



THE TRUE STORY OF
MILES PHILIPS
AN ENGLISH SLAVE IN NEW SPAIN

The True Story of Miles Philips: An English Slave in New Spain

Tim Vicary

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Introduction

Welcome to the dramatic and dangerous world of the sixteenth century! The world I tried to imagine for young Madu and Tom Oakley in *Nobody's Slave*. But that book is fiction: this is the true story of Miles Philips, told in his own words. I have modernised the spelling and paragraph structure, added a few headings and deleted a few dull details about Spanish shipping. That's all. The rest, as I hope you'll agree, is gripping stuff – a terrifying tale of adventure which young Miles was lucky to survive. Most of those who sailed with him on the *Jesus of Lubeck*, including Robert Barret, the captain, and all of the African slaves, never came home.

Tim Vicary.



The Jesus of Lubeck

A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shore Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies, by M. John Hawkins 1568 containing many special things of that country and of the Spanish government, but specially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen and amongst the rest to himself for the space of 15 or 16 years together, until by good and happy means he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his own Country. Anno 1582.

Chapter 1

Wherein is shown the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captains and Masters, and of our traffic and dealing upon the coast of Africa.

Upon Monday the second of October 1567 the weather being reasonable fair, our General M. John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captains and Masters to be in a readiness to make sail with him, he himself being embarked in the *Jesus*, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoisted sail, and departed from Plymouth upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with five other sail of ships, as namely the *Minion*, wherein went for Captain M. John Hampton, and John Garret Master, the *William and John*, wherein was Captain Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Master, the *Judith*, in whom was Captain M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the *Angel*, whose Master, as also the Captain and Master of the *Swallow* I now remember not.

And so sailing in company together upon our voyage until the tenth of the same month, an extreme storm then took us near unto Cape Finisterre, which dured for the space of four days, and so separated our ships, that we had lost one another, and our General finding the *Jesus* to be but in ill case, was in mind to give over the voyage, and to return home. Howbeit the eleventh of the same month the Seas waxing calm, and the wind coming fair, he altered his purpose, and held on the former intended voyage: And so coming to the island of Gomera being one of the islands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, we then took in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of November, and holding on our course, upon the eighteenth day of the same month we came to anchor upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fathom water; and here our General landed certain of our men, to the number of 160 or thereabout, seeking to take some Negroes.

And they going up into the Country for the space of six miles, were encountered with a great number of the Negroes: who with their envenomed arrows did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were forced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recovered but a few Negroes, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrows, there died to the number of seven or eight in very strange manner, with their mouths shut, so that we were forced to put sticks and other things into their mouths to keep them open, and so afterward passing the time upon the coast of Guinea, until the twelfth of January, we obtained by that time the number of 150 Negroes.

The assault upon Conga

And being ready to depart from the sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassador to our General, from a King of the Negroes, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our General to grant him succour and aid against those his enemies, which our General granted unto, and went himself in person a land, with the number of two hundred of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our aid, did join his force with ours, so that thereby our General assaulted, and set fire upon a Town of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negroes, and they perceiving that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to save themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundred, which our General ought to have had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our aid, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conveyed himself away with as many prisoners as he had in his custody: but our General notwithstanding finding himself to have now very near the number of 500 Negroes thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such merchandise as he had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fuel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storm that we had, we lost one of our ships, namely the William and John, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

Chapter 2

Wherein is shown the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arrival in the West Indies, also of our trade, and traffic there, and also of the great cruelty that the Spaniards used towards us, by the Viceroy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise given, and seeking to have trapped us.

All things being made in a readiness, at our General his appointment, upon the third day of February 1568, we departed from the coast of Africa, having the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard; and sailing so for the space of 52 days, upon the 27th of March 1568, we came in sight of an island called Dominica, upon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 18 degrees latitude, and 322 of longitude: from thence our General coasted from place to place, ever making traffic with the Spaniards and Indians as he might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had strictly charged all his governors in those parts not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the months of April and May, our General had reasonable trade and traffic, and courteous entertainment in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coracao, and elsewhere, until we came, to Cape de la Vela,(in Venezuela) and Rio de Hacha,(a place in Colombia from whence all the pearls do come)

Selling slaves against the governor's command.

The governor there would not by any means permit us to have any trade or traffic, nor yet suffer us to take in fresh water: by means whereof our General for the avoiding of famine and thirst about the beginning of June, was enforced to land two hundred of our men, and so by main force and strength to obtain that which by no fair means he could procure: And so recovering the Town with the loss of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200 and upwards, and of our other merchandize also.

From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Governor was so straight, that we could not obtain any traffic there, and so for that our trade was near finished, our General thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the avoiding of certain dangerous storms called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the year, and so the 24 of July 1568 we departed from thence directing our course North: and leaving the island of Cuba upon our right hand, to the Eastward of us, and so sailing toward Florida, upon the 12 of August an extreme tempest arose, which dured for

the space of 8 days, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither and thither, so that we were in continual fear to be drowned by reason of the shallowness of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of San John de Ulloa, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19 degrees of latitude, and in 279 degrees of longitude, which is the port that serves for the City of Mexico: in our seeking to recover this port our General met by the way three small ships that carried passengers, which he took with him, and so the sixteenth of September 1568, we entered the said port of San John de Ulloa. The Spaniards there supposing us to have been the King of Spain's Fleet, the chief officers of the Country thereabouts came presently aboard our General, where perceiving themselves to have made an unwise adventure, they were in great fear to have been taken and stayed: howbeit our General did use them all very courteously.

In the said port there were twelve ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundred thousand pound, all which being in our General his power and at his devotion, he did freely set at liberty, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, nor taking from any of them all the value of one groat: only he stayed two men of credit and account, the one named Don Lorenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Rivera, and presently our General sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arrival there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queen his Sovereign, was the king of Spain his loving sister and friend, that therefore he would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish us with victuals for our Navy, and quietly suffer us to repair and amend our ships. And furthermore that at the arrival of the Spanish Fleet which was there daily expected and looked for, to the end that there might no quarrel arise between them, and our General and his company for the breach of amity, he humbly requested of his excellency, that there might in this behalf some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16th of September 1568, it being the very day of our arrival there.

