently they came down to the fort and begged the strangers to sing and play the violin. As an evangelist Father Serra himself could hardly have been more zealous than was Drake.

The local chieftain seems to have been no ordinary personage. In the fashion of the time the Englishmen called him a King, but the natives gave him a much more distinctive title. He was their great Hióh! Europe had plenty of kings, but what country other than California had a great Hióh?

A marvelous transformation must have come suddenly over these Englishmen. Everywhere on the Spanish coast they had been regarded as the very emissaries of Hell. Here in California, where there was nothing to plunder (and no one to dispute their own story), they were thought by the Arcadian natives to be gods, a delusion of which Drake could not disabuse them, try as hard as he might. It is of course possible that the delusion was not wholly on the side of the natives.

The Indians brought to the ruddy Commander presents "in such sort, as if they had appeared before a God indeed." The women were so worshipful that when they came to camp and beheld the armor-covered, bearded, and fair-haired visitors, they "vsed vnnaturall violence against themselues, crying and shreeking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes, in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests; besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies, of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands aboue their heads, that they might not rescue their brests from harme, they would with furie cast themselues vpon the ground," dashing their naked bodies upon "hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes."

Everybody held his breath when on June 26 the great Hióh himself appeared on the hilltop, "a man of goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard, of about 100. tall and warlike men. . . . In the forefront came a man of large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace. . . . Whereupon hanged two crownes . . . with three chaines of a maruellous length. . . . The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion." The chains were equally marvelous. They appeared to be "of a bony substance: euery linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the middest. The number of linkes going to make one chaine," says Fletcher, "is in a manner infinite."

"Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe," the Great Hióh, "with his guard about him: His attire vpon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, . . . vpon his shoulders he had . . . a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast." Behind the Hióh and his escort "did follow the naked sort of common people." Everybody had his face painted, "some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours." Last of all came the women, bearing baskets of food, a gift to the fair gods.

With his usual caution, Drake assembled his men within the fortification. The scepter bearer made an oration lasting "at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof, there was a common *Amen*." Then followed a song and dance by the Hióh and all his retinue. Reassured, Drake now admitted the throng into the enclosure. There they continued the song and dance, the women following "with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming."

Now came the great moment—the climax of the episode. With impassioned eloquence and exquisite ceremonial, we are told, the Hióh and his retainers begged the General to accept the country and become its ruler. The words of Chaplain Fletcher here are pertinent to the sequel. King and retainers continued their song and dance with the endurance of a modern marathon. "After that they had satisfied or rather tired themselves in this manner," says Fletcher, "they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down; vnto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather indeed if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities." And, "that they might make vs indeed beleue that it was their true meaning and intent; the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head; enriched his necke with all their chaines; and . . . honoured him by the name *Hyóh*: Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still iudged vs to be) but the great and chiefe god was now become their god, their king and patron, and themselves were become the onely happie and blessed people in all the world."

Now, Francis Drake was always a gentleman, and would never be so rude as to offend his host. He was always a loyal subject of Good Queen Bess, and would by no means put aside what might redound to her advantage. He was ever a pious Christian and would not neglect an opportunity to spread the light of the Gospel in heathen lands. His ship was not yet ready, and he must not risk being prematurely expelled through an act of ingratitude on his part. And so, says the Chaplain, "These things"—California and the crown—"being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same: both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust, or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things) and chiefly, for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

"Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity, of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more, then that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof . . . might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kindome here at home,"—Fletcher was writing in England—"as it is in plenty to be attained there: and especially, that so tractable and louing a people, as they shewed themselves to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge, and obedience of the true and euerliuing God."

Thus was Drake crowned great Hióh of California. He called the country Nova Albion, or New Albion, "and that for two causes," says the Chaplain, "the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea: the other, that it might haue some affinitie, euen in name also, with our owne country, which was sometime so called."¹⁸

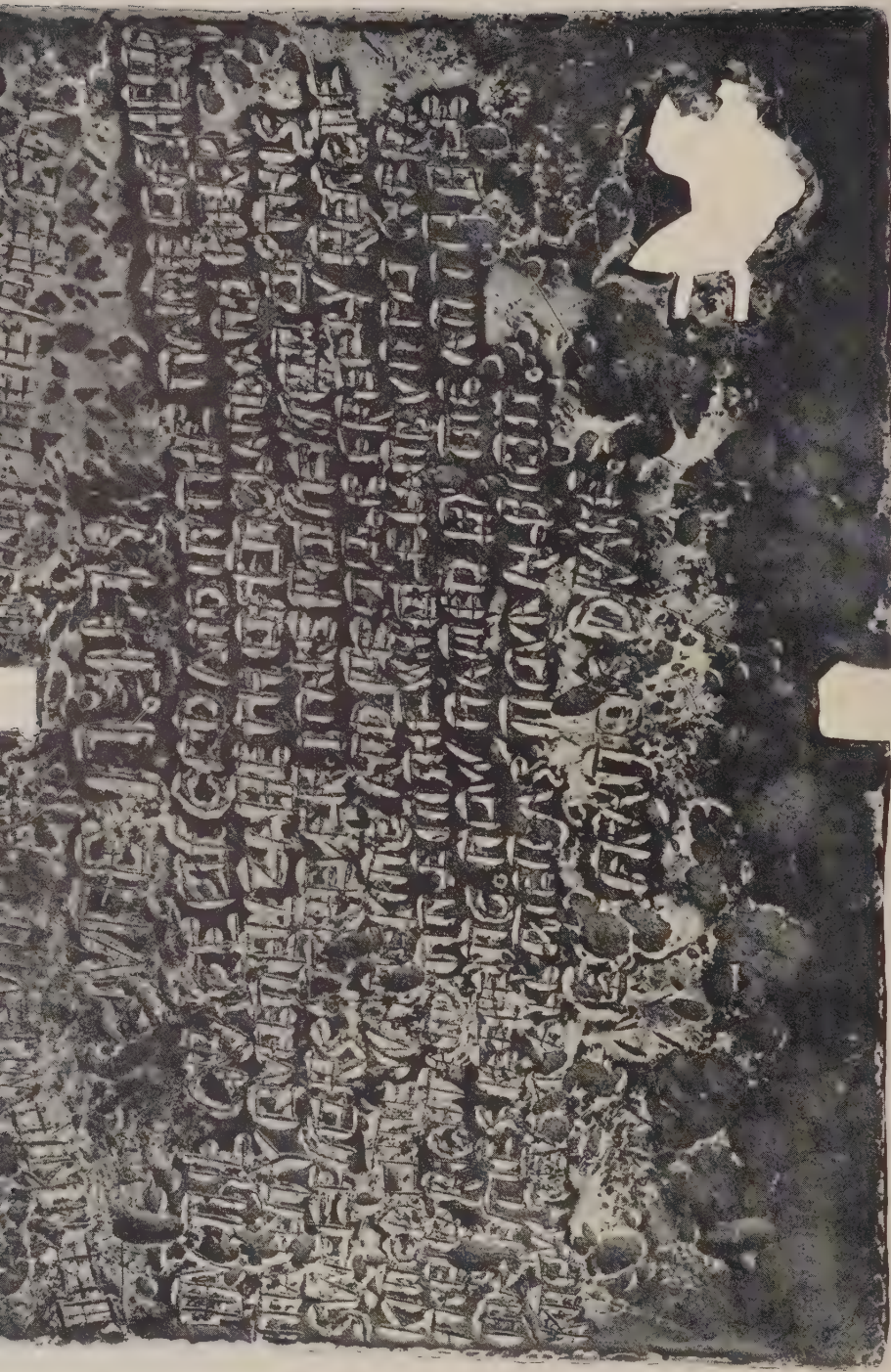
Now comes the vindication of Chaplain Fletcher—convincing evidence that in one important particular at least, he was accurate and truthful. It is the matter of the plate which Drake is said to have nailed to a post. As has been stated above, Fletcher is our chief source of information for details regarding events at the "conuenient and fit harborough." His statements were published in varying degrees of abridgment, the fullest version being that in *The World Encompassed*. Since the abridgments leave out important details, this version may be regarded as our most

