SIR JOHN HAWKINS: SAILOR, STATESMAN, HERO.

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FIFTH on the oldest extant list of Plymouth freemen stands the name of "Wyllm Hawkyns."* He was the son of John Hawkins, of Tavistock, and Joan, daughter of William Amadas, of Tavistock or Launceston. His wife was Mary, daughter of William Trelawny. His eldest son was another William Hawkins; his second the famous Sir John Hawkins, the most renowned of Plymouth worthies. These Hawkinses were a remarkable race. "Gentlemen," as Prince quaintly phrases, "of worshipful extraction for several descents," they were made more worshipful by their deeds. For three generations in succession they were the master spirits of Plymouth in its most illustrious days—its leading merchants, its bravest sailors, serving oft and well in the civic chair and the Commons House of Parliament. For three generations, too, they were in the van of English seamanship, founders of England's commerce in south and west and east, stout in fight, of quenchless spirit in adventure — a family of merchant statesmen and heroes to whom our country affords no parallel. Yet (save for the sketch by Mr. Clement Markham, prefixed to the *Hawkins' Voyages* of the Hakluyt Society) their story remains untold; and the greatest of them all is known only by the meagre hints of Prince, the scattered references of the old voyages, the graphic but too imaginative touches of Kingsley, or the incidental allusions of Froude,

* This is the way the name is usually spelt by the Hawkynses themselves, and in contemporary writings. The "i" is now more usual. It is probable that John Hawkins the elder settled in Plymouth, leaving Tavistock. An undated entry in the Black Book of the Corporation, *temp.* Henry VII. apparently, mentions "John Hawkins and Wm. lewys" as having a chalice of St. Erasmus in their hands. The Amadases also settled at Plymouth. But see *post.*

the only writer of note who has appreciated the true character of this fine old sea-dog. Sir John Hawkins is the greatest Englishman whose biography is still unwritten; and though I cannot hope to do justice to his memory, I may at least help to remove a reproach which attaches alike to our national and local literature, and in some humble way do honour to the memory of one of whose reputation both England and Devon have been strangely neglectful.

When the earliest list of freemen in the Plymouth Black Book was compiled, in 1540, William Hawkins the elder was one of the oldest members of the corporation. He had been Receiver in 1524–5, twice previously Mayor—in 1532–3, and in 1538–9—and in all probability was admitted to the freedom in the opening years of the century.* In 1539 he was elected one of the "burgesses of Parliament," and duly received his pay of 16d. a day. The municipal records furnish a few details of his doings. He is first mentioned in 1527–8, when he with others manned the bulwarks to defend the "arrogosye ageynst the ffrenshemen." He sold the town a quantity of gunpowder in the following year, and supplied also a couple of brass guns, paid for in three annual instalments of £8. He was probably the wealthiest man in Plymouth. As a local capitalist we find him, in 1535–6, lending money to the Mayor and Commonalty, and receiving £4 a year by way of annuity until it was repaid. In 1540–41 he duly accounts for the proceeds of the "churche juells and other thyngs" taken by the Corporation at the Reformation, which had been delivered to him in his mayoralty, and had been sold, apparently in London. Three years later (1543–44) a much larger quantity of church plate was handed to William Hawkins "to by therw^th^ for the Toune gunpowder bowys & for arrowys." These were purchased in London—ten barrels of gunpowder, twenty bows, and thirty sheaves of arrows. His trade lying much in the metropolis, he seems to have been commonly entrusted with the town's business there. Thus, in 1545–6, £4 was paid to him "for the burgesses of the parliament;" while in 1547 he was himself again chosen to represent the community, and in the following year received £14 for his services. We find him also sitting for the town in 1553.

He bought the manor of Sutton Valletort or Vawter of Sir

* There was a second family of the same name in Plymouth at the time, the same list containing another William Hawkyns, baker and sergeant-at-mace, and a John Hawkyns who in the following year farmed the wynewyts for 10s.

Hugh Pollard in 1544 for 1,000 marks, and acquired other property in the town. Among the miscellaneous deeds registered in the Black Book, I note: 28th Henry VIII. Margery Pyne and others to Wm. Hawkins, merchant, conveyance of a tenement and garden in a certain venella on the east of Kinterbury Street. So in 1545 one between Peter Gryslyng and William Hawkyns; while 37th Henry VIII. a deed was registered in the Black Book transferring property in Plymouth from John Talazon, or Talcazon, of North Petherwin, to William Hawkins.

Just a century later the Corporation bought Sutton Vawter, for in 1637-8 we find in the Receiver's accounts:

"Itm for a prsent giuen Mr. Risdon to pcure out of his hands such writings as concerned Vauter's Fee lately bought by the Towne of Mr John Hawkyns and a man and two horses two journyes to fetch the sayd writinges. v^l^ iiij^s^"

The first voyage into the Southern Seas in which any Englishman was concerned was that of Sebastian Cabot, from Seville to the River Plate, in April, 1527. This expedition was set forth by Spanish merchants; but one Robert Thorne and his partner advanced 1,400 ducats, "principally for that two Englishmen, friendes of mine" [Thorne] "which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same ships, to bring me certain relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas." The voyage was intended for the Moluccas.

We have no means of knowing who these two "cosmographical Englishmen" were; but the first independent English expeditions, and the first set forth from England, to the thereafter famous Spanish Main, sailed from Plymouth Sound, and were the private ventures of our Plymouth merchant, William Hawkins the elder. As he made at least three voyages, and the second and third were in 1530 and 1532, his earliest can hardly have been later than 1528.*

I quote from Hakluyt:

"Olde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisedome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed and beloued of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coaste of Europe, armed out a tall and goodlye shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes called the Paule of Plim-

* It seems probable that he was the Hawkins who in 1513 was master of "the great galley," one of the few royal ships of that day.

mouth, wherewith he made three long and famous voyages vnto the coast of Brasil, a thing in those dayes very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the riuer of Sestos vpon the coast of Guinea where hee traffiqued with the negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and so arriuing on the coast of Brasil he used there such discretion, and behaued himself so wisely with those sauage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. Insomuch that in his second voyage, one of the sauage Kings of the countrey of Brasil, was contented to take Ship with him, and to be transported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countery as a pledge for his safetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Brasilian King being arriued was brought vp to London and presented to K. Henry the 8. lying as then at whitehall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a little maruaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their sauage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his owne Countrey was reported for a greut brauerie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: All his apparel, behauior, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.

"Hauing remained here the space almost of a whole yeere, and the King with his sight fully satisfied, M. Haukins according to his promise and appointment purposed to conuey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the said Sauage King died at sea, which was feared would turn to the losse of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuerthelesse, the Sauages being fully perswaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince restored againe the said pledge, without any harme to him or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ship fraighted, and furnished with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witnesse of Sir Iohn Hawkins, being an officer in the toune of Plimmouth, was liuing within these fewe yeeres."*

William Hawkins the second was of much the same stamp as his father. He was admitted to the freedom in the mayoralty of Lucas Cock, 1553–54; and became Mayor for the first time in 1567–68 (in the next year he is said to have built a conduit), subsequently filling that office in 1578–79 and in 1587–88. He was thus the Mayor of the Armada year. Though never representing the town in Parliament, in

* Cockeram, it will be borne in mind, is introduced by Kingsley in the Armada episode in *Westward Ho!*

Plymouth he held a more influential position than any others of his family, and is frequently spoken of—particularly by foreigners—as governor of the town. Not only a shipowner and merchant, but, like his father, brother, son, and nephew, a sea-captain, and having all the fondness of an Elizabethan Plymothian for privateering, he saw sharp service in the Spanish Main at Porto Rico, held a commission under the Prince of Conde, and made Plymouth harbour a rendezvous of the Huguenot fleet—chief, as the Spaniards held him, of the Plymouth pirates. The earliest full code of bye-laws extant for the regulation of Sutton Pool and the shipping therein was passed during his first mayoralty. In his second he had in charge the procuring of the patent giving the town authority over St. Nicholas Island and the fortifications there; while in April, 1580, he with Thomas Edmonds was commissioned by the Mayor and Commonalty to seal with the common seal the necessary documents relating to the transfer of the Island to the Crown.

It is curious to note from the municipal records the estimation in which the family had grown. Plain William Hawkins the elder, as we first have him, becomes Master William Hawkins, and then William Hawkins, gentleman. William Hawkins the younger is now William Hawkins, esquire. Yet at this very time he and his brother John were farming the town mills, and fetching the corn from the houses of the townsfolk as required.

When Drake in 1585 took San Jago, Cates, who wrote the narrative of the voyage, writes that none of the officials or inhabitants came to the English and asked that aught might be spared. "The cause of this their unreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrong they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4 or 5 yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murthered many of his men."

We need not trace the history of William Hawkins the second further from an independent point of view; for it is closely linked with that of his more famous brother, who, by the way, erected a monument to William's memory in Deptford Church.*

* The following copy of a process in the Plymouth Borough Court, relating to William Hawkins the second, is both quaint and interesting. It is taken from the original, hitherto unprinted: "Raynold Wendon is attached by his bodye to answere William Hawkyns of Plymouthe m'ch^a^unt in an accyon of trespas vpon his case, where the said plf by Wm Chaunce his attorney complayneth that where he hath byn alwayes of trewe good & honest lyvyng

The power of attorney given by Hawkins in this case to William Chance bears his seal, the letters W. H. on an ornamental ground, and is dated September 13th, 1557. There is a record of another action brought by William Hawkins against Thomas Hampton for debt.