The arrival of the Spanish fleet; a difficult decision for John Hawkins

The next morning being the seventeenth of the same month, we descried 13 sail of great ships: and after that our General understood, that it was the king of Spain's Fleet then looked for, he presently sent to advertise the General hereof, of our being in the said port, and giving him further to understand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should pass between the two Generals some orders and conditions to be observed on either part, for the better contriving of peace between them and theirs, according to our Generals request made unto the Viceroy. And at this instant our General was in a great perplexity of mind, considering with himself that if he should keep out that Fleet from entering into the port, a thing which he was very well able to do with the help of God, then should that Fleet be in danger of present shipwreck and loss of all their substance, which amounted unto the value of one million and eight hundred thousand pounds.

Again he saw that if he suffered them to enter, he was assured that they would practise by all manner of means to betray him and his, and on the other side the haven was so little, that the other Fleet entering, the ships were to ride one hard aboard of another. Also he saw that if their Fleet should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessity they must if he should have done so, then stood he in great fear of the Queen

our Sovereign's displeasure in so weighty a cause: therefore did he choose the least evil, which was to suffer them to enter under assurance, and so to stand upon his guard, and to defend himself and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise.

Articles concluded upon, betwixt the English and the Spaniards; although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

And so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the new Viceroy, who came in the same Fleet, and had sufficient authority to command in all cases both by Sea and by land in this province of Mexico or new Spain, did certify our General, that for the better maintenance of amity between the king of Spain and our Sovereign, all our requests should be both favourably granted, and faithfully performed: signifying further that he heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our General, toward the king of Spain's subjects in all places where he had been, as also in the said port: so that to be brief our requests were articulated, and set down in writing. Viz.

1. The first was that we might have victuals for our money, and licence to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.
2. The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repair our ships.
3. The third that the island might be in our possession during the time of our abode there. In which island our General for the better safety of him and his had already planted and placed certain Ordinance which were eleven pieces of brass, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should come to land in the said island, having or wearing any kind of weapon.
4. The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelve gentlemen of credit be delivered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed upon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seal, and 10 hostages upon either part were received. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet, and give faith each to other for the performance of the promise.

All which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, and commandment was given that none of either part should violate or break the peace upon pain of death: thus at the end of three days all was concluded, and the Fleet entered the port, the ships saluting one another as the manner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being Friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, the Captains and inferior persons of either part, offering, and showing great courtesy one to another, and promising great amity upon all sides.

Howbeit as the sequel showed, the Spaniards meant nothing less upon their parts. For the Viceroy and governor thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1,000 chosen men, and well appointed, meaning the next Thursday being the 24th of

September at dinner time to assault us, and set upon us on all sides. But before I go any further, I think it not amiss briefly to describe the matter of the island as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of.

A fair castle and bulwark built upon the island of San Juan de Ulloa.

For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, have upon the same island built a fair Castle and bulwark very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little island of stones, not past three feet above water in the highest place, and not past a bowshot over any way at the most, and it stands from the main land, two bowshots or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arrive at: also the North winds in this coast are of great violence and force, and unless the ships be safely moored in, with their anchors fastened in this island, there is no remedy, but present destruction and shipwreck.

All this our general wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would have the said island in his custody, or else the Spaniards might at their pleasure, have but cut our cables, and so with the first North wind that blew, we had our passport, for our ships had gone ashore. But to return to the matter.

The value of a Spanish viceroy his faith.

The time approaching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to show itself, as shifting of weapons from ship to ship, and planting, and bending their Ordinance against our men that were guarding upon the land, with great repair of people: which apparent shows of breach of the Viceroy's faith caused our General to send one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gave order, that the Ordinance aforesaid, and other things of suspicion should be removed, returning answer to our General in the faith of a Viceroy, that he would be our defence and safety from all villainous treachery: this was upon Thursday in the morning.

Our General not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboard a great hulk or ship of theirs of six hundred tons, which ship rode hard by the *Minion*, he sent again to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the *Jesus*, a man that could speak the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might be unshipped again, which were in that great hulk. The Viceroy then perceiving that their treason was thoroughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gave order that his people should upon all sides charge upon our men, which were guarding on shore, and elsewhere, which struck such amaze, and sudden fear among us, that many gave place, and sought to recover our ships for the safety of themselves.

The villainous treachery of the Spaniards and their cruelty.

The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush on land were quickly conveyed over to the island in their long boats, and so coming to the island, they slew all our men that they could meet with, without mercy. The *Minion* which had somewhat before prepared herself to avoid the danger, hauled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that

were in the great hulk: then they sought to fall aboard the *Jesus*, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slain: but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out: so the *Jesus* also got loose, and joining with the *Minion*, the fight waxed hot upon all sides: but they having won and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy us.

In this fight there were two great ships of the Spaniards sunk, and one burnt, so that with their ships they were not able to harm us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our own ordinance, in such sort that the *Jesus* was very sore spoiled: and suddenly the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their own, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marvellous fear.

Howbeit the *Minion* which had made her sails ready, shifted for herself, without consent of the General, Captain or Master, so that very hardly our General could be received into the *Minion*: the most of our men that were in the *Jesus* shifted for themselves, and followed the *Minion* in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receive, were most cruelly slain by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped saving the *Minion* and the *Judith*: and all such of our men as were not in them were forced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certain truth, that whereas they had taken certain of our men ashore, they took and hung them up by the arms upon high posts until the blood burst out of their fingers ends: of which men so used, there is one Copstow, and certain others yet alive who by the merciful providence of the almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carrying still about with them (and shall to their graves) the marks and tokens of those their inhumane and more then barbarous cruel dealings.