faithful available record of what Fletcher wrote. In the abridgments at this point there are few contradictions of the fuller narrative, but by leaving out essentials they convey imperfect impressions.

One of these abridged accounts tells us that "At our departure hence our General set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the province and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of currant English money under the plate, wherevnder was also written the name of our Generall."¹⁹ But the fuller version of Fletcher's account has a more explicit statement of Queen Elizabeth's title to California. The two texts are similar, but they vary in vital details. Here is *The World Encompassed* version of what the Chaplain says: "Before we went from thence, our generall caused to be set vp, a monument of our being there; as also of her maiesties, and successors right and title to that kingdome, namely, a *plate of brasse*, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giuing vp, of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture, and armes in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, *shewing it selfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate*; vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our generall &c."²⁰

Here are significant variations. (1) The abridgment quoted says the monument was "of her Majesties" right and title to Nova Albion. But Fletcher says it was "of her maiesties and *successors* right and title." The abridgment assigns California to the Virgin Queen only; the Chaplain assigns it to the Virgin Queen and to her successors—even unto good King George VI. (2) The abridgment says the title was inscribed on a *plate*. Fletcher says it was on a *plate of brasse*. Was the plate really of brass, or was this just a gratuitous flourish, the product of the Parson's imagination, or even a proof of his falsity? (3) The abridgment says the inscription recorded the free giving up of *the Province and people* into her Majesty's hands. The Parson says the free giving up of "the *province and kingdome* both by the king and people." What then was given up? "The province and people" or "the province and kingdome"? Or the "right and title in the whole land," as Fletcher says in another place? Where lies the truth? (4) And who gave it up? Some unnamed person, as





The Plate of Brass

the abridgment puts it? Or "the king and people" as Fletcher specifies? (5) Finally, was the sixpence placed *under the plate*, as the abridgment asserts, or in *a hole made of purpose through the plate*, as the Parson tells us?

These are grave questions which long have troubled me. The accounts vary on vital matters. No picture of the plate is known to exist. Only one recourse remained—to find the plate. Here it is! Recovered at last after a lapse of 357 years! Behold, Drake's plate—the plate of brass! California's choicest archaeological treasure! And here is what the Inscription says:

BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS

IVNE 17 1579

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR
MAIESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR
SVCCCESSORS FOREVER I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
KINGDOME WHOSE KING AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE
THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR
MAIESTIES KEEPEING NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BEE
KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION.

FRANCIS DRAKE

(HOLE FOR
SILVER
SIXPENCE)

So the plate, assuming its authenticity, completely vindicates Chaplain Fletcher. The phraseology of the inscription in nearly every particular is that of *The World Encompassed*, our fullest version of Fletcher's account. (1) The inscription claims Nova Albion for the Virgin Queen and her successors, just as the Chaplain says. (2) The plate is of brass, just as the Chaplain says. (3) Not the "province and people" but the "province and kingdome," and the "right and title in the whole land" were given up,

just as the Chaplain says. (4) They were granted not by a nameless nobody, but by "king and people," the Great Hióh and his subjects, just as the Chaplain says. (5) Finally, there is a hole through the plate "made of purpose" to hold the sixpence, just as the Chaplain says. Mr. Chickering obtained a silver sixpence bearing Queen Elizabeth's picture and it is a perfect fit. From that jagged window in the plate, after Drake departed, Queen Elizabeth looked majestically into the faces of the Great Hióh and his people, and out upon fair California.

In my opinion, when Drake called Chaplain Fletcher "Ye falsest knave that liveth," he did him a gross injustice. Either the plate is a clever fraud, perpetrated by someone who carefully studied Fletcher's words; or, if it is genuine, as I fully believe, Fletcher made a remarkably accurate record of what it was like and what the inscription said. Between the relic and the eye-witness record there is a spectacular and convincing harmony which no fraud would be likely to attain.

A few more remarks may be made regarding the plate. It is crudely made, fashioned as best it could be under the circumstances. This is one of the best testimonials to its genuineness. Approximately rectangular, even in shape it is irregular, one of its edges being slightly curved. At top and bottom there are generous notches through which to drive the spikes fastening it to the "fair greate poste." The lettering is crude, made with a sharp tool, perhaps a cold chisel. One of the accounts says the letters were "scratched" on the plate, and all the curved lines look as though this in fact were the case. The words are unevenly spaced and the lines are not very straight. The surface of the plate is uneven, with pits or depressions in places, as though it had been hammered. The relic bears indications of having been long in contact with the soil, for when found the incisions forming the letters were full of hard packed dirt.

The plate was found about a mile and a half west-northwest of San Quentin, near Cunningham Cement Works and Greenbrae. The places here named are on the north shore of Corte Madera Creek and Inlet, which open on the east into the main San Francisco Bay. It is one of the most sheltered spots in the entire harbor. The plate was found near an outcropping of rocks on a high ridge about five hundred feet from the water's edge. The hills near the bay are now nearly treeless, but farther inland the country is timbered.