John Hawkins, probably born in 1532, was, like his brother, bred to the sea. The merchant who could sail his own ships and conduct his own trade, was the man who made his mark in a port like Plymouth in the sixteenth century; and there was no one in all England more capable of bringing up a son in the seafaring way he should go than William Hawkins the elder. We know nothing, however, of John Hawkins's early life. He was unquestionably admitted freeman in the mayoralty of John Ford, 1555–6, two years later than his brother, when strangely enough we have the names of two John Hawkinses—the future Sir John being distinguished as "John Hawkyns, maryn^r."* We may take it, I think, that he was then engaged in sailing on his own account, and that for several years he followed the seas in the ordinary way of trade. In this very year he appears as one of the owners of the *Peter* of Plymouth, concerning which complaint was made that she had been taken by the French before war was duly proclaimed.

The earlier long voyages of Sir John Hawkins seem to have been to the Canary Isles, where by his "good and vpright dealing" he grew "in loue and fauore with the people." From them and from his father he gleaned some particulars concerning the West Indies, especially being "assured that Negros were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had upon the coast of Guinea." To his first Guinea expedition there contributed Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir

& behavyo^r & so accepted reputed & taken wt honest fayre & honorable psons thesaid defend of his malycyous mynde ptendyng to hurt slaunder & vtterlye to take awaye the good name fame & honest reputacon of the said playntyff, also to put him in daunger of his lyff the viij^th daye of September in the yere of the Regne of phelippe & marye by the grace of God kynge & quene of England the fourthe & fyfte here at Plymuth in the vyntery ward w^tin the Jur^es of this court theis words in englyssh openly w^t a lowde voyce spake & pronounced that is to saye, thowe art a trayt^or a thyff & a very vyelayne whereby the said plf is not only hurted & slaundered of his good name fame & honest reputacon among honest men w^t whom he hath used to bye & sell but also put hym in daung^r of his lyff by obiectyng treason to his charge whereby the said plff sayth that he is hurted & damaged to the value of a thowsand mks & thereon he bryngthe his sute."

* Moreover, there is a John Hawkins, mariner, entered in the White Book as "unfree" in 1566, but without any clue to his identity.

William Winter, Mr. Bromfield, and Mr. Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of the Navy, whose daughter Katherine was John Hawkins's first wife. Three ships were fitted out — the *Solomon* of 120 tons; *Swallow*, 100; and *Jonas*, 40—the crews numbering 100 men. Setting sail in October, 1562, Hawkins went to Sierra Leone, where, in the words of Hakluyt, he "got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300 Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth." These he disposed of in Hispaniola with "prosperous success and much gaine," returning to England in September, 1563.

The voyage, however, did not prove as profitable in the sequel as Hawkins anticipated. He laid out a large part of the proceeds of the sale of the negroes—5000 to 6000 ducats —in hides, and sent half of these by his comrade, Captain Hampton, to Cadiz, consigned to a countryman named Tipton. Here they were seized, while 125 negroes which he had left in the West Indies by way of deposit, were confiscated. The consequent loss was estimated by Hawkins at 40,000 ducats. Waxing mightily wroth thereat, he "cursed, threatened, and implored with equal success." Mr. Froude remarks, "Fearless of man or devil, he thought at first of going in person to Madrid, and taking Philip by the beard in his own den."

Elizabeth wrote in his favour to Philip, and instructed Challoner, her ambassador at the Spanish court, to assist Hawkins to the utmost of his power. Challoner advised Hawkins to stay at home, but failed to procure any redress. The English story was that Hawkins had traded rather by accident than design, having been driven into San Domingo by stress of weather, and compelled to sell some of the negroes for supplies. Challoner wrote to Hawkins in the following July (1564), that there was no chance of obtaining any grace in the matter; and that he had better give 4,000 or 5,000 ducats to some favourite of the king to ask for the forfeited goods, on condition that the balance should be handed over to Hawkins's agents. Thus hopeless of redress, Hawkins turned to recoup his losses by fresh trade. True, Philip had ordered that no English ship should traffic to the Indies under any pretence; but then no Englishman recognized any edict that limited the freedom of the seas. Of all English merchants Hawkins best understood "how to get negroes; he understood also how to sell them to the Spaniards, whatever Philip might please to say." He had no difficulty in obtaining aid. On his promise that he would not injure the

Spaniards, Elizabeth and nearly all her council (Cecil alone refusing) joined in a new venture.

The Spanish ambassador protesting in vain against "Achines de Plimua" being allowed to war with Spain, the undaunted seaman left Plymouth for his second Guinea voyage on the 18th October, 1564. He had with him the Queen's famous *Jesus of Lubeck*, 700 tons; the *Solomon*, 140; *Tiger*, 50, and *Swallow*, 30. His sailing orders concluded with the quaintly expressed injunctions—"Serue God daily, loue one another, preserue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie." Very near akin this to Cromwell's famous maxim—"Put your trust in Providence, and keep your powder dry." A narrative of the voyage was written by John Sparke the younger, ancestor of the Plymouth Sparkes, who took part therein—the same Sparke who was mayor in 1583–84 and 1591–92.

The story is told with much graphic power, and is the first lengthened narrative of a Plymouth expedition we have. It is not pleasant to read the frank avowal of the way in which the negro traffic was conducted; but it is quite evident from the language of the writer that he, a confessed Puritan of decided type, saw no more harm in slave-hunting than the most irreligious of his countrymen. In truth the slave trade was regarded as "humane and beneficial"—to the Indians. The negroes had already learnt to beware of the white man, and the cargo was not procured without some loss. At Cape de Verde the natives had been warned—not from philanthropy, but trade jealousy—by the men of another English ship, the *Minion*, "wherefore they did auoyde the snares we had layd for them." At the island of Sambula the party were more fortunate, and went "every day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes." These "towns," by the way, are described by Sparke in such a manner as to show the possession by the unhappy negroes of a fair amount of civilization. The assault of a place called Bymba brought disaster. The Portuguese told Hawkins that it contained much gold, and a hundred women and children, with not above forty men, so that it might yield him a hundred slaves. The attack, however, was resisted, and the English were driven to their boats, having got but ten negroes, and paid for them by the death of seven of the assailants—Field, the captain of the *Solomon*, being one—besides twenty-seven wounded. This was a sore blow to Hawkins, although he in "a singular wise maner carried himselfe, with countenance very cheerful outwardly, as

though he did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it." The chief blame was laid to the Portugals, who were "not to be trusted."

The negroes as a rule were picked up as occasion served by coasting and trafficking in the rivers; and Sparke records that it was intended to wait upon a battle that was arranged "between them of Sierra Leona side and them of Taggarin . . . to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sickenesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made vs to make hast away." At Sierra Leone an attempt was made to delude the English on shore. The king had prepared an ambush, and the escape was a narrow one; for, says Sparke, "If these men had come down in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not haue it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it." Sparke saw the same divine interposition in the conduct of the voyage to the West Indies. Being becalmed, with occasional contrary winds and "Ternados," they ran short of water, both for their "great companie" of negroes and themselves, "which pinched vs all, and that which was worst put vs in such feare that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indies without great death of Negros, and of themselves: but the Almightie God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which never left vs till wee came to an Island of the Canybals, called Dominica."

The course of trade in the West Indies was beset by difficulties. Hawkins had a double object; to sell his negroes at the Spanish settlements, and to traffic as he might with the natives in non-settled localities. The Spaniards, on the other hand, wanted to keep all the trade to themselves, and issued orders that no man should traffic with the English, but on the contrary resist them with all the force they could. But Hawkins was equal to the occasion: and what by pretence that he was in a Queen's ship, and had been driven to the west by stress of wind and weather, which had put him in necessity; and what by resort to threats and force; he made his trade good, and returned to Padstow on the 20th Sept., 1565: "God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home bothe golde, silver, pearles, and other iewels

in great store. His name therefore be praised for euermore. Amen."

Sparke very frankly admits Hawkins's false pretence, in which he saw no harm, and describes in amusing terms the straightforward style of proceeding adopted when Hawkins found artifice would not do. Thus Hawkins told the authorities at Rio de la Hache that, "seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would not it should be said of him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to try whether he or they should haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him license to trade, or else to stand to their own harmes." This produced the license, but with it the intimation that he should only have for his negroes half what he had sold them for before. Hawkins, however, as the Spaniards might have known, was not the man (to quote his own language) to allow them "to cut his throte in the price of his coĩmodities," which he had already offered cheaper than any other man. So by way of "breakefast" next morning he landed a hundred men in armour, and made a demonstration of attack. Then followed a satisfactory treaty of traffic, which was conducted quietly, though with great suspicion, on both sides. Finally Hawkins demanded "a testimoniall of his good behauiour there . . . and receiued it at the treasurer's hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leaue and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell." Previous to this Hawkins had effectively employed his "hundred men in armour" at Burboroata to "persuade" the Spaniards to reduce the customs duty of thirty ducats a negro to an *ad valorem* 7½ per cent., the ordinary rate.

On his return Hawkins coasted Florida, and relieved a French colony under M. Laudonniere. He offered to transport Laudonniere and his company, who were in much distress, to France; but the Frenchman was afraid that "he would attempt something in Florida in the name of his mistresse." However, as the French soldiers would go home, Hawkins left them a barque of fifty tons at their own price—700 crowns—and furthermore let them have provisions of various kinds, and shoes for the barefooted. "Besides," says Laudonniere, "he gave diuers presents to the principall officers of my company according to their qualities: so that I may say we receaued as many courtesies of the Generall, as it was possible to receaue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtlesse he hath won the reputation of a good and charitable man, deseruing

to be esteemed as much of vs all as if he had saued all our liues."

We are grateful for this testimony from a foreign pen; for it shows very plainly the natural character of the rough sailor. He shared to the full in the ideas of his day about the lawfulness of slavery; he stuck at no means within his power to compel what he regarded as fair trade; but he could not see his fellows in distress without doing his uttermost for their relief.

Immediately on his arrival at Padstow, Hawkins wrote to Elizabeth that he had had a most fortunate voyage. When he reached London "he was the hero of the hour, affecting the most unconscious frankness, and unable to conceive that he had done anything at which the King of Spain could take offence" (*Froude*); and all the while he "troubled Philip's dreams and perplexed his waking thoughts as never any other Englishman than Drake vexed them."