Chapter 3

Wherein is shown, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, we were like to perish with famine on the Sea, and how our General, for the avoiding thereof was constrained to put half of his men on land, and what miseries we after that sustained amongst the Savage people, and how again we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

After that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques had thus contrary to his faith and promise most cruelly dealt with our General master Hawkins, at San John de Ulloa, where most of his men were by the Spaniards slain and drowned, and all his ships sunk and burned, saving the *Minion*, and the *Judith*, which was a small bark of fifty tons, wherein was then Captain master Francis Drake aforesaid: the same night the said bark lost us, we being in great necessity, and forced to remove with the *Minion* two bowshot from the Spanish fleet, where we anchored all that night: and the next morning we weighed anchor, and recovered an island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storm took us with a North wind, in which we were greatly distressed, having but two cables and two anchors left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two anchors.

The morrow after, the storm being ceased and the weather fair, we weighed, and set sail, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice us for any long time: by means whereof we were in despair and fear that we should perish through famine, so that some were in mind to yield themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards, others to the Savages or Infidels, and hunger constrained us to eat hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrots and monkeys: to be short, our hunger was so great, that we thought it savoury and sweet whatsoever we could get to eat.

And on the eighth of October we came to land again, in the bottom of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found some inhabitants, that we might have had some relief of victuals, and a place where to repair our ship, which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarce able with our weary arms to keep forth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find relief, we began to be in wonderful despair, and we were of many minds, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our General to set them on land, making their choice rather to submit themselves to the mercy of the Savages or Infidels, than longer to hazard themselves at sea, where they very well saw, that if they should remain together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would force them in the end to eat one another: to which request our General did very willingly agree, considering with himself that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safety of himself

and the rest: and thereupon being resolved to set half his people ashore that he had then left alive, it was a world to see how suddenly men's minds were altered: for they which a little before desired

to be set on land, were now of another mind, and requested rather to stay: by means whereof our General was forced for the more contentment of all men's minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: First he made choice of such persons of service and account, as were needful to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to go he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boat they should be set on shore, our General promising us that the next year he would either come himself, or else send to fetch us home.

Here again it would have caused any stony heart to have relented to hear the pitiful moan that many did make, and how loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to pass with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to go away, must of necessity do so.

Miles Philips is marooned on shore, the 8th of October 1568.

Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boat, of which number I myself was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attain to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruel dealing of John Hampton captain of the *Minion*, and John Sanders boatswain of the *Jesus*, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leap out of the boat into the main sea, having more than a mile to shore, and so to shift for ourselves, and either to sink or swim. And of those that so were (as it were) thrown out, and compelled to leap into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captain Bland's men.

In the evening Of the same day, it being Monday the eighth of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunk so much, that they had almost cast themselves away, for we could scarce get life of them for the space of two or three hours after: others were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which we found on land having a stone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a manner all of us both feeble, faint and weak.

The next morning being Tuesday, the ninth of October, we thought it

best to travel along by the sea coast, to seek out some place of habitation: (whether they were Christians or Savages, we were indifferent, so that we might have wherewithal to sustain our hungry bodies) and so departing from a hill where we had rested all night, not having any dry thread about us, (for those that were not wet being thrown into the sea, were thoroughly wet with rain, for all the night it rained cruelly:) As we went from the hill, and were come into the plain, we were greatly troubled to pass for the grass and weeds that grew there higher than any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and upon the right hand great woods, so that of necessity we must needs pass on our way Westward, through those marshes.

Attacked by the Chichimici, a savage and warlike people

And going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a manner as Cannibals, although they do not feed upon mans flesh as Cannibals do. These people are called Chichimici, and they use to wear their hair long, even down to their knees, they do also colour their faces green, yellow, red and blue, which makes them to seem very ugly and terrible to behold. These people do keep wars against the Spaniards, of whom they have been oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy.

They perceiving us at our first coming on land, supposed us to have been their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and having by their forerunners descried what number we were, and how feeble and weak without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed manner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sort, raised a terrible and huge cry, and so came running fiercely upon us, shooting off their arrows as thick as hail, unto whose mercy we were constrained to yield, not having amongst us any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, saving one caliver, and two old rusty swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to save ourselves.

Which when they perceived that we sought not any other than favour and mercy at their hands, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compassion on us, and came and caused us all to sit down: and when they had a while surveyed, and taken a perfect view of us, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst us, and those they did strip stark naked, and took their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in black they did not meddle withal, and so went their ways, and left us without doing us any further hurt, only in the first brunt they killed eight of our men.

And at our departure, they perceiving in what weak case we were, pointed us with their hands which way we should go to come to a town of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceived, was not past ten leagues from thence, using these words: *Tampice, Tampice Christiano, Tampice Christiano*, which is as much (we think) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they use are no other but bows and arrows, and their aim is so good, that they very seldom miss to hit anything that they shoot at.

Shortly after they had left us stripped (as aforesaid) we thought it best to divide ourselves into two companies and so being separated, half of us went under the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man alive, and dwells at this instant in the town of Plymouth, whom before we chose to be captain over us all, and those which went under his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, travelled Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed us to go. The other half went under the leading of one John Hooper, whom they did choose for their captain, and with the company that went with him, David Ingram was one, and they took their way and travelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two days, they were again encountered with the savage people, and their captain Hooper and two more of his company were slain: then again they divided themselves, and some held on their way still Northward, and others, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to met with us again, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with us in the space of four days again.

And then we began to reckon amongst ourselves, how many we were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and fourteen, whereof two were drowned in the sea and eight were slain at the first encounter, so that there remained an

hundred and four, of which 25 went Westward with us, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slain, and there were but six and twenty, of them that came again to us, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainly heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verily I do think that there are of them yet alive, and married in the said country.

And being thus met again together, we travelled on still Westward, sometime through such thick woods, that we were forced with cudgels to break away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other times we should travel through the plains, in such high grass that we could scarce see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should have of our men slain, and fall down suddenly, being struck by the Indians, which stood behind trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for we went scatteringly in seeking of fruits to relieve ourselves.