The evidence furnished by the plate itself and the circumstances of its discovery leave little room to doubt its authenticity. The lettering and the spelling of the inscription are in keeping with the period and with

the Drake documents. The piece of brass on which the notice of possession was so crudely printed bears a marked resemblance to the plentiful brass-work on sixteenth century ships. In Drake's day deck fittings were usually of bronze or brass. An experienced sea-captain who examined the plate expressed the opinion that it might have been cut out of the brass track of a gun-carriage. This would account for the curved edge of the plaque, and perhaps for the pits. The square notches for the spikes are significant, for sixteenth century nails and spikes were customarily hand wrought and were square.

If the Drake Plate is bogus the hoax was perpetrated by someone who not only had studied *The World Encompassed* minutely, but who also had a knowledge of ship fittings and even of spikes. Anyone clever enough to have made a counterfeit tablet as convincing as the one just discovered would have been clever enough to market it at an impressive figure. A fraudulent plaque might be expected to have a more skillfully executed hole for displaying the coin. For who, from the description, would imagine so crude and jagged an aperture through which to display the image of the Queen? Finally, since Drake's Bay has been so long regarded as the site of Drake's landing, a bogus tablet presumably would have been planted near that place, or, if the hoax were recent, perhaps near Bodega Bay, and not near San Francisco Bay, which has long been rejected as the site of Drake's landing place.

The exact location where the plate was found may or may not have any bearing on the question of the identity of the harbor in which Drake beached his ship. In the matter of distance it is near enough to fit any one of the three chief claimants—San Francisco Bay, Drake's Bay, or Bodega Bay. It is on the very shore of San Francisco Bay, some twenty-five miles air line from Drake's Bay and forty miles from Bodega Bay. The plate could easily have been carried by Indians from any one of these places to the spot where it was found. The Great Hióh might have worn it around his neck as an additional adornment. More likely it was long regarded as an object of awe and veneration. In fact, one of the narratives states that even before Drake departed the natives worshipped it "as if it had bin god." It is conceivable that investigation may prove that the plate was discovered on the very site where Drake nailed it to the "firme post," and that the beach at the foot of the hill was the very spot where he careened and repaired the *Golden Hinde*. In that case, we may prophesy, some day there will arise on that commanding site a fitting monument to one of the most dramatic episodes in California's history.

NOTES

1. The *Golden Hinde* left England under the name of the *Pellican*; but in August, 1578, on entering the Strait of Magellan at what the Spaniards called "Capo Virgin Maria," Drake "in remembrance of his honorable friend and sauorer, Sir Christopher Hatton [who had a golden hind as a crest], changed the name of the shippe, . . . from the *Pellican* to be called the *Golden Hinde*" (*The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, London: Nicholas Bourne, 1628, p. 34).

2. The change from the Julian to the Gregorian Calendar was made in October, 1582, just three years after Drake's visit to the California coast. Pope Gregory XIII set the calendar ahead ten days. The New Style was adopted in England by Act of Parliament in 1751. It was put in force in 1752, when the calendar was set ahead eleven days, September 3 being reckoned as the 14th.

3. Perhaps I ought to say that Mr. Shinn was not one of my students and had little or no knowledge of the Drake voyage until he talked with me.

4. This fact has, of course, an important bearing on the question of the genuineness of the plate.

5. Henry R. Wagner's learned work is entitled *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World: Its Aims and Achievements* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1926).

6. W. J. Harte has just published an interesting article on "Some Recent Views on Drake's Voyage Round the World" (*History*, New Series, Vol. XX, No. 80, London, March, 1936, pp. 348-53), in which he gives a useful bibliography of the subject and comments on new information and recent changes of opinion regarding the voyage. He points out that documents discovered by Professor E. G. R. Taylor in the British Museum show that the expedition was at first planned "for the exploration of unknown lands in the South Pacific, with a view to opening trade with their peoples, and ultimately of founding English colonies." Before starting, the plan was modified. "Instead of returning through the Straits from Terra Australis, Drake was to push on to the Moluccas, and there intrude upon the Portuguese monopoly of the spice trade." This information confirms Wagner's findings.

7. Quoted by A. P. Newton in his *European Nations in the West Indies* (London, 1933), p. 256.

8. For Drake's early voyages see Julian Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (London, New York and Bombay, 1899); the same author's *Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1922); E. F. Benson, *Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1932).

9. This brief sketch of Drake's progress up the coast to Guatulco is based chiefly on Wagner, *Drake's Voyage Around the World*. See also Zelia Nuttall, *New Light on Drake* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1914) for detailed information drawn from the Spanish archives.

10. "We found in her some fruite, conserues, sugars, meale and other victuals, and (that which was the especiallest cause of her heavy and slow sayling) a certaine quantitie of jewels and precious stones, 13. chests of ryals of plate, 80. pound weight in gold; 26. tunne of vncoynd siluer; two very faire siluer drinking houles, and the like trifles, valued in all at about 360000. pezoes. We gaue the master a little linnen and the like, for these commodities. . . ." (*The World Encompassed*, London, 1628, pp. 59-60).

11. For the events at Guatulco set forth above, see especially Wagner, *Drake's Voyage Around the World*, pp. 125-34. The Jesuit historian Florencia here tells of an exploit which is not often recounted. It was a three days' battle at Guatulco between Drake and a cross set up there by St. Thomas the Apostle when in America before the discovery by Columbus and still standing when Drake arrived. In spite of all his attempts, even with pitch and tar, Drake was unable to burn the miraculous standard, and he finally gave up in despair. Florencia states that after Drake departed, Bishop Cervantes moved the cross to Oaxaca and built a special chapel for it, where it continued to perform miracles and became the object of pilgrimages. (Florencia, Francisco de, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesús de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1694.)

12. The "Anonymous Narrative" (Harleian MSS, British Museum) recites: "Our Generall at this place, and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate injuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey" (quoted in Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 273). Wagner is convinced that Drake never intended to seek a northern strait by which to return to Europe, and that what he told his captives on this point before he put them ashore in Guatulco was to mislead the Spanish officials and thus reduce the danger of being pursued.

13. Wagner, *Drake's Voyage Around the World*, Chapter VIII. Wagner based his conclusion on several kinds of evidence, among them being the resemblance of Trinity Bay to the harbor shown in the Hondius Map; the elements of Yurok culture clearly described by the narratives of Drake's voyage; and the finding of European knives at Trinity Bay by Bruno Hezeta in 1775. (*Ibid.*, 156-57.) Wagner, however, states that "the truth probably is that Drake stopped at two or three different places on the coast and the writer of the original narrative or the compilers who worked on it embodied in one description those of all the Indians he met." (*Ibid.*, 169.)