A third voyage followed in 1566, of which we have little record save the fact that in October of that year Hawkins gave a bond in £500 not to send the *Swallow* to any port in the Indies privileged by the King of Spain. There is reason to believe, however, that the voyage proved eminently successful, and paved the way for the famous expedition of 1567. This must have been an active time for Hawkins, for in February, 1566, the King of Denmark returned him a ship and goods which had been "confiscated by law;" and he was likewise engaged in operations for the relief of Rochelle.

It has been the fashion to call Hawkins the founder of the slave trade. He was not. Slavery is the oldest surviving "institution" alike of barbaric and of civilised polity; and negro slavery was introduced to Europe and America by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, who likewise enslaved and deported the Indians at pleasure. Hawkins was the first Englishman who engaged in the horrible traffic, simply because he was the pioneer of English commerce in the Indies, as his father had been the first English trader to Brazil. To himself, as to all but a very few individuals among his contemporaries, his deeds were not only allowable, but praiseworthy. The sea-dogs of those days were neither slavers nor buccaneers; they regarded themselves "as the elect, to whom God had given the heathen for an inheritance." We are the elect still, only for an inheritance we are content with the heathen land. I cannot see much difference.

"You take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

And while in carrying negroes to the West Indies Hawkins infringed the prerogatives of the Spaniards, in taking them from Guinea he equally incurred the hatred of the Portuguese. The King of Portugal protested in the strongest terms against the right of Hawkins to visit that part of his territories, and in May, 1568, demanded that he should be tried and punished, to which Elizabeth replied that no law, divine or human, would permit this to be done in Hawkins's absence; but promised to "warn" her subjects not to traffic in those parts of Ethiopia. We need not stay to consider what effect a warning of this kind would have upon Sir John. The allegations against him in respect of his third Guinea voyage were sufficiently serious, as we shall see anon. The Portuguese *alias* for him was Johannes de Canes.

It was while Hawkins was preparing for his departure in 1567 that an amusing episode occurred, which has found record in the pages of Froude. As the tale is told by his son, Sir Richard, Hawkins simply meant to teach a lesson of politeness. A Spanish vessel entered the waters of Plymouth without lowering her flag or striking her topsails, and our stout captain gently reminded her captain of his want of courtesy by sending a cannon ball crashing through his galleon's sides. The other side of the story may seem more to the purpose. The ship had entered Cattewater with a number of Low Country prisoners on board. Hawkins "imagined" she came with bad intentions, fired upon her, and in the subsequent tumult the prisoners got free. Another ship was boarded and prisoners released, and a third driven away and lost. Of course the Spanish ambassador complained; equally of course Elizabeth asked Hawkins what he meant by such proceedings; and Hawkins in turn was mightily astonished that she should be displeased at the protection of the honour of her realm.

Sir Richard's narrative is worth quoting in full:

"There came a fleete of Spaniards of aboue fiftie sayle of shippes, bound for Flaunders, to fetch the queen donna Anna de Austria, last wife to Philip the second of Spaine, which entred betwixt the iland and the maine, without vayling there top-sayles, or taking in of their flags: which my father Sir John Hawkins, (admirall of a fleete of her majesties shippes, then ryding in Cattwater), perceiving, commanded his gunner to shoote at the flag of the admirall, that they might thereby see their error: which, notwithstanding, they persevered arrogantly to keepe displayed; whereupon the gunner at the next shott, lact the admirall through

and through, whereby the Spaniards finding that the matter beganne to grow to earnest took in their flags and top-sayles, and so ranne to an anchor.

"The generall presently sent his boat, with a principall personage to expostulate the cause and reason of that proceeding; but my father would not permit him to come into his ship, nor to heare his message; but by another Gentleman commanded him to returne, and to tell his general, that in as much as in the queenes port and chamber, he had neglected to do the acknowledgment and reverence which all owe unto her majestie (especially her ships being present), and comming with so great a navie, he could not but give suspetion by such proceeding of malicious intention, and therfore required him, that within twelve houres he should depart the port, upon paine to be held as a common enemy, and to proceed against him with force."

This brought the general himself to the *Jesus of Lubeck.* At first he was refused admission, but on the "second intreatie was admitted to enter the ship, and to parley." Professing ignorance of his fault, after Hawkins had told him he meant to give notice of his "arrogant manner of proceeding" to the Queen and her Council, he was told that by no means could he be "ignorant of that which was common right to all princes in their kingdomes." The Spaniards would not allow an English fleet to "carry their flags in the toppes" in any Spanish port. So in the end "the Spanish generall confessed his fault, pleaded ignorance not malice, and submitted himself to the penalty my father would impose: but intreated, that their princes (through them) might not come to have any jarre. My father a while (as though offended) made himselfe hard to be intreated, but in the end, all was shut up by his acknowledgment, and the auncient amities renewed, by feasting each other aboord and ashore."

If we are to believe all that the Spanish ambassadors had to say of Plymouth in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, the port certainly had a very doubtful character. That Hawkins fired upon the Spaniard was a small matter. For nearly a century later even English vessels entering Cattewater were fired at from the fort if they did not salute; but in 1631 this was forbidden, on the plea that the ships themselves were floating forts of the king. William Hawkins, if not John, had a vessel under the commission of the Prince of Conde, one of a fleet of Huguenot craft which made Plymouth their head-quarters, and scoured the Channel in search of Catholic ships. It must be noted too that the

Hawkinses had the private grievance against France, that in 1556, the *Peter*, of Plymouth, belonging to them, had been taken by the French before war was proclaimed. The ships captured by the Huguenot cruisers were carried into Plymouth, and the spoil divided. Flemish ships frequently met a like fate. In 1569, a French ship, commanded by M. de Bordela, plundered two hulks in the sight of the whole town. Flemish ships were of course treated as Spanish; but neither the French nor the English cruisers were particular. So Francesco Diaz, captain of a Spanish treasure-ship, found when he visited Plymouth in 1568. William Hawkins was mayor, and chief purchaser of the spoil as it was brought in. He searched the Spanish and Flemish vessels in the port, seized sixty-four chests of silver which Diaz had, and placed them in the Guildhall—of course for safety. All that the Spanish ambassador could do was to protest, and that right, at least, was never denied him.

The third Guinea voyage of Hawkins was "the most important expedition that had ever been made by the English nation beyond the coasts of Europe. . . . It was the first occasion on which English keels furrowed that hitherto unknown sea, the Bay of Mexico."

Of this voyage, the turning-point in Hawkins's career, we have a brief narrative from his own pen. He left Plymouth, October 2nd, 1567, with a fleet of six ships—the *Jesus of Lubeck*, *Mynion*, *William and John*, *Judith*, *Angel*, and *Swallow*. The *Jesus* and the *Minion* were "the Queenes Maiesties," the other four were Hawkins's private venture; and the *Judith* is memorable from the fact that she was commanded by Captain Francis Drake. From the 18th of November until the 12th of January the African coast was searched for negroes, but only 150 were procured, and these with some loss, several men dying from being shot with poisoned arrows, while Hawkins himself was wounded. He was therefore about to seek the Gold Coast, when a negro king, "oppressed by other kings, his neighbours," asked his alliance, and promised that he might have as many of the captives taken as he would. Accordingly, with the help of the English (who were repulsed in their first attack, but succeeded in a second, when Hawkins himself led them), a town of 8,000 inhabitants was captured. Hawkins had 250 prisoners, and his negro ally 600, of whom Hawkins expected to have the pick. "But the Negro (in which nation is seldom or never found truth) meant nothing lesse; for that night he

remooued his campe and prisoners, so that we were faine to content vs with these few which we had gotten ourselues."

At first Hawkins drove a good trade with his negroes in the West Indies. True at Rio de la Hache traffic had been forbidden by the authorities, who "thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negros." But this little difficulty was got over by taking the place by assault, whereupon, "partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade."

Disaster was then nigh at hand. Shattered by violent storms, the first of which compelled him to cut down the "higher buildings" of the *Jesus*, Hawkins sought shelter in the port of San Juan de Ulloa, taking with him three passenger ships which he had met. Here he hoped to refit, and sent to the city of Mexico for permission. This was on the 16th of September. On the 17th a Spanish fleet of seventeen "great shippes" hove in sight, and, fearing controversy, Hawkins "sent immediatly to aduertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing them to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene vs for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace." He was in no little difficulty. Either he must keep the Spanish fleet out of the port, "the which with God's helpe I was very well able to doe," when if the north wind blew there must have followed "present shipwracke" of all the fleet; or else he must "suffer them to enter with their accustomed treason." "Fearing the Queene's Maiesties indignation in so waightie a matter," he chose the latter alternative, and on the 20th of September, terms having been made, the Spanish fleet came in, and were saluted "as the maner of the sea doth require." The Spaniards, having no intention of keeping faith, got reinforcements from the mainland, and prepared at all points for an attack. This was made by sound of trumpet on the 23rd. A party of Englishmen with whom Hawkins had manned the little island by which the port is formed, "stricken with sudden feare, gaue place, fled, and sought to recouer succour of the ships," in which attempt the majority of them were slain without mercy. The *Minion* was then assailed, but a half-hour's suspicion of treachery, which was all the warning her crew had, enabled them to warp her out. Next the *Jesus* was attacked by three Spaniards at once, but was also warped out by her "sternefastes." And then the fight raged so hot "that within an houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was supposed

to be sunke, their Viceadmirall burned, and one other of their principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the shippes were little able to annoy us." But the guns of the island were still active. They cut up the rigging of the *Jesus*, so that "there was no hope to carie her away," and sank most of the small ships. It was therefore resolved to place the *Jesus* so as to shelter the *Minion* until nightfall, and then abandon her. Meanwhile the Spaniards sent two fireships directly upon them, and the crew of the *Minion*, in "maruellous feare," without orders set sail, "so that very hardly I was receiued into the *Minion*." Only so many of the men of the *Jesus* reached the *Minion* as were able to find room in a small boat. The rest fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and of all the fleet there escaped from San Juan de Ulloa but the shattered *Minion* and the little *Judith*, "which barke the same night forsooke vs in our great miserie." So says Hawkins; but one of his men, who has left an account of the disaster, notes, "the same night the saide barke lost vs," and it was not like Francis Drake to desert a comrade in distress.*

"When the *Minion* stood off," says Hortop, "our General courageously cheered up his soldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel, his page, for a cup of beer; who brought it to him in a silver cup: and he drinking to all the men, willed 'the gunners to stand to their ordnance lustily like men.' He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand but a demi-culverin shot struck away the cup and a cooper's plane that stood by the mainmast and ran out on the other side of the ship; which nothing dismayed our General, for he ceased not to encourage us, saying, 'Fear nothing! For God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitors and villains!'"