A plague of mosquitoes

We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of fly, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the said country a number of other kind of flies, but none so noisome as these Tequanies be: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarce so big as a gnat: they will suck ones blood marvellously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venomous that the place will swell extremely, even as one that is stung with a Wasp or Bee: but if you let them suck their fill, and to go away of themselves, then they do you no other hurt, but leave behind them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first we were terribly troubled with these kind of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance we could make none against them, being naked: as for cold we feared not any, the country there is always so warm.

They hear an arquebus and a cock crow

And as we travelled thus for the space of ten or twelve days, our captain did oftentimes cause certain to go up into the tops of high trees, to see if they could descry any town or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceive any, and using often the same order to climb up into high trees, at the length they descried a great river that fell from the Northwest into the main sea, and presently after, we heard an arquebus shot off, which did greatly encourage us, for thereby we knew that we were near to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to find some succour and comfort, and within the space of one hour after, as we travelled, we heard a cock crow, which was also no small joy unto us, and so we came to the North side of the river of Panuco, where the Spaniards have certain Salines (salt flats), at which place it was that the arquebus was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bowshot upon our left hand: of this river we drank very greedily, for we had not met with any water in six days before.

Spanish horsemen

And as we were here by the river side resting ourselves, and longing to come to the place where the cock did crow, and where the arquebus was shot off, we perceived many Spaniards upon the other side of the river, riding up and down on horseback, and they perceiving us, did suppose that we had been of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the river was not past half a bow shot over: and presently one of the Spaniards took an Indian boat called a Canoe, and so came over, being rowed by two Indians, and having taken the view of us, did presently row over back again to the Spaniards, who without any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and embarking themselves in the Canoes, they led their horses by the reins swimming over after them, and being come over to that side of the river where we were, they saddled their horses, and being mounted upon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at us.

Our captain Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did persuade us to submit and yield ourselves unto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeyed, and upon the yielding of ourselves, they perceived us to be Christians, and did call for more Canoes, and carried us over by four and four in a boat, and being come on the other side, they understanding by our captain how long we had been without meat, imparted between two and two a loaf of bread made out of that country wheat, which the Spaniards call Maize, of the bigness of our halfpenny loaves. This bread was very sweet and pleasant unto us, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to have a savoury and delicate taste?

And having thus parted the bread amongst us, those which were men they sent afore to the town, having also many Indians inhabitants of that place to guard them: they which were young, as boys, and some such also as were feeble, they took up upon their horses, behind them, and so carried us to the town where they dwelt, which was very near distant a mile from the place where we came over.

This town is well situated, and well replenished with all kinds of fruits, as Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Apricots, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, besides Negroes. Of their Salines, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians do buy much thereof, and carry it up into the country, and there sell it to their own country people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places.

The cruel governor of Panuco

When we were all come to the town, the Governor there shown himself very severe unto us, and threatened to hang us all: and then he demanded what money we had, which in truth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withal, had in a manner taken all from us. Howbeit, from Antony Godard the Governor had a chain of gold, which was given him at Carthagena, so that we accounted that amongst us all he had the number of five hundred Pezos, besides the chain of gold.

And having thus satisfied himself, when he had taken all that we had, he caused us to be put into a little house much like a hogsty, where we were almost smothered: and they

gave us some of the country wheat, called Maize, sodden, which they feed their hogs withal. But many of our men which had been hurt by the Indians at our first coming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grievous, desired to have the help of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The governor, and most of them all answered, that we should have none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heal us of all our griefs: and thus reviling us, and calling us English dogs, and Lutheran heretics, we remained the space of three days in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of us, waiting every hour to be bereaved of our lives.

Chapter 4

Wherein is shown how we were used in Panuco, and in what fear of death we were there, and how we were carried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties we received during that time, and how in the end we were by proclamation given to serve as slaves to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.

Upon the fourth day after our coming thither, and there remaining in a perplexity, looking every hour when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch us out of the house, and amongst them we espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently have suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, we prepared ourselves, making us ready to die: yet in the end, their meaning was not so: for when we were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our arms behind us, and so coupling us two and two together, they commanded us to march on through the town, and so along the country from place to place toward the city of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninety leagues, having only but two Spaniards, to conduct us, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bows and arrows, lest we should escape from them.

And travelling in this order, upon the second day at night we came unto a town which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria: in which town there is a house of white friars, which did very courteously use us, and gave us hot meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to cover our selves withal, made of white baize: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nochole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused us to fall sick of hot burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had been before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first encounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clock, we departed from thence, bound two and two together, and guarded as before, and so travelled on our way toward Mexico, until we came to a town within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestitlan, where is a house of black friars: and in this town there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friars sent us meat from the house ready dressed, and the friars, and the men and women used us very courteously, and gave us some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sick of their agues, and with

eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruit did been us so sore, that for the space of ten or twelve days we could not ease ourselves.

The two guards

The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian guard, as aforesaid. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously entreat us, and would carefully go before to provide for us both meat and things, necessary to the uttermost of his power: the other was a young man who all the way travelled with us, and never departed from us, who was a very cruel caitiff, and he carried a javelin in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feebleness and faintness were not able to go so fast as he required them, he would take his javelin in both his hands, and strike them with the same between the neck and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them down; then would he cry, and say, *Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios*: which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a town called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this town of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of silver, and are about six leagues distant from this town of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this town the good old man our Governor suffered us to stay two days and two nights, having compassion of our sick and weak men, full sore against the mind of the young man his companion. From thence we took our journey, and travelled four or five days by little villages, and Estancias, which are farms or dairy houses of the Spaniards, and ever as we had need, the good old man would still provide us sufficient of meats, fruits, and water to sustain us. At the end of which five days we came to a town within five leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where we also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a fair house of gray friars, howbeit we saw none of them. Here we were told by the Spaniards in the town, that we had not past fifteen English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very joyful and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved, and set free out of bonds, or else be quickly dispatched out of our lives: for seeing ourselves thus carried bound from place to place, although some used us courteously, yet could we never joy, nor be merry until we might perceive ourselves set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our journey towards Mexico, and so travelled until we came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very fair church, called our Lady's church, in which there is an image of our Lady of silver and gilt, being as high, and as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of silver as there be days in the year, which upon high days are all lighted. Whensoever any Spaniards pass by this church, although they be on horseback, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneel before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all evil; so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not pass by, but first go into the Church, and pray as aforesaid, which if they do not they think and believe that they shall never prosper: which image they call in the Spanish tongue, *Nuestra senhora de Guadalupe*.