14. *The World Encompassed* (London, 1628), p. 64. The "Anonymous Narrative" says, "vntill hee came to 44 gr. and then hee found a harborow for his ship where he grounded his ship to trim her" (Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 277). "The Famous Voyage" reads, "till we came within 38. degrees toward the line. In which heighth it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same. In this Baye we ankered" (Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 274). "The Course Which Sir Francis Drake Held" (in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, IX, 319-26) reads: "til we came within thirtie eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same. . . . In this Bay wee ankered the seventeenth of June" (p. 321).

15. Professor George C. Davidson's views, which were long so generally accepted, are set forth in his *Examination of Some Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, from 1539 to 1603* (Washington, 1886); *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America in the Year 1579* (Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, Vol. V, Ser. II, 1908); *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the year 1579* (San Francisco, 1890). First holding the view that Drake's landing was in San Francisco Bay, Davidson later held for Drake's Bay.

16. *The World Encompassed* (London, 1628), pp. 67-81.

17. Fletcher says, "With all expedition we set vp our tents, and entrenched our selues with walls of stone" (*The World Encompassed*, London, 1628, p. 70). This fortification, where the *Golden Hinde* was beached, was at the foot of a high hill, a fact which is several times mentioned by Fletcher. The nearest village of the people who frequented the camp was "about 3. quarters of an English mile distant" (*ibid.*, 70). Such data as the narratives contain regarding the natives where Drake landed, Kroeber shows, fit the Coast Miwoks north of San Francisco Bay. After a careful discussion of the data he writes: "The ethnologist thus can only conclude that Drake summered on some piece of the coast not many miles north of San Francisco. . . . He is assured that the recent native culture in this stretch existed in substantially the same form more than 300 years ago, and he has tolerable reason to believe that the Indians with whom the great explorer mingled were the direct ancestors of the Coast Miwok" (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, 1925) p. 278).

18. "The Famous Voyage" says: "Our Generall called this Countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called" (Wagner, *op. cit.*, 276-77). "The Course Which Sir Francis Drake Held" states as follows: "Our Generall called this countrey, Nova Albion, and this for two Causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towards the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called" (p. 325).

19. "The Course Which Sir Francis Drake Held," printed in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (London, 1904) IX, 319-26.

20. *The World Encompassed* (London, 1628), p. 80. The italics are mine. "The Famous Voyage" says this of the plate: "At our departure hence our General set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriual there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of current English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall" (Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 277). The statement in the "Anonymous Narrative" is briefer: "in this place drake set vp a greate post and nayled thereon a vjd, which the contrey people wooshipped as if it had bin god also he nayled vppon this post a plate of lead and scratched therein the Queenes name" (Wagner, *op. cit.*, 277).

Drake and California



Fra: mra L

The Janssens Portrait

Courtesy of Mr. Henry R. Wagner



Drake and California

The Finding of Evidence of His Visit and Its Implications

BY DOUGLAS S. WATSON

SEPTEMBER 9, 1850, California was admitted to the Union, and since that time the landing of Francis Drake on its shores in June, 1579, has been a fruitful source of argument and speculation. That he sailed the *Golden Hinde* into California waters, refitted his vessel and remained in the land he called New Albion from June 17 until July 23, and that he took possession in the name of his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, have been conceded by all, but where he spent the thirty-six days of his stay has remained a deep mystery.

A voluminous literature has resulted. Claims have been advanced by enthusiasts of this and that theory. Trinidad Bay, Bodega Bay, Tomales Bay, Jack's Bay now called Drake's Bay, Bolinas Bay, and even San Francisco Bay, have been successively chosen by proponents as the probable location of Drake's activities in California. Based on interpretations of the meager accounts which have come down to us, one writer after another has presented his deductions, but in every case no positive evidence of Drake's occupation has been forthcoming to give convincing proof of the theory advanced.

Today we possess startling and tangible proof: the brass plate that Francis Drake caused to be made and placed "upon a faire great poste" as notice to the world that he had taken possession of New Albion in the name of Queen Elizabeth of England and her successors. The finding of this, the rarest of Americana, will doubtless result in endless discussion from which a new flood of literature will emerge. How it was found and where, may, at first glance, seem incidental, but the implications which will be drawn from the discovery are certain to have a bearing on the conclusions which future writers of California history will present.

A Sunday holiday late in June or early July of last year (1936) led the finder to Marin County. It was his initial visit to that section, and after roaming about the highways in his automobile he drove south from San

Rafael on the road leading to Greenbrae. Before reaching the east-west road which crosses that on which he was traveling and which joins San Quentin with Kentfield, one of the car's tires was punctured. Veering to the side of the road, he stopped his machine. The day was fine, the puncture could wait, for near at hand a picnic spot offered. A steep bluff rose from the roadside, but a way was found to reach its top. The ascent of a gully, and crawling beneath a "barbwire" fence, brought the picnickers to the spot. There an extensive view presented itself. Toward the east lay Point San Quentin, with the forbidding walls of the State Prison, and the upper reaches of San Francisco Bay. To the southward the bay shore curved and culminated in Bluff Point, the tip of the Tiburon peninsula, with Angel Island just beyond. Into the embayment between Point San Quentin and Tiburon peninsula a tidal estuary entered which was the outlet for Corte Madera Creek, the small stream that rises in the heights of Mount Tamalpais to the west. Through a gap in the San Quentin ridge to the northeast, San Francisco Bay was again visible, likewise the entrance to San Pablo Bay; and on a clear day it is possible that the distant Sierra Nevada could be seen. The topography just described will doubtless be much studied in the future, for a careful scrutiny of its features may reveal clues which will lead to a solving of the problem of the location of the site of Drake's landing place.

February 28, 1937, in company with Mr. Allen L. Chickering and Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, the finder of the brass plate, Mr. Beryle Shinn, visited Marin County. He retraced the route he had followed six or more months previously. Finally and after much difficulty, for he was unfamiliar with the countryside—in fact this was his second visit to Marin County—Shinn indicated the spot where the puncture had occurred and the party climbed to the top of the steep bank.

"I found the plate by some rocks on the hillside," said Shinn. "We were rolling rocks down the hill. They were very brittle and they would break off easily. It was while I was picking up a rock that I noticed the plate lying on the ground. It was partly covered by a rock." He indicated the place where the plate was found.

Dr. Bolton asked, "Was the plate covered by the rock? Before you picked up the rock, could the plate be seen?"

To these questions Shinn replied, "It could be seen. It was only partly covered by the rock."