Traitors indeed, for one Augustine de Villa Neuva, sitting at dinner with Hawkins, had been detected with a dagger, with which he intended to have killed his entertainer. This was the first intimation of the treachery Hawkins had. The design was discovered unknown to the Spaniards, who to the number of three hundred boarded the *Minion*, "whereat our General with a loud and fierce voice called unto us, saying, 'God and Saint George! upon these traitorous villains, and rescue the *Minion!* I trust in God, the day shall be ours!'" Nearly six hundred Spaniards fell in that day's unequal fight.

* Ralegh speaks of Captain John Hampton, of Plymouth, the master of the *Minion*, as a seaman of the "greatest experience in England."

Though the *Minion* and her crew had escaped, they were in sore peril. Driven by hunger—"for there were many men and little victuals, and rats, cats, mice, and dogs" were thought very good meat—they sought the mainland, but found no succour. Hawkins then parted his company in two, left a hundred men on shore, with intent to fetch them the next year, and sailed homeward with the remainder, of whom many died, first from cold and hunger, then, when fresh meat was obtained, from surfeit; while the rest fell into such weakness that but for the help of twelve fresh men taken in at Vigo, the *Minion* would never have seen England again. So wretched was their plight that Hawkins, stout-hearted as he was, writes: "If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorrowfull voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the liues and deathes of the martyrs."

Of six ships there came back only two; of their crews, but a miserable remnant. Of the hundred men landed in the bay of Mexico, many with "pitifull mone," that would "have caused any stony heart to have relented," some were killed by the natives; but the majority fell into the hands of the more savage Spaniards, were thrown into slavery, and suffered the tender mercies of the Inquisition. Nearly all were whipped and racked, and not a few hanged or burnt. The stake was the fate of Robert Barrett, master of the *Jesus*, martyred at Seville. There are extant narratives of their sufferings, written by Miles Philips and Job Hortop, who escaped to England, the one after sixteen years' captivity, the other after twenty-three. The most fortunate man of the party was David Ingram, who found his way among the savage tribes to Cape Breton, whence he came home in a French ship in the following year, and visited Hawkins.

Rumour of disaster reached William Hawkins at Plymouth by the 3rd December, received by Benedick Spinola in a letter from Spain. As it was not then possible that intelligence should actually have reached Europe from San Juan at this date, we have here a declaration merely of the Spanish intentions, and the purposed treachery. But rumour was enough to set William Hawkins at work. He at once wrote to Cecil, asking that enquiry might be made, and recompense taken of "King Phillip's treasure here in these parts." However, if the Queen would not "meddle in this matter," he, like a stout Englishman, asked no more than that her subjects should be allowed to do so. "Then, I trust, we should not

only have recompense to the uttermost, but also do as good service as is to be desired, with so little cost. And I hope to please God best therein; for that they are God's enemies!"

It was not until the 22nd of January there was full assurance of the evil tidings. That night the *Judith* reached Plymouth; and that night, without a moment's delay, William Hawkins sent a letter to the Privy Council, and one to Cecil, with such hasty details as he could bring together, sending also his "kinsman" and "servant" Francis Drake. What had become of his brother John he knew not. "My brother's safe return is very dangerous and doubtful." But he knew very well that his brother and himself had lost at least £2,000, and, as the acting partner, moved for recompense, either out "of those Spaniards goods here stayed," or, what he still thought much more satisfactory, by the Queen giving "me leave to work my own force against them." Four ships he was ready to set forth at once of his own, besides one already in commission from the Cardinal Chatillon to serve the Princes of Navarre and Conde.

When William Hawkins was thus moving the Court to allow him to declare war on his own account, his brother (whose absence was to him "more grief than any other thing in this world") was near the English shores, reaching Mount's Bay with the *Minion* on the 25th January, whereupon "one of the Mount for good will came away immediately in post."

The disaster was made the subject of inquiry in the English Admiralty Court, with a view to assess the amount of damage, and the depositions made are still preserved. They are those of Hawkins himself; of Thomas Hampton, captain of the *Minion;* William Clarke, supercargo; John Tommes, Hawkins's servant; Jean Turren, trumpeter in the *Jesus;* Humphry Fones, steward of the *Angel;* and of William Fowler, a merchant trading with Mexico, to give independent testimony as to prices. Drake was not called. We can hardly identify either of the witnesses as a Plymouth man, besides Hawkins and Hampton, except Humphry Fones, or Fownes, subsequently mayor, and ancestor of the present family of Fownes-Luttrell.

The loss was very heavy. Fitting out the expedition cost £16,500; and making allowance for the profits in the traffic antecedent to the fight, the claims put in amounted in round number to about £29,000.

Incidentally we get here an indication of the wealth and style of Hawkins, who was very far indeed from being the

rough old "tarry-breeked" sea dog described by Kingsley. His personal apparel and furniture was set down as worth at least £440, which would be little, if at all, short of £3,000 now. And Supercargo Clarke deposed that he saw Master Hawkins wear during the voyage "divers suits of apparel of velvets and silks, with buttons of gold and pearl." His cabin was hung with tapestry said to be worth £100; and his "instruments of the sea, books, and other things" were put at £60.

The Portuguese laid a heavy indictment against Hawkins for his doings on this voyage. He had, they said, destroyed several Portuguese vessels, and taken out of them stores of ivory, wax, and negroes; and had compelled by torture—which was not at all his way—the owners and masters to declare that they had sold him these goods of their own free will. Thus he had plundered ten vessels to the extent of 70,000 ducats, and altogether in 1567–68 had taken more than 200,000. But the story does not bear examination.

This voyage and its disastrous close had the mightiest issues. Plymouth declared war against Spain. Hawkins and Drake thereafter never missed a chance of making good their losses. The treachery of San Juan de Ulloa was the moving cause of the series of harassments which culminated in the destruction of the Armada. For every English life then lost, for every pound of English treasure then taken, Spain paid a hundred and a thousandfold. John Hawkins led the way with one of the boldest acts of Machiavellian statesmanship on record. The plaint, blunt sailor set his wits against those of King Philip and all his Court, and bent them to his will like puppets.

Sir John, according to Froude's estimate, was not "a virtuous man in the clerical sense of the word, but he had the affection of a brave man for the comrades who had fought by his side." He had engaged to go out in search of those who were put on shore, promising, to quote the words of Job Hortop, that "if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of us as lived should by some means be brought into England." But how was this to be done? He could not then revisit the American coast, and indeed it soon became only too well known that the bulk of his men were in the hands of the Inquisition in Spain, where entreaty was hopeless, and force of no avail. Nevertheless Hawkins could not rest until they were rescued. They owed their captivity to Spanish treachery; they should owe their deliverance to

English pretence. With Burghley's permission and the knowledge of the Queen* he complained bitterly to the Spanish ambassador of the way in which he had been treated by Elizabeth, and offered to go over with his ships and men. The bait took. Having thus paved the way, his next application was to Philip himself. George Fitzwilliams, one of his officers, was sent into Spain with full powers to arrange the needful details. Philip heard from him that Hawkins was deeply penitent for his evil deeds, that he was broken-hearted at the progress of heresy, that he would do his utmost to place the Queen of Scots upon the English throne. Philip at first hardly seems to have believed his good fortune. Could it be possible that the redoubted "Achines," the simple occurrence of whose name in a despatch made the Spanish King splatter the margin with exclamation marks of horror and dismay, would turn traitor? What had the Queen of Scots to say to this new ally?

Fitzwilliams returned to England. Aided by Burghley, at Hawkins's desire, he had access to Mary; and he returned to Spain with credentials from her to Philip on Hawkins's behalf. This was all Hawkins wanted. He wrote to Burghley that he had no doubt three "commodities" would follow: "First. The practices of the enemies will be daily more and more discovered. Second. There will be credit gotten hither for a good sum of money. Third. The same money, as the time shall bring forth cause, shall be employed to their own detriment; and what ships there shall be appointed (as they shall suppose to serve their turn), may do some notable exploit to their great damage."

All that the astute adventurer forecast came to pass. Philip was wholly deluded. To show how thoroughly *he* was in earnest he set the imprisoned sailors free, with ten dollars bounty each man; granted Hawkins a full pardon; made him a grandee of Spain. The plot, to use Hawkins's own words in his final report to Burghley, was "that my power should join with the Duke of Alva's power, which he doth secretly provide in Flanders, as well as with the power which cometh with the Duke of Medina out of Spain; and so, all together to invade this realm and set up the Queen of Scots." We have thus in 1571 precisely the same scheme on foot that was afterwards attempted in the Armada.

Philip had now given ample proof of his sincerity. Hawkins

* It is very amusing to find that he even succeeded in taking in Dr. Lingard, who regards the pretended treachery of Hawkins—than whom "a more devoted and loyal subject never lived"—as earnest.

was quite ready to do the like, but in his own way; that way was to ask for two months' pay for 1600 men, to man the fleet of sixteen ships which he undertook to raise. Philip complied. The Spanish ambassador paid Hawkins; and the money was at once laid out in works of defence! There was, however, no very immediate danger. The Spanish plans had been unravelled, and England saved, by the statecraft of a plain Plymouth sailor.