At this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing up as though the water did seethe: the water thereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any

that have any sore or wound, to wash themselves therewith, for as they say, it heals many: and every year once upon our Lady day the people use to repair thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doth work a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any town of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certain Indians do dwell there in houses of their own country building.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horseback, which came from Mexico to see us, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: we were still called upon to march on: and so about four of the clock in the afternoon of the said day we entered into the city of Mexico, by the way or street called *Santa Catherina*: and we stayed not in any place until we came to the house or palace of the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, which stands in the midst of the city, hard by the market place, called *La placa del Marquese*.

Prison and escape in Mexico City

We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought us by the Spaniards from the marketplace great store of meat, sufficient to have satisfied five times so many as we were: some also gave us hats, and some gave us money: in which place we stayed for the space of two hours, and from thence we were conveyed by water in two large Canoes to an hospital where as certain of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at St John de Ulloa: we should have gone to our Ladies hospital, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no room for us.

After our coming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco died within the space of fourteen days: soon after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Lady's hospital, in which place we were courteously used, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the city, who brought us divers things to comfort us withal, as suckets and marmalades, and such other things, and would also many times give us many things, and that very liberally. In which hospital we remained for the space of six months, until we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Viceroy to be carried unto the town of Tescuco, in which town there are certain houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place divers Indians are sold for slaves, some for ten years, and some for twelve.

It was no small grief unto us when we understood that we should be carried thither, and to be used as slaves, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were carried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, and almost famished, yet by the good providence of our merciful God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the son of an Englishman, born of a Spanish woman; this man could speak very good English, and by his means we were helped very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hens, and bread. And if we had not been so relieved, we had surely perished: and yet all the provision that we had gotten that way was but slender.

And continuing thus strictly kept in prison there for the space of two months, at the length we agreed amongst ourselves to break forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death than longer to live in that miserable state. And so

having escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to fly for the safety of ourselves, the night was dark, and it rained terribly, and not having any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived ourselves to become hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles from Tescuco. The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, and pursued, and taken, and brought before the Viceroy and head justices, who threatened to hang us for breaking of the kings prison.

The slave garden

Yet in the end they sent us into a garden belonging to the Viceroy, and coming thither, we found there our English gentlemen which were delivered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at San John de Ulloa, as is aforesaid, and with them we also found Robert Barret, the Master of the *Jesus*, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 months, having but two sheep a day allowed to suffice us all, being very near a hundred men, and for bread we had every man two loaves a day, of the quantity of one half-penny loaf. At the end of which four months, they having removed our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the *Jesus* to a prison in the Viceroy his own house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard so ever was willing or would have any English man to serve him, and be bound to keep him forth coming, to appear before the Justices within one month after notice given, that they should repair to the said garden, and there take their choice: which proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden again, so that happy was he that could soonest get one of us.

Chapter 5

Wherein is shown in what good sort, and how wealthily we lived with our masters until the coming of the Inquisition, when as again our sorrows began afresh: Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the severe judgement, and sentences given against us, and with what rigour and cruelty the same were executed.

The gentlemen that thus took us for their servants or slaves, did new apparel us through out, with whom we abode, doing such service as they appointed us unto, which was for the most part to attend upon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlains, and to wait upon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of; for in that country no Spaniard will serve one another, but they are all of them attended and served by Indians weekly, and by Negroes which be their slaves during their life. In this sort we remained and served in the said city of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a year and somewhat longer.

Afterwards many of us were by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to do, and to be as overseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of us did profit and gain greatly: for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a year, which is threescore pound sterling and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought under our charge, upon our well using and entreating of them, would at times as upon Saturdays when they had left work, labour for us, and blow as much silver as should be worth unto us 3 marks or thereabouts, every mark being worth 6 Pezos. Sundry weeks we did gain so much by this means besides our wages, that many of us became very rich, and were worth three thousand, or four thousand Pezos, for we lived and gained thus in those Mines some three or four years.

As concerning those Gentlemen which were delivered as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serve sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners in the said house for the space of 4 months after their coming thither, at the end whereof the fleet being ready to depart from San John de Ulloa, to go for Spain, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spain with the fleet, where as I have heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruel handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which have been delivered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the *Jesus*, was sent away with the fleet into Spain the next year following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and

at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was John Gilbert.

The terrible Spanish Inquisition

Now after that six years were fully expired since our first coming into the Indies, in which time we had been imprisoned and served in the said countries as is before truly declared. In the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred seventy four, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the minds of many of the Spaniards themselves: for never until this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subject to that bloody and cruel Inquisition. The chief Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and John de Bouilla his companion, and John Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios the Secretary: they being come and settled, and placed in a very fair house near unto the white Friars, considering with themselves that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole country, thought it best to call us that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become very rich, as hath been already declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now again began our sorrows afresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the country, and proclamation made upon pain of losing of goods and excommunication that no man should hide or keep secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods.

By means whereof we were all soon apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors use, and so from all parts of the country we were conveyed and sent as prisoners to the city of Mexico, and there committed to prison, in sundry dark dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, and were never past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of us tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a year and a half, and others for some less time, for they came to prison ever as they were apprehended.