Shinn explained that when he first saw the plate he thought that it was iron, and because it was about the size to patch a hole in the inside of his

automobile he picked it up and carried it down to the car. For over a month he gave the black piece of metal no thought and then one day he decided to repair the automobile. While handling the plate he noticed that it seemed to have some inscription on it. Taking it into the house he scrubbed it with soap and a brush. Thus partially cleaned he was able to make out some of the words. He showed it to a few of his friends but none could make out what it was until one of them deciphered the word "Drake." Then it was suggested that Shinn show the plate to Dr. Bolton, of the University of California.

The suppressed excitement of the learned historian can well be imagined as he studied the plate's markings and with unhurried care unravelled what at first glance was a tangled mass of threadlike gravings in the brass. When he had finished, this message that no white man had seen for three hundred and fifty-eight years lay before him:

BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS

IVNE 17 1579

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR
MAIESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR
SVCCCESSORS FOREVER I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
KINGDOME WHOSE KING AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE
THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR
MAIESTIES KEEPEING NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BEE
KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION

FRANCIS DRAKE

(HOLE FOR
SILVER
SIXPENCE)

Here was something that all historians had clamored for; concrete evidence of Drake's activities in California. Dr. Bolton's immediate thought was, "How can this archeological relic be acquired and preserved for all time?" For answer he turned to Mr. Chickering, who, besides being a

friend of the Doctor's and an alumnus of the University of California, was President of the California Historical Society. Negotiations with the finder of the plate were begun, which Mr. Chickering successfully conducted, and a group of San Franciscans, all members of the California Historical Society, joined the Society's President in furnishing the necessary funds. These gentlemen, on behalf of the California Historical Society and themselves, have made a gift of the Drake plate to the University of California, and by the deed of gift have provided for its care and preservation.

The generosity and public spirit of the following gentlemen cannot be too highly praised nor should their names go unrecorded as deserving the sincere thanks of all English-speaking people:

WALLACE M. ALEXANDER
 JAMES B. BLACK
 CHARLES R. BLYTH
 EVERETT J. BROWN
 ALLEN L. CHICKERING
 ALLEN L. CHICKERING, JR.
 SHERMAN CHICKERING
 SIDNEY M. EHRLMAN
 EDWARD L. EYRE
 HARRY H. FAIR
 DONALD Y. LAMONT
 JAMES K. MOFFITT
 HENRY D. NICHOLS
 JACK OKELL
 STUART L. RAWLINGS
 RUDOLPH SCHILLING
 WALTER A. STARR

Not one of those whose privilege it has been to examine the brass plate has doubted its genuineness. The two earliest accounts of Drake's voyage—"The Famous Voyage," included as an insert in the edition of 1589 of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, and *The World Encompassed*, published in 1628 from the "notes of Master Francis Fletcher . . . and divers others his followers," and with a dedication by the nephew of the circumnavigator who bore his distinguished name—both describe the setting up of a post upon which a plate, asserting English sovereignty, was affixed.

Says the Hakluyt version:

At our departure hence our General set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of currant English monie vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.

The account printed in *The World Encompassed* is even more explicit:

Before we went from thence, our generall caused to be set vp, a monument of our being there; as also of her maiesties, and successors right and title to that kindome, namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giuing vp, of the prouince and kindome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture, and armes in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing it selfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate: vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our generall &c.

Nothing is more convincing than the hole in the plate; and when an Elizabethan sixpence is inserted in the jagged points, seemingly provided especially to hold it, all doubt of the relic's authenticity vanishes.

Some may argue that the plate had been set up elsewhere and had been brought to the spot where it was found; but when one familiar with the topography of the terrain where Corte Madera Creek enters San Francisco Bay reads the Fletcher narrative as published by Hakluyt, and the version set forth in *The World Encompassed*, it is seemingly possible to distinguish all the landmarks mentioned.

A further argument may be advanced to substantiate the Corte Madera Creek site, now known as Greenbrae, as the location of Drake's stay in California. The celebrated vignette in the upper left-hand corner of the Hondius broadside map, which has engaged the attention of many historians, since it purports to depict the scene of Drake's landing, can, with less torture than that to which it heretofore has been subjected, be made to fit the locale. The jutting peninsula of the Hondius map has more than a faint resemblance to the Tiburon peninsula, while the island lying at its side may be taken to be Angel Island. The anchorage of the *Golden Hinde* would then be the mouth of Corte Madera Creek, and the other enclosing arm protecting the "Portus" would be Point San Quentin. This possibility is offered, not as a solution, but as a suggestion; yet if a careful study of the facts lends weight to it, some of our accepted historical events will have to be revised; among them the statement that the first vessel to enter San Francisco Bay was the *San Carlos*, which sailed through the Golden Gate on August 5, 1775.

Drake's position in the history of America today rests upon a firm foundation, and now that we have the evidence to support it, he can truly be regarded as the first English-speaking settler in the western hemisphere. His occupation of a portion of California, though temporary, antedates the Roanoke settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh by six years. Raleigh's occupation was likewise of an ephemeral nature, for the year after it was started the colonists returned to England, and the man who undertook their repatriation and saw them safely back to the homeland was Drake, then Sir Francis, his knighthood being a part of the reward Queen Elizabeth bestowed upon him for his many daring exploits, including his discovery and occupation of New Albion.

Excerpts from the Earliest Sources

CUP GIVEN DRAKE BY QUEEN ELIZABETH



Miniature by Oliver

"... Queen Elizabeth gave Sir Francis the beautiful cocoa-nut, mounted in gold, respecting which there is a curious tradition.

"Until cocoa-nuts were brought to Europe in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, none had been seen in England—at least not as fruits. . .

"So when Drake gave one to his mistress as a curiosity and a new fruit, she, with the happy turn of fancy which was characteristic of her, gave it back to him set in gold, and mounted in a way which had reference to this credence, to her own royal arms, of which one of the supporters was a Tudor griffin, and to Drake's arms and name, 'El Draque' (the Dragon), as the Spaniards called him.

"The body of the cup is kept in its place by golden straps with hinges, which prove the workmanship to be English, and these straps divide the surface into three compartments. In the first of these, engraved in gold, are the royal arms with the Tudor supporters, a lion and a griffin; the second contains Drake's arms, with the date 1580; and in the third there is a quaint little bird's-eye view representing Drake's reception at Ternate."—*The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake*, by Lady Eliott-Drake (London, 1911), Vol. I, pp. 50-51.

Courtesy of Mr. Henry R. Wagner.