It is very amusing to note the blunt fashion in which Sir John expresses his contempt for the Spaniards and all their ways. He sent to Burghley a copy of the pardon which he had received—"large enough! with very great titles and honours from the King: from which, may God deliver me!" And then, apparently without the smallest suspicion that his own way had been at all crooked, he adds, "Their practices be very mischievous; and they be never idle; but God, I hope, will confound them! and turn these devices upon their own necks."

No doubt this pretended treachery on the part of Hawkins will not commend itself to modern ideas: but the policy of the age was Machiavellian; and among other notable English who took a somewhat similar course, Frobisher may be mentioned; while there were many Anglo-Catholics who were actually helping the power of Spain in the Netherlands and elsewhere; and Thomas Stukeley, who had been heartily received by Philip, had devised an invasion of Ireland.

For some few years after this Sir John confined his operations within European waters; and we may infer from the fact that he was twice elected the representative of Plymouth in Parliament, in 1571 and 1572, that he continued to reside in his native town. No English sailor at this time bore so famous a name. While Philip was eagerly gorging the bait held out by Hawkins, while the Duke of Feria and other Spanish grandees were assuring Hawkins of their friendship, Elizabeth was being besought through Walsingham by Count Ludovici to license Hawkins to serve him, "underhand," against the Spanish power in Flanders. No Spaniards would be able to land there, it was said, while Hawkins kept the seas. Yet in the following year, 1572, we find the Dutch Admiral de la Marck complaining that Capt. Hawkins, either Sir John or his brother William, had done some damage to one of his captains.

So far as we are able to gather, however, the chief business

of Plymouth seamen at this date was to uphold the cause of Protestantism, and their own private interests, as well as those of the nation, by attacking, with no great nicety of discrimination, available ships of any of the Catholic powers. A Spaniard was of course a constant enemy, a Portugal little better; and though Plymouth men were not always ready to strike a blow on behalf of the struggling Hollanders, the Huguenots were ever sure of their sympathies. And so it comes that in February, 1573, we find Charles IX. objecting that M. Haquin (his French alias) had joined with certain of his rebels in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight, to the number of twelve or thirteen ships, with which they carried munitions and stores from England to Rochelle, and had taken several French vessels. Two years later (1575) a St. Malo ship, called *Le Sauveur*, was captured by a vessel belonging to either William or John Hawkins—probably joint property—bearing the very odd and singularly inappropriate name of *Castle of Comfort*.

As years passed on, the need of striking some decisive blow at the Spanish naval strength became apparent. The English Navy Royal was all too weak and too unready for the purpose. The semi-private expeditions of Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, and their fellows, curbed the Spaniard, but could not crush him, and a day of reckoning was surely approaching. The time was not distant when policy could avail no longer, and Elizabeth would have to stake the existence of her throne upon direct warfare. In November, 1577, she received a remarkable letter, the writer of which professed his readiness to deal a blow which would put an end for many a long year to the naval power alike of Spain, France, and Portugal. The Newfoundland fisheries were the great nursery of European sailors. Let the Queen allow the writer to fit out an armed fleet for Newfoundland, and attack there the merchant shipping of the Catholic powers. "The best I will bring away, and I will burn the rest. Count us afterwards as pirates if you will; but I shall ruin their sea-forces; for they depend on their fishermen for their navies. It may be objected that this will be against our league; but I hold it as lawful in Christian policy to prevent a mischief betimes, as to revenge it too late." "God Himself," the writer went on to say, was a party to the quarrel, and the Queen's malicious enemies were His also; and he concludes in the earnest and significant words, "I will do it if you will allow me; only you must resolve, and not delay or dally.

The wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death." This was a straightforward proposal to clear out of England's way some 25,000 sailors belonging to the Catholic powers. Mr. Froude holds that if it "had been accepted, the naval annals of England, and the fame of her greatest seaman, would have been stained with a horrible crime."

A "horrible crime" indeed; yet I am by no means sure that we can fairly so regard it as to deeply censure its intended author. The battle of Copenhagen was none the less a breach of good faith and international morality, and those who condone the one can hardly condemn the other. Besides, we must put ourselves in the position of our Elizabethan forefathers. Hawkins and Drake and their fellows, called by the Spaniards pirates, were to the English of their day but "the champions of Israel, sent forth to spoil the Egyptians;" and it is impossible to read the letter in which this daring proposal was made without seeing that the writer, however we may deplore his errors, was a deeply religious man, and had no qualms of conscience as to the righteousness of his scheme. Nay, he gave the utmost proof of his sincerity that man could give, when he declared himself willing to be treated as a pirate, if only England could be advantaged by his means. A more earnest and patriotic, and withal a more mistaken, letter was never penned.

Who was the author of this bold plan? The signature of the letter has been erased, and we have no certain knowledge. Assuredly, however, we must look for him within a very narrow compass, and he must have been a Devonshire man. Mr. Froude hesitates to assign what he considers its guilt to any one; but doubtfully hints at the possibility that it may have been Drake. Less cautious authorities have been positive it was Hawkins. But the letter is unlike anything that either Drake or Hawkins ever wrote, and I feel little doubt that it came from the pen of Ralegh's half-brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert, famous through all time as he who went down to his death with the brave words, "Heaven is as near by water as by land." I see in it, as in his life, the same firm faith in an overruling Providence, that sanctified any means when the end was the glory of God, in the maintenance of the liberty and the honour of England. We cannot treat such a proposal from such a man as a mere deed of blood or rapine; nor do I believe that either Hawkins or Drake would have hesitated for a moment to execute such orders, or deemed such conduct unworthy of the smile of heaven.

We come now to Hawkins's official life. It was not enough that England should have daring seamen, and a host of merchants as ready for fighting as for trade—perchance even readier. The English navy was small, but still it existed, and needed to be kept in full efficiency. Re-elected representative of Plymouth to the House of Commons in 1572, in the following year he succeeded his father-in-law, Gonson, as Treasurer of the Queen's Majesty's Marine Causes, and Comptroller of the Navy. He was chosen by Elizabeth to this post as the "fittest person in all her dominions to manage her naval affairs," and never had she a more faithful, devoted servant. Endowed with huge capacity for work, Hawkins toiled terribly in the discharge of his manifold official duties. All that is now carried out by the executive department of the Admiralty fell upon his shoulders. His office was no mere matter of accountancy. It involved the whole management and maintenance of the fleet. He had to estimate the cost of all expeditions, to keep the stores, to build the ships, to provide and pay the crews, to report on harbour works. Every disbursement was made through him, and he had to render the strictest account of each item of expenditure. The office demanded the exercise of all his sea-craft, required the possession of distinguished abilities as a financier, and proved an incessant drain on all his energies. Driven nearly to his wit's end by the parsimony of Elizabeth; perpetually harassed by rivals whose pilferings he stopped, or whose useless offices he abolished, and who in return insinuated that he was turning the public money to private account; he did for England then what no other man had equal technical skill, energy, and dogged perseverance to perform. Faithful in the least, as well as in the greatest, "when the moment of trial came" (says Mr. Froude) "he sent her ships to sea in such a condition—hull, rigging, spars, and running rope—that they had no match in the world." The royal vessels that sailed out of Plymouth Sound to beat the Armada were perfectly equipped to the minutest detail, though Hawkins bitterly felt the straits to which he had been put.

Hawkins was the first man who befriended the British sailor. By his advice (1585) the pay was raised from 6s. 8d. a month to 10s. This, he said, would bring the navy better men—men who knew their value and retained their self-respect—more capable men, so that fewer would do more work. And in 1588 he laid the foundation of Greenwich Hospital by instituting the chest at Chatham. His idea of a sailor was that of a man of brains and decency—"such as

could make shift for themselves, and keep themselves clean, without vermin." And as he raised the quality of the *personnel* of the navy, so also he improved its material. The four finest vessels of the English Armada fleet were built in the Thames under his superintendence, and after his plans. He lowered the sterns and forecastles, made the keels longer, and the lines finer and sharper, anticipating the main principles of improvement which have been progressively continued to the present day.*

In the year immediately preceding the Armada Hawkins laboured incessantly, ill or well, and his health was very bad in January, 1586, when he had a fit every second day. He never abandoned the post of duty. What for these times were enormous sums of money passed through his hands; and when his enemies asserted that he was enriching himself, he declared that he would take no notice of such malicious reports; while in December, 1587, Sir William Wynter and William Holstock reported that he had properly performed all the duties of his office. Masses of State papers remain to bear testimony to his industry and zeal. It is remarkable that he settled so well to dry detail business; for he never lost the love of adventure, and again and again looked longingly to the sea as a means of escape from the vexations of his land service. Hence his offer, in November, 1587, to undertake, with seventeen ships and pinnaces (the real germ of the Armada fleet), to oppose the landing of any foreign power on any part of the West Coast. But he had other work to do on land. With keen foresight he scented the struggle from afar. In the February (1588) before the defeat of the Armada we find him writing that it was impossible things could remain as they were. "The only way to gain a solid peace is by a determined and resolute war." His brother William directed the preparations at Plymouth, where several great ships were being made ready for sea. The work was "very chargeable, being carried on by torchlights and cressets in the midst of a gale of wind."

The part which Hawkins played in the fight with the Armada belongs to national history, and is too familiar to need recapitulation. First in command of the royal ships as distinct from the more volunteer command held by Drake,

* The *Dainty*, Sir John's favourite vessel, was an excellent sailer, and under Capt. Tomson began the combat with the *Madre de Dios* "somewhat to her cost." Called the *Repentance* by Sir John's second wife, Margaret Vaughan, the Queen herself commanded the change in name.

and the general command of Howard of Effingham, though nominally third, he won the highest reward Elizabeth had to give, and was knighted by Howard on the second day of the great battle.