The interrogations

During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there severely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, and the Creed in Latin, which God knows great number of us could not say, otherwise than in the English tongue. And having the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco always present with them for an interpreter, he made report for us, that in our own country speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceed to demand of us upon our oaths what we did believe of the Sacrament, and whether there did remain any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not believe that the host of bread which the priest did hold up over his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body and blood of our Saviour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death.

Then they would demand of us what we did remember of ourselves, what opinions we had held, or had been taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our lives were constrained to say, that we never did believe, nor had been taught otherwise than as before we had said. Then would they charge us, that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therefore we should call ourselves to remembrance, and make them a better answer at the next time, or else we should be racked, and made to confess the truth whether we would or no.

And so coming again before them the next time, we were still demanded of our belief while we were in England, and how we had been taught, and also what we thought or did know of such of our own company as they did name unto us, so that we could never be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise us, that if we would tell them truth, then should we have favour and be set at liberty, although we very well knew their fair speeches were but means to entrap us, to the hazard and loss of our lives: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for us by a secret means that we had, that we kept us still to our first answer, and would still say that we had told the truth unto them, and knew no more by ourselves nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sins and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sorry for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for God's sake, considering what we came into those countries by force of weather, and against our wills, and that never in all our lives we had either spoken or done anything contrary to their laws, that therefore they would have mercy upon us.

Our men are cruelly racked

Yet all this would not serve; for still from time to time we were called upon to confess and about the space of 3 months before they proceeded to their severe judgement, we were all racked and some enforced to utter that against themselves, which afterwards cost them their lives. And thus having gotten from our own mouths matter sufficient for them to proceed in judgement against us, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the midst of the market place in Mexico right over against the head church, and 14 or 15 days before the day of their judgement with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of drums, they did assemble the people in all parts of the city: before whom it was then solemnly proclaimed that whosoever would upon such a day repair to the market place, they should hear the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretics, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution.

Which being done, and the time approaching of this cruel judgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certain officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certain fool's coats which they had prepared for us, being called in their language *San Benitos*, which coats were made of yellow cotton and red crosses upon them, both before and behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about us, and bringing us out into a large yard, and placing and pointing us in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of judgement upon the morrow, that they did not once suffer us to sleep all that night long.

The day of Judgement

The next morning being come, there was given to every one of us for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honey, and so about eight of the clock in the morning, we set forth of the prison, every man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his neck, and a great green Wax candle in his hand unlighted, having a Spaniard appointed to go upon either side of every one of us: and so marching in this order and manner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so coming to the scaffold, we went up by a pairs of stairs, and found seats ready made and prepared for us to sit down on, every man in order as he should be called to receive his judgement.

We being thus set down as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came up another pair of stairs, and the Viceroy and all the chief Justices with them. When they were set down and placed under the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling; then came up also a great number of Friars, white, black and gray, about the number of 300 persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there silence commanded, and then presently began their severe and cruel judgement.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chief Armourer of the *Jesus*, and he had judgement to have three hundred stripes on horseback, and after condemned to the galleys as a slave for 10 years.

After him were called John Gray, John Brown, John Moon, James Collier, and one Thomas Brown: these were judged to have 200 stripes on horseback, and after to be committed to the galleys for the space of 8 years.

Then was called John Keyes, and was judged to have 100 stripes on horseback, and condemned to serve in the galleys for the space of 6 years.

Then were severally called the number of 53 one after another, and every man had his several judgement, some to have 200 stripes on horseback, and some 100, and condemned for slaves to the galleys, some for 6 years, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was I, Miles Philips, called, and was judged to serve in a monastery for 5 years, without any stripes, and to wear a fool's coat, or *San Benito*, during all that time.

Then were called John Storey, Richard Williams, David Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: these six were condemned to serve in monasteries without stripes, some for three years and some for four, and to wear the San Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Rielly, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their judgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed.

And as for us that had received our judgement, being 68 in number, we were carried back that night to prison again.

And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the year of our Lord 1575; we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors palace, where we found a horse in a readiness for every one of our men which were condemned to have stripes, and to be committed to the galleys, which were in number 60 and so they being forced to mount up on horseback naked from the middle upward, were carried to be shown as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chief and principal streets of the city, and had the number of stripes to every one of them appointed, most cruelly laid upon their naked

bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: *Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God*, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselves, and of the familiars of that rakehell order, that cried to the executioners, *Strike, lay on those English heretics, Lutherans, God's enemies*: and so this horrible spectacle being shown round about the city, they returned to the Inquisitors' house with their backs all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, and carried again to prison, where they remained until they were sent into Spain to the galleys, there to receive the rest of their martyrdom: and I and the 6 others with me which had judgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serve an apprenticeship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certain religious houses appointed for the purpose.

Chapter 6

Wherein is shown how we were used in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were judged to serve in them, there came news to Mexico of M. Francis Drake's being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was again taken, and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how again I made mine escape from thence.

I Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the black Friars, where I was appointed to be an overseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language of Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiarity with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and loving kind of people, ingenious, and of great understanding, and they hate and abhor the Spaniards with all their hearts, they have used such horrible cruelties against them, and do still keep them in such subjection and servitude, that they and the Negroes also do daily lie in wait to practise their deliverance out of that thralldom and bondage, that the Spaniards do keep them in. William Lowe he was appointed to serve the Cook in the kitchen, Richard Williams and David Alexander were appointed to the Grey Friars, John Storey and Robert Cook to the white Friars: Paul Horsewell the Secretary took to be his servant: Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where afterward he died.

Thus we served out the years that we were condemned for, with the use of our fools coats, and we must needs confess that the Friars did use us very courteously: for every one of us had his chamber with bedding and diet, and all things clean and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friars themselves do utterly abhor and mislike of that cruel Inquisition, and would as they durst bewail our miseries, and comfort us the best they could, although they stood in such fear of that devilish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hand know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serve in those religious houses, we were then brought again before the chief Inquisitor, and had all our fools coats pulled off and hanged up in the head church, called *Ecclesia Major*, and every man's name and judgement written thereupon with this addition, *An heretic Lutheran reconciled*. And there are also all their coats hanged up, which were condemned to the galleys, with their names and judgements, and underneath his coat, *Heretic Lutheran reconciled*. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, *An obstinate heretic Lutheran burnt*.