The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake

From Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and
Discoveries of the English Nation*, London, 1589*

THE 5. day of June, being in 42. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the aire so colde, that our men being greeuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountanous, but lowe plaine land, & clad, and couered ouer with snowe, so that we drewe backe againe without landing, till we came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which heighth it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Baye we ankered, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednes, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and cals of networke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenes are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire in the midst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of

*Probably the first published account of Drake's voyage: six unnumbered leaves inserted between pages 643-44 of the 1589 edition of Hakluyt.

Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of *Tabacco* for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staid themselues: where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

In the meantime, the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meantime, our Generall, with his companie, went to praier, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiuē, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored againe vnto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there, being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall, and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our General to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelines.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a maruelous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked comon sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their

handes one thing or another for a present, not so much as their childe, but they also brought their presents.

In the meanetime, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an howre: which ended, and a generall *Amen* as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women which daunced, & kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their prouince & kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of *Hioh*, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knewe not what honour and profite it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in y^e same.

The common sorte of people leauing the King, and his Garde with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their

sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of bloode. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and staied their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippinge. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but daily frequented our companie to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so greuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stelth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie busines being ended, our Generall with his companie trauiailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where wee found hearde of Deere by 1000. in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie.

We found the whole Countrey to be a warren of a strange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbarie Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinnnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Our Generall called this Countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth here to be taken vp, wherein there is not a reasonable quantitie of gold or siluer.

At our departure hence our Generall set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of currant English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.



The “Anonymous Narrative”

Harleian Manuscripts, British Museum, No. 280, Folio 23*

... and here drake watered his ship & departed sayling northwardes till he came to .48. gr. of the septentrionall Latitud still finding a very lardge sea trending toward the north but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite hee turned back againe still keping along the cost as nere land as hee might, vntill hee came to .44. gr. and then hee found a harborow for his ship where he grounded his ship to trim her, & heere came downe vnto them many of y^e contrey people while they wer grav- ing of their ship and had conference with them by synes, in this place drake set vp a greate post and nayled thereon a vj^d, which the contrey people woorshipped as if it had bin god also he nayled vppon this post a plate of lead and scratched therein the Queenes name, and when they had graved & watred theire ship in the latter ende of August they set sayle ...

*Quoted from Wagner, Henry R., *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World*, p. 277. The manuscript appears to have been written after the expedition returned, from information derived from some member or members of the expedition.



The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake

Carefully Collected out of the Notes of Master Francis Fletcher. . . .

London: Printed for Nicholas Bourne, 1628 (pp. 64-81)*

IN 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and June 17. came to anchor therein: where we continued till the 23. day of Iuly following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of Summer, and so neere the Sunne; yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds, as we had felt before: insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busie imployment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compelled vs to the contrary, we could very well haue beene contented to haue kept about vs still our Winter clothes; yea (had out necessities suffered vs) to haue kept our beds; neither could we at any time in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of Sunne or starre.

And here hauing so fit occasion, (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage) we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts: as also into the probabilities or vnlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesse of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made vs so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a prouident father, and carefull Physitian for vs. We lacked no outward helpes nor inward comforts, to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs; neither was there wanting to vs the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proued the force of the burning Zone; whose aduice alwayes preuailed much to the preseruing of a moderate temper in our constitutions: so that euen after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies not as

*Although this purports to have been published under the auspices of Sir Francis Drake's nephew, of the same name, it is probable that he only gave it his sanction, by writing a short dedication to the Earl of Warwick.

sponges, but strong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could haue beene, who lye on their feather-beds till they go to sea, or rather whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads, at a cup of cold Sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold it selfe, that caused this sensiblenes in vs, may the rather appeare in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related) who had neuer beene acquainted with such heate; to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper; and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature: yet vsed to come shiuering to vs in their warme furies; crowding close together body to body, to receiue heate one of another; and sheltring themselues vnder a lee bancke, if it were possible; and as often as they could, labouring to shroude themselues vnder our garments also, to keepe them warme. Besides how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of Iune and Iuly. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to obserue it) not daring so much as once to arise from their nests, after the first egge layed, till it with all the rest be hatched, and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe it selfe. Onely this recompence hath nature afforded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many other places.

As for the causes of this extremity they seeme not to be so deeply hidden, but that they may at least in part be guessed at: The chieftest of which we conceiue to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts) if they be not fully ioyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-couered mountaines, the North and North west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting of the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they haue breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselues. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in Iune and Iuly, as the North wind alone is in August and September; we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof,

by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrey; hence comes it, that in the midst of their Summer, the snow hardly departeth euen from their very doores, but is neuer taken away from their hills at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne struiuing to performe his naturall office, in eleuating the vapors out of those inferior bodies; draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea: but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the Sunnes indeuour, forces him to giue ouer his worke imperfect: and instead of higher eleuation, to leaue in the lowest region, wandring vpon the face of the earth and waters, as it were a second sea: through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, vnlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our marriners in this voyage had formerly bene at Wardhouse, in 72. deg. of North latitude: who yet affirmed, that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of Summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest months of Iune and Iuly.

And also from these reasons we coniecture; that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely) or if there be, that yet it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, euen vnto the 48. deg. yet found we not the land, to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually Northwest, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and euen in that height when we had a franke wind, to haue carried vs through, had there been a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue bene, had there bene a strete: of which we rather infallibly concluded then coniectured. that there was none. But to returne.

The next day after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues; sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof, many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with

great shew of reuerence and submission, returned back to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time: When he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person, weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herb which they called *Tabáh*. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompenced him immediately with many good things, he would haue bestowed vpon him: but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any means: saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vtterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time, our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3. day following, viz. the 21. our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that her goods being landed, she might be repaired: but for that we were to preuent any danger, that might chance against our safety, our generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and goods: and that wee might vnder the shelter of it, with more safety (what euer should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the country perceiued vs doing, as men set on fire to war, in defence of their countrie, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came downe vnto vs; and yet with no hostile meaning, or intent to hurt vs: standing when they drew neere, as men rauished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they neuer had seene, or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men. Which thing as it did partly shew it selfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest it selfe afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies vnto them, growing in a little while, to a great number both of men and women.

To the intent therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly sought, might without any cause of the breach thereof, on our part giuen, be continued; and that wee might with more safety and expedition, end our businesses in quiet; our Generall with all his company, vsed all meanes possible, gently to intreate them, bestowing vpon each of them liberally, good and necessary things to couer their nakednesse, withall signifying vnto them, we were no Gods but men, and had neede of such things to couer our owne shame; teaching them to vse them to the same ends: for which cause also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giuing them to vnderstand, that without that wee could not liue, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remoue that opinion, which they had conceiued of vs, that wee should be Gods.