But the Armada business was child's play for Hawkins compared with what followed. He was called upon to render his accounts. For years, as we have seen, the whole burden of the navy had lain upon his shoulders; and when the money of the State had failed he had freely spent his own. Elizabeth now insisted that every item should be vouched. More careful always about results than book-keeping, Hawkins held himself a ruined man. Howard defended him from the unjust aspersions of his enemies; but Burghley wrote him a letter so severe that Hawkins declared he was sorry to have lived so long to have received so sharp a reproof. If it pleased God he ended this account to her Majesty's liking he would leave all. He had no enemy on whom he could wish a worse curse than his own painful life. In December, at Hawkins's request, Edward Fenton was appointed his deputy for a year to enable him to finish his accounts, grown great and intricate by reason of the late extraordinary sea service. Hawkins set to his task with accustomed energy. By the following September the accounts for eleven years, some of which had been already given in, were made up complete to the end of 1588 (December), and he saw that he would be enabled to "clear himself with credit." Not that the office had been one of profit. An unscrupulous man might have made an enormous fortune. Hawkins did not find "in his time any fees or vails worth 20s. besides his ordinary fee and diet, which he consumed in attending his office." So he prayed to be delivered from this "continual thraldom." He prayed in vain. Elizabeth well knew when she had a good servant, though she did not know how to treat him. His work still grew. In 1590 his yearly payment for keeping and repairing vessels in harbour was advanced to £8,973 12s. 10d., a sum not very far short of £50,000 now.

Some relief indeed was afforded. The sea still called him, and feeling there was good work to be done, he suggested an expedition to Cadiz and the South Seas. "He could end his life in no better cause, being out of debt, and having no children to care for." As usual he was vexed by delays; but at length in 1590 the fleet set sail — six vessels under Hawkins, and eight under Frobisher. In September Hawkins

was admiral at Flores waiting for the Spanish Plate fleet. Much spoil was brought back to Plymouth; and Hawkins felt moved to remind Elizabeth "Paul planteth and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase." "God's death," swore his royal mistress, "this fool went out a soldier and is come home a divine." There is a curious record in November, 1590, that Richard Hawkins obtained possession of some of these goods, and that they were forcibly rescued by Sir John and his men. Whether this was Sir John's son or a Richard of the other Hawkins family, is not quite clear.*

Sir John's career was now drawing towards its close. We have his picture sketched by Spenser in *Colin Clout*—

> "And Proteus eke with him does drive his heard
> Of stinking seals and porcpises together;
> With hoary head and dewy dropping beard,
> Compelling them which way he list and whether."

He was wearied by the toils of incessant duty. For many years he had left Plymouth to reside at St. Dunstans-in-the-East; but his office was at Deptford, one of the most important of the Royal Dockyards. Thence he wrote, in January, 1594, begging again to be released from his labours. Domestic trouble was added to public care. His second wife, Margaret Vaughan (his first had died at the age of thirty-two), was weak, and could not be removed. His brother William had died, and been honoured by a monument in Deptford Church. There was to be no other rest for him. In the July following he obtained authority to erect and endow a hospital at Deptford, to be called after his own name, for the relief of ten or more poor mariners. Then came the sad news that his only son Richard was a prisoner to the Spaniards, and the brave old man resolved to tempt the seas once more, for succour or revenge.†

The closing act in this long and energetic life was the disastrous voyage which proved fatal both to Hawkins and to Drake. The expedition was planned by Hawkins, and all

* Sir John and Richard Hawkyns sold to Peter Haughton, December, 1592, two-thirds of the *Good Fortune* of London, on a voyage towards Bordeaux or Rochell, or the parts thereabout, and of her profits and prizes. She took a prize laden with Newfoundland fish, and Haughton appointed Nicholas Hals and Richard Jones his attorneys and procurators. Hals purchased a share of some prizes taken by the *Content* of Plymouth.—From the so-called *Precedent Book* of the Plymouth Corporation.

† Probably his last important business transaction was the purchase, in October, 1594, with others, of the monopoly of a quantity of pepper, which, however, they were not to sell at more than 3s. per lb.

the preparations made under his own eye. "Sir John Hawkins is an excellent man in these things—he sees all things done orderly." So says of his last service Sir Thomas Gorges. The scheme was one of those half-state half-private ventures common in those days. The Queen was to bear a share of the expenses, and Hawkins and Drake their share also, and the profits were to be divided. As a matter of fact the chief outlay fell upon Sir John; for the accounts set forth by his widow Margaret show a total expenditure on his part of £18,661 18s. 7d., and on that of Drake of £12,842 9s. 10d. The Queen was to have found £20,000 if needed, but Hawkins and Drake paid £1,504 8s. 5d. above their proportion.

The fleet left the familiar waters of Plymouth Sound, which neither of its leaders was to see again, on Friday, the 29th of August, 1595. It consisted of six vessels belonging to the Royal Navy—the *Garland, Defiance, Bonaventure, Hope, Foresight,* and *Adventure*—and twenty-one other ships, manned by 2,500 men and boys. The final departure was from Cawsand Bay, and as they stretched into the offing the *Hope* struck the Eddystone, but soon cleared. The venture was foredoomed from the start. The Spaniards had learnt what was intended, and prepared accordingly: the English counsels were divided. Hawkins and Drake were in joint commission, and each was entitled to his opinion. Their disagreement rendered success impossible, though in the result Hawkins gave way. Knowing himself no whit inferior to Drake in experience and judgment, he advised that all speed should be made for the Indies. By the counsel of Drake time was wasted in a vain attempt on the Canaries, and Hawkins lost all heart. There was no longer any hope of taking the Spaniards by surprise. Informed beforehand of the English plans, the fatal policy of delay gave them the fullest opportunity of completing their arrangements. The first disaster to the English fleet was, however, due to accident. Captain Wignol, in the *Francis*, of 35 tons, when near the Virgin Isles, mistook five Spanish ships for comrades, and was captured by them. The death of Hawkins followed close upon. Whether it was more the result of chagrin at his neglected counsels, or whether it was more the loss of the *Francis*, that brought on his last illness, we cannot tell; but his heart had been well-nigh broken ere he left England, by his son's captivity, and the burden had grown too great. And as Prince wisely remarks, "When the same heart hath two mortal wounds given it together it is hard to say which of them killeth." The chronicler of the voyage simply notes,

"Here sir Iohn Hawkins was extreme sicke; which his sicknes began vpon newes of the taking of the *Francis*." He died upon the 12th of November at the "Eastermost end of S. Iohn," and was succeeded in the *Garland* by Sir Thomas Baskervil. Drake survived him less than three months, being taken ill on the 15th January, and dying on the 28th, between Escudo and Porto Bello.*

The first definite tidings of disaster were brought home to England by one John Austin, a mariner who had been taken prisoner in the *Francis*, and who stated that Hawkins was reported killed in an attack on Porto Rico. This was on the 25th of March, 1596. Exactly a month later (April 25th) Stallenge wrote Cecil from Plymouth that both Hawkins and Drake were dead, and that Hawkins had died on the 12th of November much lamented.

Thus passed away ingloriously in the hour of failure the two greatest seamen of the Elizabethan era. But their work had been done; and though for a while dread of Spanish invasion haunted the nation, and Plymouth, bereft of her stoutest defenders, grew for a time faint-hearted, the only real danger lay in the pusillanimous ways of Elizabeth's unworthy successor, the murderer of the gallant Ralegh. Spain might bluster, but she knew better than to repeat her Armada experiment.

From their graves in the depths of the Western Ocean, Hawkins and Drake yet defended by the fame of their olden prowess their native soil; and as years rolled on, and the Elizabethan seamen one by one passed away, though the reigns of the first Stuarts added nothing to our naval renown, a new race sprang up to revive the ancient glories under Cromwell and Blake, and to continue the line of our naval heroes in unbroken succession to the present day.

It is not difficult, I think, to form a fair estimate of the character of Sir John Hawkins. A plain, blunt man; every inch a sailor; of undaunted courage, unquenchable resolution, and never-failing presence of mind; somewhat slow in coming to a conclusion, but adhering tenaciously to an opinion formed;

* "The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall sir Francis Drake departed this life, hauing bene extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to stop on him. He vsed some speeches at or a little before his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed again within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Ionas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drake's sonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gave to captaine Bodenham." Capt. Savile says Drake was eight days ill, "and yeelded vp his spirit like a Christian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin."

a shrewd tactician, with a keen insight into the characters of men; of an almost boundless capacity for work; "an able and upright administrator;" preferring active employment, but patriotically ready to spend and be spent, so it was in the service of his country; retaining all through his life the instincts of the merchant, and never willingly missing an opportunity of winning wealth, yet patiently setting self aside and toiling like a slave in official fetters to create a navy worthy of the name, and better the position of the common sailor; "merciful, apt to forgive, and faithful to his word;" placing the sufferings of his followers far before his own private disasters; not only the ablest seaman of his day, but the best shipwright that England had ever seen; often entering upon what in modern eyes are questionable ways, but never false to his own conscience, and the moral standard of his time; "a very wise, vigilant, and true-hearted man" (*Stow*)—Sir John Hawkins, of all the Elizabethan galaxy, seems to me most nearly to approach the typical Englishman. Had he served his country less faithfully; had he placed his own interests before those of the State; he might have filled a more brilliant place in history, never one more worthy. The very solidity of his virtues, the very greatness of his deeds, have caused them to be inadequately esteemed. Yet there is no one to whom England in her hour of peril owed more than to her Plymouth hero—Sir John Hawkins.