Then were we suffered to go up and down the country, and to place ourselves as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espial always attending us and all our actions, so that we durst not once speak or look awry. David

Alexander and Robert Cooke returned to serve the Inquisitor, who shortly after married them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams married a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos. Paul Horsewell is married to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horsewell hath married, is said to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the conqueror, who had with her in marriage four thousand Pezos, and a fair house: John Storey is married to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leave and licence to go into Spain where he is now married.

For mine own part I could never thoroughly settle myself to marry in that country, although many fair offers were made unto me of such as were of great ability and wealth, but I could have no liking to live in that place, where I must everywhere see and know such horrible idolatry committed, and durst not once for my life speak against it: and therefore I had always a longing and desire to this my native country: and, to return and serve again in the Mines where I might have gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall again into the danger of that devilish Inquisition, and so be stripped of all, with loss of life also, and therefore I made my choice rather to learn to weave Grograins and Taffetas, and so compounding with a Silk-weaver, I bound myself for three years to serve him, and gave him an hundred and fifty Pezos to teach me the science, otherwise he would not have taught me under seven years apprenticeship, and by this means I lived the more quiet, and free from suspicion.

Howbeit notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demanded why I did not marry: I answered that I had bound myself at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I know thou meanst to run away, and therefore I charge thee here upon pain of burning as an heretic relapsed, that thou depart not out of this city, nor come near to the port of San John de Ulloa, nor to any other port: To the which I answered that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou do so, and thy fellows also, they shall have the like charge.

Rumours of Francis Drake

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end wherof there came news to Mexico that there were certain Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, upon the South sea, and that they were coming to Mexico to take the spoil thereof, which wrought a marvellous great fear amongst them, and many of those that were rich began to shift for themselves, their wives and children: upon which hurly burly the Viceroy caused a general muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and then was Paul Horsewell and I Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captain Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captain Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threescore years or thereabouts, and was now governor of Plymouth in England. And then he demanded of us if we knew one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came news that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out under the leading of several Captains, whereof two hundred were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captain Drake had been. And they had for Captain doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, having licence given by the Inquisitors. When we were

come to Acapulco, we found that Captain Drake was departed from thence, more than a month before we came thither. But yet our captain Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himself in a small ship of threescore tons or thereabout, having also in company with him two other small barks, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his own ship, which God knows was but weak and ill appointed, so that for certain, if we had met with Captain Drake, he might easily have taken us all. We being embarked we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was clean gone off the coast more than a month before: and so we returned back to Acapulco again, and there landed, our Captain being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea-sick.

All the while that I was at Sea with them I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should have been freed out of that danger and misery wherein I lived, and should return to mine own country of England again. But missing thereof, when I saw there was no remedy but that we must needs come on land again, little doth any man know the sorrow and grief that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make fair weather of it.

And so being landed, our captain made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how far he had travelled, and that for certain he was informed that Captain Drake was not to be heard of.

Miles Philips resolves to escape.

To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall have him shortly come into our hands driven a land through necessity in some one place or other, for he being now in these seas, it is not possible for him to get out of them again, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger will force him to land. And then again I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the city of Mexico, but always be at my master's house in a readiness at an hour's warning, whensoever I should be called: notwithstanding within one month after certain Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certain hides and Cochinilla, and my master having leave of the Secretary for me to go with them, I took my journey with them being very well horsed and appointed, and coming thither we had perfect intelligence that the fleet was ready to depart.

I not being past 3 days journey from the port of San John de Ulloa, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming upon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with myself, that when I came to San John de Ulloa, I would get to be entertained as a soldier, and so go home into Spain in the same Fleet.

And therefore secretly one evening late, the moon shining fair, I conveyed myself away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two days, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, upon the second day at night I came to the town of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of San John de Ulloa, where the ships rode, and here purposing to rest myself a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one half hour after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Justices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentleman's son of Mexico, that was run away from his father, who in truth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Justices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, every man charging me that I

was the son of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knew not the man, yet would they not believe me, but urged still upon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conveyed away to prison.

And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my grief, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poor man in the press that was come to town to sell hens, who told the Justices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and one of captain Hawkins men, and that he had known me wear the *San Benito* in the Blackfriars at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole years together: which when they perceived that I could not deny, and perceiving that I was run from Mexico, and came thither of purpose to convey myself away with the fleet, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowful heart, often wishing myself that that man which knew me had at that time been further off: howbeit he in sincerity had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to have set me free from that present danger which he saw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce.

And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great pair of bolts clapped on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weeks where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes and condemned to the galleys.

During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellows some that had known me before in Mexico, and truly they had compassion of me, and would spare of their victuals and anything else that they had to do me good: amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he understood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I should be shortly sent back again to Mexico by wagon, so soon as the fleet was gone from St John de Ulloa, for Spain. This poor man my prison fellow of himself, and without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often unto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 knives which had files in their backs, which files were so well made that they would serve and suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, and of those knives or files he brought one to me, and told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me have it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos.

Which knife when I had it, I was a joyful man, and conveyed the same into the foot of my boot, upon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 days after that I had thus received my knife, I was suddenly called for, and brought before the head Justice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the town, where was a new pair of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron bar coming between the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a pair of manacles; and so was I presently laid in a wagon all alone, which was there ready to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60 towards Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleet out of Spain.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the company, and as we travelled I being alone in the wagon, began to try if I could pluck my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painful for me, yet my hands were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in again, and ever as we went, when the wagon made most noise, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, and

travelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entering up of which (as God would) one of the wheels of the waggon wherein I was, brake, so that by that means the other wagons went afore, and the wagon man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a work to mend the wheel: and here at this place they baited at an hostelry that a Negro woman keeps: and at this place, for that the going up of the hill is very steep, for the space of two leagues and better, they do always accustom to take the mules of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them altogether for the drawing up of one wagon, and so to come down again, and fetch up others in that order.