In recompence of those things which they had receiued of vs, as shirts linnen cloth, &c. they bestowed vpon our generall, and diuerse of our company, diuerse things, as feathers, cawles of networke, the quiuers of their arrowes, made of fawne-skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore vpon their bodies. Hauing thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of vs, they departed with ioy to their houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and haue from the vppermost brimmes of the circle, clefts of wood set vp, and ioyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church: which being couered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme, the doore in the most part of them, performes the office of a chimney, to let out the smoake: its made in bignesse and fashion, like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed vpon it, and lying round about the house, haue their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round and close, giueth a maruelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part goe naked, the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kemming it after the manner of hempe, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hanges downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a couering of that, which nature teaches should be hidden: about their shoulders, they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire vpon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all seruices: yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents, or being called of the men.

As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping & crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort, that in the place where they left vs (being neere about 3-quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainely, with wonder and admiration did heare the same: the women especially, extending their voices, in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shreeking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awfull demeanour vsed towards vs, we thought it no wisdom too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with vs before, made vs carefull to provide against an alteration of their affections, or breach of peace if it should happen) and therefore with all expedition we set vp our tents, and entrenched ourselves with walls of stone: that so being fortified within ourselves, we might be able to keepe off the enemy (if they should so proue) from comming amongst vs without our good wills: this being quickly finished we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward, about our other businesse.

Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs) there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuitd by the report of them which first saw vs, who as it seemes, had in that time, of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make knowne the newes) who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobàh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were Gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottome whereof wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both vs his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration: deliuered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the vttermost strength of nature, and his words falling so thicke one in the neck of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soone as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reuerend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed *Oh*: thereby giuing their consents, that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had vttered their minde by his mouth vnto vs; which done, the men laying downe their bowes vpon the hill, and leauing their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort, as if they had appeared before a God indeed: thinking themselves happy, that they might haue

accesse vnto our generall, but much more happy, when they sawe that he would receiue at their hands, those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt, they thought themselues neerest vnto God, when they sate or stood next to him: In the meane time the women, as if they had been desperate, vsed vnnaturall violence against themselues, crying and shreeking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes, in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests; besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies, of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands aboue their heads, that they might not rescue their brests from harme, they would with furie cast themselues vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselues in this manner on hard stones, knobby, hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whateuer else lay in their way, itterating the same course againe and againe: yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15. or 16. times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselues: A thing more grieuous for vs to see, or suffer could we haue holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it.

This bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall with his companie in the presence of those strangers fell to prayers: and by signes in lifting vp our eyes and hands to heauen, signified vnto them, that that God whom we did serue, and whom they ought to worship, was aboue: Beseeching God if it were his good pleasure to open by some meanes their blinded eyes; that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him the true and euerliuing God, and of Iesus Christ whom he hath sent, the salutation of the Gentiles. In the time of such prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentiuely; and obseruing the end at euery pause, with one voice still cryed, Oh, greatly reioycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to vs, their first request was *Gnadh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

Our General hauing now bestowed vpon them diuers things, at their departure they restored them all againe; none carrying with him any thing of whatsoeuer hee had receiued, thinking themselues sufficiently enriched and happie, that they had found so free accesse to see vs.

Against the end of three daies more (the newes hauing the while spread it selfe farther, and as it seemed a great way vp into the countrie) were assembled the greatest number of people, which wee could reasonably

imagine, to dwell within any conuenient distance round about. Amongst the rest, the king himselfe, a man of goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard, of about 100. tall and warlike men, this day, viz. Iune 26. came downe to see vs.

Before his coming, were sent two Embassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hióh*, that is, their king was comming and at hand. They in the deliury of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same word by word after him, with a voice more audible: continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hióh* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hióh*: Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

In their comming forwards they cryed continually after a singing manner with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards vs, so did they more and more striue to behaue themselues with a certaine comelinesse and grauity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace (made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, and in length about a yard and a halfe) before the king. Whereupon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a maruellous length, and often doubled; besides a bagge of the herbe *Tabáh*. The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion: The chaines seemed of a bony substance: every linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite: but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to weare the same: and euen they to whom its lawfull to vse them, yet are stinted what number they shall vse; as some ten, some twelue, some twentie, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so are they thereby knowne to be the more honorable personages.

Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him: His attire vpon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in

fashion and perfectnesse of worke; vpon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast: His guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins: some hauing cawles likewise stucke with feathers, or couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the country vpon an herbe, much like our lectuce; which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse, and beeing layed vpon their cawles by no winds can be remoued: Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour) and the seeds are not vsed but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people; whose haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers, but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, euery one pleasing himselfe in his owne deuice.

This one thing was obserued to bee generall amongst them all; that euery one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, euery man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present: Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, hauing within them diuers things, as bagges of *Tobáh*, a roote which they call *Petáh*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it raw, broyled fishes like a pilchard; the seed and downe aforenamed, with such like:

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deepe boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stufle, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water; about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines aforenamed: thereby signifying, that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely vse of the gods they worshipped: and besides this, they were wrought vpon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into diuers workes and formes.

In the meane time our Generall hauing assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger, and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand vpon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if anything should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore euery man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched

within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of then resort) whereby if they had beene desperate enemies, they could not haue chosen but haue conceiued terroure and feare, with discouragement to attempt anything against vs, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere vnto vs, trooping together, they gaue vs a common or a generall salutation: observing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice, what the other spake to him in secret: continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof, there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation giuen by euery person: And the king himselte with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselves againe in their former order.

And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto, obserued a kind of measures in a dance: whom the king with his guard and euery other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and dounce, sauing onely the women who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiuing their plaine and simple meaning, gaue order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke: Where after they had entred they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time: their women also following them with their wassail boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailles they had made before their coming.

After that they had satisfied or rather tired themselves in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down: Vnto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather indeed if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities: Which that they might make vs indeed beleue that it was their true meaning and intent; the king himselte with all the rest with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the

crowne vpon his head; inriched his necke with all their chaines; and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyóh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still iudged vs to be) but the great and chiefe god was now become their god, their king and patron, and themselues were become the onely happie and blessed people in all the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same: both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust, or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things) and chiefly, for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter crowne and dignity, of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more, then that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there: and especially, that so tractable and louing a people, as they shewed themselues to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge, and obedience of the true and euerliuing God.