A certain "R. M.," who professes to have sailed both with Drake and Hawkins, has left a description by way of contrast of their respective characters. We cannot, however, rely upon it implicitly. It bears the marks of bias; moreover, to a certain extent it is self-contradictory, and in other respects is at variance with well-approved facts. Nevertheless, it has a certain value. Hawkins is described as of a slow and jealous temperament, "hardly (or difficultly) brought to resolution in council . . . often differing from the judgment of others, seeming thereby to know more in doubtful things than he would utter." He "did entirely hate the land soldier"—having all the traditional sufficiency of the English sailor—"and though he were very popular, yet he affected more the common sort than his equals"—a bluff and hearty sea-dog. "Patience in enduring labour and hardness, observation and memory of all things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers," also characterised him, and he "had in him mercy, aptness to forgive, and true of word." Yet he was "faulty in ambition" . . . "had malice with dissimulation, rudeness in behaviour, and passing sparing, indeed miserable."

There is a far better testimony to the greatness of his reputation among his contemporaries. John Davis, in his *World's Hydrographical Description*, says, "The first Englishman that gaue any attempt on the coastes of West India being parte of America was syr Iohn Hawkins, knight: who there & in that attempt, as in many others sithens, did and hath prooued himselfe to be a man of excellent capacity, great gouernment, & perfect resolution. For before he attempted the same it was a matter doubtfull & reported the extremest lymit of danger to sayle vpon those coastes. So that it was generally in dread among vs, such is the slowness of our nation, for the most part of vs rather ioy at home like epicures to sit & carpe at other mens hasardes, our selues not daring to giue an attempt. (I meane such as are at leisure to seeke the good of their countrie not being any wayes imployed as paynefull members of a common weale,) then either to further or giue due commendations to the deseruers,—how then may Syr Iohn Hawkins bee esteemed, who being a man of good account in his Country, of wealth & great imployment, did notwithstanding for the good of his Countrey, to procure trade, giue that notable and resolute attempt."

That Sir John was a man of education, and able to handle the pen to good purpose, is proved by his narrative of the voyage to San Juan de Ulloa, and many letters still extant. That he was well versed in the mechanical science of his day, is evident from the improvements which he introduced in the art of English shipbuilding. His grasp of complicated accounts show that he was a thorough man of business, and that his mercantile training had stood him in good stead. He took a general interest in literature, and in all things that concerned the sea, and he is noted as one of the "chiefest lights" of the concluding section of Hakluyt's masterly collection.

There is no real ground for the charge of parsimony. A careful man Hawkins undoubtedly was; but he was never backward in drawing from his own resources for the purposes of the navy when the national need required, and was one of those who, almost in opposition to Elizabeth, and at their own personal risk, kept the fleet together which had been prepared to meet the Armada. To the cost of the ship fitted out on that occasion by the town of Plymouth he contributed £20. When he died he left several bequests to charities, including an annuity to his native place, and he showed at once his charity and his love for the seaman by founding his hospital at Deptford during his life-time.

The tomb erected to his memory in St. Dunstans-in-the-East bore the following inscription:

"Johannes Hawkins, Eques Auratus clariss. Reginæ Marinarum causarum Thesaurarius. Qui cum xliii annos muniis bellicis et longis periculosisque navigationibus, detegendis novis regionibus, ad Patriae utilitatem, et suam ipsius gloriam, strenuam et egregiam operam navisset, in expeditione, cui Generalis præfuit ad Indiam occidentalem dum in anchoris ad portum S. Joannis in insula Beriquena staret, placide in Domino ad cœlestem patriam emigravit, 12 die Novembris anno salutis 1595. In cujus memoriam ob virtutem et res gestas domina Margareta Hawkins, uxor mœstissima, hoc monumentum cum lachrymis posuit."

Hard by this monument, according to Stow, his widow hung a wooden tablet, with a tribute to the memory of the dead sailor in English verse, describing him as—

"One fearing God
And loyal to his Queen,
True to the State
By trial ever seen,
Kind to his wives
Both gentlewomen born,
. . . .
Unto the seamen
Beneficial,
As testifieth
Chatham Hospital.
The poor of Plymouth
And of Deptford town
Have had, now have,
And shall have, many a crown
Proceeding from
His liberality
By way of great
And gracious legacy
. . . .
Deep of conceit,
In speaking grave and wise,
Endighting swift,
And pregnant to devise.
In conference
Revealing haughty skill;
In all affairs
Having a worthies will.
On sea and land
Spending his course and time

By steps of years
As he to age did climb.
God hath his soul,
The sea his body keeps,
Where (for a while)
As Jonas now he sleeps;
Till he which said
To Lazarus, Come forth,
Awakes this knight
And gives to him his worth.
In Christian faith
And faithful penitence,
In quickening hope
And constant patience,
He running ran
A faithful pilgrim's race
God giving him
The guiding of His grace.
Ending his life
With his experience
By deep decree
Of God's high providence."

The arms of Hawkins, twice augmented, were sable on a base wavy, argent and azure a lion passant or, in chief three bezants. For crest, by way of augmentation, a demi-Moor proper, bound captive, with annulets or on his arms and in his ears—this in commemoration of Hawkins's successes in connection with the slave trade in Africa in 1565. The second augmentation was for his exploits at Rio de la Hache, on a canton or an escalop between two palmers' staves sable.

In 1616–17 the corporation of Plymouth placed Sir John's arms, with those of Sir John Hele, in the Guildhall windows, at a cost of 33s. 6d., protecting them in the following year by a "small grate of wyre," costing 13s. 10d.

This sketch would be incomplete did I omit reference to Sir John's gallant and luckless son Richard—"the complete seaman." He sailed with Drake, as captain of the galiot *Duck*, to the Indies in 1585, and was admitted freeman of Plymouth in the mayoralty of John Blitheman, 1589–90, as "Ricus Hawkins gen^rosus"—"William Hawkins gen^rosus" (of whom more anon), being also admitted in the same year. In 1587–8 a Richard Hawkins, probably the same, sold a silver cup to the corporation for £12, for the purpose of presentation to Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Warden of the Stannaries—perchance part of the spoil of some Spanish

expedition; also "four demy culverins and three sakers" for town defence. In the following year, that of his freedom, he contributed towards the fund raised to reimburse Drake "for bringing in the water." Subsequently we find him and James Bagge mulcted in 3s. 4d. each for being late at mayor-choosing—coming "tarde on St. Lambert's daye." These are of course small matters; but I do not think even such slight gleanings from municipal records devoid of interest.

In 1590 Sir John Hawkins successfully used his influence with Cecil for the grant of a commission to Richard Hawkins, to attempt some enterprise with a ship, bark, and pinnace against the King of Spain, his fleet and his adherents, on the coasts of the West Indies, Brazil, Africa, America, and the South Seas. The commission assigned to Richard Hawkins and his patrons whatever they should take, with a reservation to the Crown of the fifth part of the treasure, jewels, and pearls.

In 1593 Richard Hawkins sailed from Plymouth with five ships on his memorable expedition to the South Seas, which, after his rediscovery of the Falkland Isles—Hawkins's *Maiden Land*,* ended in his capture by the Spaniards. From various causes the fleet was reduced to the single vessel, the *Dainty*, which he himself commanded. Manned by seventy-five men only, she was assailed by eight Spanish vessels with crews of 1300. Nevertheless this worthy son of a worthy sire kept up the fight three days, and did not surrender until he had himself been wounded six times, and then upon good terms, which the Spaniards broke by sending their prisoners to Spain. Hawkins remained in captivity several years, being ironed when he attempted to escape, and is one of several Englishmen wrongly credited with being the hero of the ballad—

> "Would you know a Spanish lady,
> How she wooed an Englishman."

His imprisonment was unbearably prolonged, and there are yet extant several piteous letters written from his prison at Madrid—asking for aid, expressing deep concern for the welfare of his wife and child, who were living at Plymouth, and conveying to the Queen and her Council all that he could glean of the intentions of Spain towards England. At the "hazard of life," as he himself puts it, in this way if in no other, he was determined to serve his country. His father, Sir John, had left £3,000 (£15,000 now) for his ransom; and

* First discovered by Davis, unknown to Hawkins.

he complains that his stepmother—of whom, however, he elsewhere speaks highly as a religious and most virtuous lady, and of a very good understanding—would not pay the money until his arrival in England, and that in consequence there was no chance of his release. Some means he wished to be taken to remedy this; for he sorely longed to see his native country and his wife and family once more. He was set free towards the close of 1602, and in January, 1603, was once more in his native land and town, after having been nearly ten years a captive. He settled at Slapton, and lived there until his death in 1622. His last public service was his association with Sir R. Mansell in the expedition against Algiers; but he may be said to have died in harness, for the attack which carried him off seized him at the Council Chamber in London.

Like the other members of his family, Sir Richard took a warm interest in corporate affairs, and the estimation in which he was held in Plymouth is shown by the fact that he was elected mayor at the first opportunity after his return (1603–4), while in the following year he was chosen senior representative of the town in Parliament.* That he also stood well at Court his knighthood and Vice-Admiralship of Devon testify.

He was very active in the discharge of his duties as Vice-Admiral of Devon. In January, 1608, I find an entry of his arrest in Vintry Ward, Plymouth, of George Estwood of Charmouth, on suspicion of piracy. He was in request also as a magistrate. The *Precedent Book* of the Plymouth Corporation contains the copy of a petition, dated 1604, of Jane Smith, widow, Thomas Davyes and Jone his wife, for a commission to inquire into the title of certain lands. Commissioners asked for—Sir W. S[trode], Sir R. H[awkins], with J. C. and W. C. esquires. The Commission sat at Richard Stremer's house in Plymouth.