All which came very well to pass: for as it drew towards night when most of the Waggoners were gone to draw up their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my bolts, and so espying my time in the dark of the evening before they returned down the hill again, I conveyed myself into the woods there adjoining, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, and a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my irons into a thick bush, and then covered them with moss and other things, and then shifted for myself as I might all that night. And thus by the good providence of Almighty God, I was freed from mine irons all saving the collar that was about my neck, and so got my liberty the second time.

Chapter 7

Wherein is shown how I escaped to Guatimala, upon the South sea, and from thence to the port of Cavallos, where I got passage to go into Spain, and of our arrival at Havana, and our coming to Spain, where I was again like to have been committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safety into England in February 1582.

The next morning (day light being come) I perceived by the Sun rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fled, I took the way into the woods. I thought to keep my course as the woods and mountains lay, still direct South as near as I could: by means whereof I was sure to convey myself far enough from that way that went to Mexico.

And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountain where I was, and travelling thus in my boots with mine iron collar about my neck, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoon I met with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deer for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time been kept in prison by the cruel Spaniards, and did desire them to help me to file off mine iron collar, which they willingly did: rejoicing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spaniards hands.

Then I desired that I might have one of them to guide me out of those desert mountains towards the South, which they also most willingly did: and so they brought me to an Indian town 8 leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa, where I stayed three days, for that I was somewhat sickly. At which town (with the gold that I had quilted in my doublet) I bought me an horse of one of the Indians, which cost me 6 pezos and so travelling South, within the space of 2 leagues I happened to overtake a gray Friar, one that I had been familiar withal in Mexico, whom then I knew to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the cruelty used against us by the Inquisitors, and truly he used me very courteously: and I having confidence in him did indeed tell him, that I was minded to adventure to see if I could get out of the said country if I could find shipping, and did therefore pray him of his aid, direction, and advice herein, which he faithfully did, not only in directing me which was my safest way to travel, but he also of himself kept me company for the space of three days, and ever as we came to the Indian houses (who used and entertained us well) he gathered among them in money to the value of 20 pezos, which at my departure from him he freely gave unto me.

So came I to the city of Guatimala upon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250 leagues, where I stayed 6 days, for that my horse was weak. And here I hired

two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hens, and bread to serve us so long time, and took with us things to kindle fire every night, because of wild beasts, and to dress our meat: and every night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, between the which we placed ourselves, and my horse. And in the night time we should hear the Lions roar, with Tigers, Ounces, and other beasts, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire.

And travelling thus for the space of twelve days, we came at last to the port of Cavallos upon the East sea. This is a good harbor for ships, and is without either castle or bulwark. I having dispatched away my guides, went down to the Haven, where I saw certain ships laden chiefly with Canary-wines, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Country man I was, and I told him that I was born in Granado, and he said, that then I was his countryman. I required him that I might pass home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to show, that he might incur no danger; for said he, it may be that you have killed some man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause.

Well, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60 pezos he would carry me into Spain: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly sold my horse, and made my provision of hens and bread to serve me in my passage. And thus within 2 days after we set sail, and never stayed until we came to Havana, which is distant from Puerto de Cavallos by sea 500 leagues: where we found the whole fleet of Spain, which was bound home from the Indies. And here I was hired for a soldier to serve in the Admiral ship of the same fleet, wherein the General himself went.

Miles Philips nearly betrayed again

Well, thus we set sail, and had a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in manner Northeast, and never saw land until we fell with the *Arenas Gosdas* hard by San Lucar de Barrameda, 18 miles north of Cadiz.

And there was an order taken that none should go on shore until he had licence: as for me, I was known by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) it was my good hap to hear: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be merry and pleasant, that we were all come so well in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shore, and I pressed to be gone with the first: howbeit, the Master came unto me, and said, Sirra, you must go with me to Seville by water: I knew his meaning well enough, and that he meant there to offer me up as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeal of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they think that they have done God good service, when they have brought a Lutheran heretic to the fire to be burnt: for so do they account of us.

Well, I perceiving all this, took upon me not to suspect anything, but was still jocund and merry: howbeit, I knew it stood me upon to shift for myself. And so waiting my time when the Master was in his cabin asleep, I conveyed myself secretly down by the shrouds into the ship boat, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moored, and so by the cable hauled on shore, where I leapt on land, and let the boat go whither it would.

Thus by the help of God I escaped that day, and then never stayed at San Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seen others take toward Seville: so that the next morning I came to Seville, and sought me out a workmaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weaving of taffetas; and being entertained I set myself close to my work, and durst not for my life once to stir abroad for fear of being known: and being thus at my work, within 4 days after I heard one of my fellows say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleet: what an heretic Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might know him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doors at my work, and fained myself not well at ease, and that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes.

And continuing thus for the space of 3 months I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparel that I did wear at sea, and yet durst not be overbold to walk abroad: and after understanding that there were certain English ships at San Lucar bound for England, I took a boat and went aboard one of them, and desired the Master that I might have passage with him to go into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captain Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to have him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, and prayed me therefore to return from whence I came. Which when I perceived, with a sorrowful heart, God knows, I took my leave of him, not without watery cheeks.

He commeth home in an English ship from Majorca.

And then I went to San Mary port, which is 3 leagues from San Lucar, where I put myself to be a soldier to go in the king of Spain's Galleys, which were bound for Majorca, and coming thither in the end of the Christmas holidays, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West country, which were ready freighted and stayed but for a fair wind. To the Master of the one, which was of the West country went I, and told him that I had been 2 years in Spain to learn the language, and that I was now desirous to go home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and so having agreed with him for my passage, I took shipping. And thus through the providence of Almighty God, after 16 years absence, having sustained many and sundry great troubles and miseries, as by this discourse appears, I came home to this my native country of England in the year 1582 in the month of February, in the ship called the *Landret*, and arrived at Poole.



The Minion

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