The ceremonies of this resigning, and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort both of men and women, leauing the king and his guard about him, with our generall, dispersed themselues among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs) they presently enclosing them about, offred their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreekes and moanes, weeping, and scratching, and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes, neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile, in seducing these so harmelesse soules, and laboured by all means, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent with-

holding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue: but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaile (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped, were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselues, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew & make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them, some of them hauing old aches, some shruncke sinewes, some old soares and canckred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like, in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs: making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pittie on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as, lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place: and ordinarily euery third day, they brought their sacrifices, till such time, as they certainly vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them: whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-times forgate, to prouide meate for their owne sustenance: so that our generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls, as we had prouided for our selues, as, Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs, with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselues to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost

all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weakenesse, more fit for children then for men, sending the arrow neither farre off, nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that, which 2. or 3. of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance; the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldom goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration: that if at any time, they chanced to see a fish, so neere the shoare, that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our generall with his gentlemen, and many of his company, made a journy vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted, with the nature and commodities of the country. Their houses were all such as wee haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitful soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere, which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard: besides a multitude of a strange kind of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or Moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe, when he lifts not to trauaile from his burrough: the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings holidiaies coate was made of them.

This country our generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea: the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also, with our owne country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our generall caused to be set vp, a monument of our being there; as also of her maiesties, and successors right and title to that kingdome, namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giuing vp, of the prouince and

kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture, and armes in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing it selfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate: vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our generall &c.

The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country; the vtmost of their discoueries, reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceiued by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people, seeme to themselves to increase vpon them; and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselves, what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriuall, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing: For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioycing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and bloud might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and griued minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselves as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: So that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a straite, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit seeing they could not still enjoy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires, that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware; burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out, and imitating vs in all our actions; they fell a lifting vp their eyes and hands to heauen as they saw vs do.

The 23. of Iuly they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the tops of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

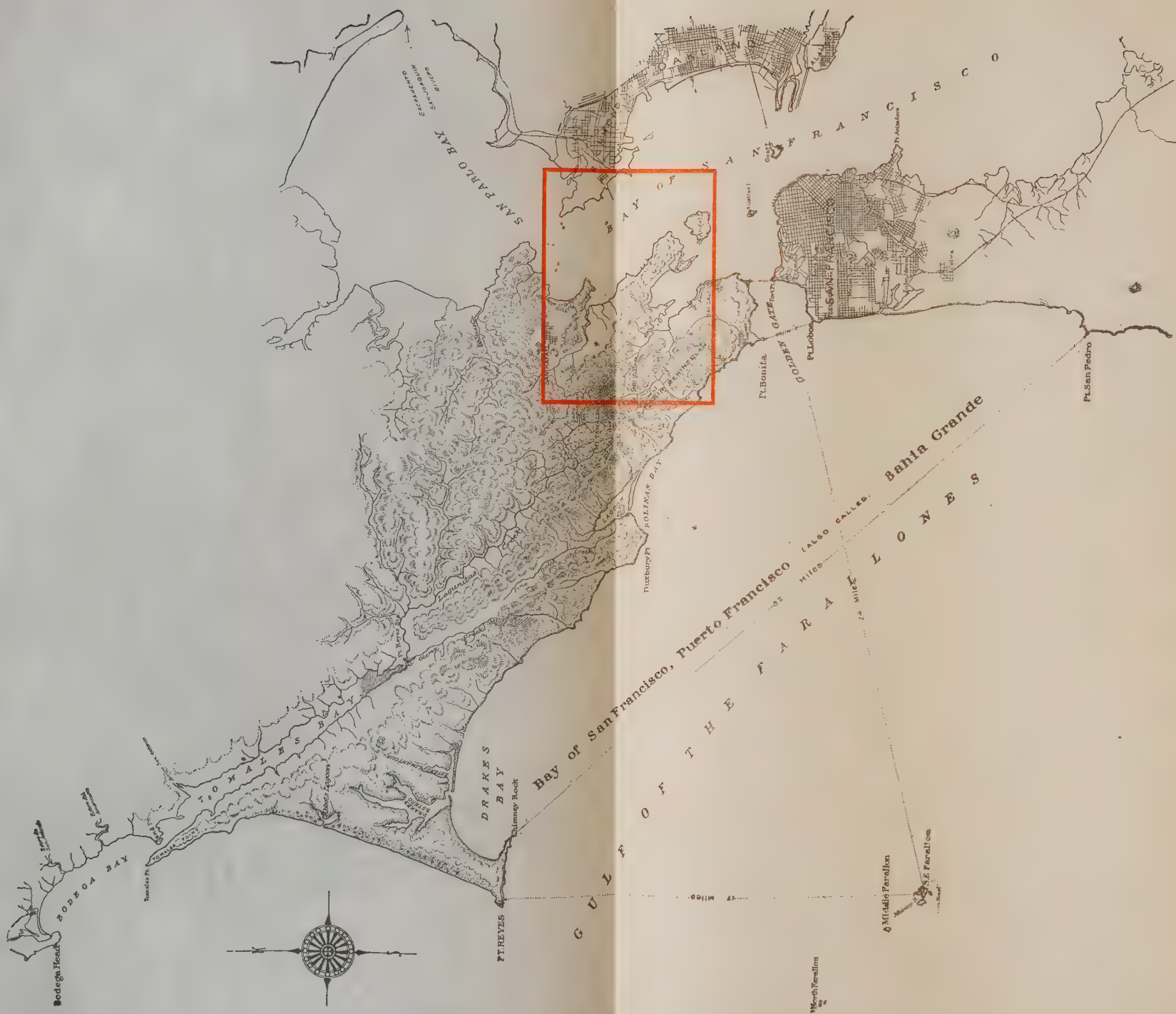
Not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint Iames) hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which wee fell Iuly 24. whereon we found such prouision as might serue our turne for a while.



By horrible lacerations of their bodies and by frequent sacrifices in the mountains, the inhabitants of this part of New Albion deplore the departure of Drake now twice crowned.

Vignette from the Hondius Map, showing the *Portus* where Drake anchored

Bibliography



San Francisco, Bodega and Drake's Bays

The portion of the map enclosed in red is shown in detail following page 64

Courtesy of Dr. John W. Robertson and Edwin Grubhorn



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One Hundred Works Relating to Sir Francis Drake

COMPILED BY ELEANOR BANCROFT

THE logical beginning for any list of books relating to Drake is the bibliography by Henry R. Wagner in his *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World*. Mr. Wagner's account of the texts of the original sources is fundamental for the Pacific Coast voyage.

In the following list, works have been added on Drake's other voyages and exploits, not in an attempt at an exhaustive bibliography but to show the tremendous interest displayed in Drake's activities from his own time to the present.

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