We are indebted to Sir Richard's *Narrative of his Voyage to the South Seas* for a few graphic descriptive touches of the manners and customs of Plymouth sailors in the olden time. Before he could start on his expedition to the South Seas he and his friends the justices had to spend two days in hunting up his crew in lodgings, taverns, and other houses. When he left "the most part" of the inhabitants "were

* He had 6s. 8d. a day. There is an entry in 1603–4 that his man apprehended two Papists, probably spies. The other Plymouth Richard Hawkins in the same year had £50 10s. 4d. for making the masters', or magistrates' or aldermen's seat, in the church.

gathered together upon the Howe to show their grateful correspondency to the loue and zeal which I, my Father and Predecessors, have ever borne to that place as to our naturall and mother Towne, and first with my noyse of Trumpets, after with my waytes, and then with my other Musicke, and lastly with the Artillery of my Shippes, I made the best signification I could of a kinde farewell. This they answered with the waytes of the Towne, and the Ordinance on the shore, and with shouting of voyces: which with the fayre evening and silence of the night were heard a great distance off."

Our third William Hawkins,* the one who was admitted to the freedom in the same year as Sir Richard, is the Capt. William Hawkins who in April, 1582, accompanied Fenton on his voyage intended to the East Indies and Cathay, as his Lieutenant-General, sailing from Southampton. Capt. John Drake and Capt. Parker were also in this expedition. Hawkins and Fenton did not agree; for it is recorded in the narrative of the voyage that there arose "foule speeches between the generall and his lieutenant after the olde custome."

This William Hawkins did yeoman service for the country in the East. His grandfather established English trade with the South Seas; his uncle pioneered the way into the Bay of Mexico; he laid the foundation of our Indian empire. Sailing in 1607 (he left Plymouth April the 16th) to the East Indies in command of the *Hector*, in the third East India Company's voyage, in company with Capt. Keeling, in the *Dragon*, he established a trading house or factory at Surat, and went on to Agra as ambassador, attended by one Englishman—Nicholas Ufflett—and a boy. Here he won favour with the Great Mogul, the Emperor Jehangir, and at his desire married the daughter of "Mabarique Sha," a Christian Armenian. Two years he lived at Agra, finding the Turkish which he had acquired in trading to the Levant of great use. At length he determined to return home, accompanied by his wife, and had nearly reached his native shores when death put an end to his eventful career. He was buried in Ireland. Three of his journals, of voyages in 1582 and 1607, and of his residence in India, are in existence.

* Another William Hawkins was admitted to the freedom in 1669, with a "Siluester Hawkyns," and in 1617 a William Hawkyns rented the "two hawes"—one of the incidental proofs that the West Hoe at Plymouth was originally corporate property. Sutton Vauter, as already noted, was sold to the Corporation in 1637-8 by John Hawkins.

I have already stated that William Hawkins the elder became owner of the Plymouth manor of Sutton Valletort in 1544. Either in connection with, or in addition to this, the Hawkinses held considerable property in the vicinity of Sutton Pool, and in 1558 an Act of Parliament fixed Hawkins's Quay as the sole legal quay for landing goods. We may assume that this quay was either erected by, or became the property of, Sir John Hawkins, as it afterwards came to Sir Richard; and we know that some of the quays were built by the men whose names they bore, though others are stated to have been called by personal names for "distinction and difference sake only," after people whose places of business adjoined. It is impossible to say where this quay was; even two centuries since its identity was the subject of protracted litigation. In 1664 William Jennens and John Warren, two Plymouth merchants, both of whom filled the office of mayor, claimed what was known as Hawkins's Quay as theirs. They were opposed by John Lanyon (who also in his turn became chief magistrate) and other merchants on the one hand, and by the Corporation on the other. The allegation of Lanyon and his friends was that the quays in question were really Hawkins's Quay, and that Jennens and Warren were keeping back deeds which had formerly belonged to Sir Richard Hawkins, which would show the true facts. The Corporation insisted that the quays in controversy were theirs, included under the term New Quay, built on the waste of their manor of Sutton Prior. To this Jennens and Warren replied that the New Quay was not built before 1576, and that Hawkins's Quay, or Custom-house Quay (another name for that held by Warren), were no part of the New Quay at all. And there, so far as we are concerned, the matter ends, and the only inference it seems safe to draw is that Hawkins's Quay was somewhere on or near the site of the present Parade. Sir Richard Hawkins had a house called the "Parrett," in Looe Street, Plymouth, and this may have been a family residence. Drake resided in the same locality, at the corner of Looe and Buckwell Streets.

Sir Richard Hawkins had five children—two sons, John and Richard, and three daughters, Margaret, Joan, and Mary. Descendants of both sons continue. The Kingsbridge Hawkinses are descended from the second, Richard, who is thus the ancestor of Mr. Stuart Hawkins.

Chronological list of some of the principal voyages from Plymouth under the Tudor monarchs.

1528 (?). First voyage of William Hawkins the elder to the South Seas, in the *Paul*, of Plymouth.

1530. Second voyage of William Hawkins the elder.

1532. Third voyage of William Hawkins the elder.

1562. First voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies, in the *Solomon*, 120 tons; *Swallow*, 100; and *Jonas*, 40—the crews numbering 100 men. Sailing in October.

1564. Thomas Stukeley sailed on his pretended voyage to Florida.

1564. John Hawkins sailed on the 18th October on his second Guinea and West Indian voyage, with the *Jesus of Lubeck*, 700 tons; the *Solomon*, 140; *Tiger*, 50; and *Swallow*, 30.

1566. Third West Indian voyage of Sir John Hawkins, of which no detailed record exists.

1567. Fourth voyage of Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies, sailing, October 2nd, with the *Jesus of Lubeck*, *Minion*, *William and John*, *Judith*, *Angel*, and *Swallow*. This is the expedition that ended in the disaster of San Juan de Ulloa.

1572. Sir Francis Drake sailed on his expedition of war against the King of Spain, with the *Dragon* of 75 tons, and the *Swan* of 25, manned by 73 men. This was the expedition in which he took Nombre de Dios, and first saw the Pacific.

1575. John Oxenham, of Plymouth, elected freeman in 1565–6, made his last famous voyage. Sailing in a vessel of 140 tons and with 70 men, he left his ship aground in the Bay of Mexico, covered with boughs, crossed the isthmus of Darien, built a pinnace, and was the first Englishman who sailed on the Pacific. Being taken, he was executed at Lima; but four of his guns were brought back by Captain Barker's expedition in the following year.

1577. Drake's famous voyage of circumnavigation. He sailed first, November 15th, with 5 ships and 164 men; but, being driven back by a storm, did not make his final departure until December 13th. Thomas Drake, his brother, went with him; also John Drake. Returned November 3rd, 1580. Vessels—*Pelican* or *Golden Hind*, 120 tons; *Elizabeth*, 80; *Benedict*, 12; *Marigold*, 30; flieboat, 50.

1580 (?). William Hawkins the younger, brother of Sir John, sailed to the West Indies.

1583. Sir Humphry Gilbert sailed on his second voyage to Newfoundland—in which he took possession of that country, and from which he did not return—from "Causet Bay neere vnto Plimmouth."

1585. Sir Richard Grenville sailed April 9th, with the *Tyger*, *Roebucke*, *Lyon*, *Elizabeth*, *Dorothie*, and two small pinnaces, containing Ralegh's earliest Virginian colony, the first practical attempt of the English to colonize North America. The settlement was planted by Ralph Lane.

1585. September 14th. Sir Francis Drake sailed on the voyage in the course of which he took San Iago, San Domingo, Carthagena, and San Augustine, in Florida. He had a fleet of 25 sail, with 2,300 soldiers and sailors, of whom 750 were lost on the voyage, chiefly by disease. Frobisher was vice-admiral, Thomas Drake captain of the *Thomas*, Richard Hawkins of the galiot *Duck*.

1586. Thomas Cavendish, or Candish, sailed on his voyage of circumnavigation July 21st, 1586, with the *Desire*, 120 tons; *Content*, of 60; and *Hugh*, galiot, 40. He returned to Plymouth September 9th, 1588. William Stevens, gunner, of Plymouth, was killed in a fight at Quintero.

1587. Ralegh's second Virginian colony, under John White, sailed May 8th, in three vessels.

1587. Drake sailed, with twelve ships, on the 3rd of April, to "singe the king of Spain's beard."

1588. The English fleet, under Howard, Drake, and Hawkins, sailed July 21st, to meet the Armada.

1589. John Chudley sailed August 5th to the South Seas.

1589. Sir Francis Drake and Sir J. Norris sailed April 18th, "to restore the king of Portugal."

1590. Sir Richard Hawkins granted commission to attack the Spaniards on the South Seas.

1590. John White sailed March 20th with five vessels, with supplies for Ralegh's Virginian colony.

1590. Sir John Hawkins and Frobisher sailed with fourteen ships against the Spaniards.

1590. A commission issued to Richard Grenville, Piers Edgcumbe, Arthur Basset, John Fitz, Edmund Tremayne, W. Humphreys, Alexander Arundel, Thomas Digges, Mortimer Dare, Dominick Chester, and others, to fit out and equip a fleet for the discovery of land in the Antarctic Sea, the special object of their search being an approach to the dominions of the "Great Cam of Cathaia."

1591. Cavendish sails against the Spaniards August 26th, with three ships and three barks.

1593. Sir Richard Hawkins sails with six ships on his expedition to the South Seas, and is taken prisoner.

1595. Sir Walter Ralegh sails from Plymouth for Guiana February 6th. He had Captain Whiddon with him, and "Butshead Gorges."

1595. Drake and Hawkins sailed on their last voyage to the Indies, with six Queen's ships and twenty-one others, manned by 2,500 men and boys. They finally sailed from "Causon Bay" on Friday, August 29th. As they left, the *Hope* struck the Eddystone, but soon cleared.

1596. "Master William Parker of Plimmouth, gentleman," fitted out the *Prudence*, of 120 tons, and the *Adventure*, of 25, at his own charges. They sailed in November, and sacked Campeachy with 100 men on the following Easter even.

1601. Captain William Parker sailed (November) with the *Prudence*, 100 tons (130 men); *Pearl*, 60 tons (60 men); and a pinnace of 20 tons (18 men). The *Pearl* was commanded by Captain Robert Rawlins. The pinnace was lost with all but three men. In this expedition Porto Bello was taken.