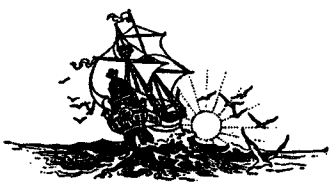
The Broadway Travellers

THE ENGLISH-AMERICAN

THE ENGLISH-AMERICAN



THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS
In 26 Volumes

I	An Account of Tibet	*Desideri*
II	Akbar and the Jesuits	*du Jarric*
III	Commentaries of Ruy Freyre de Andrada	*de Andrada*
IV	The Diary of Henry Teonge	*Teonge*
V	The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico	*del Castillo*
VI	Don Juan of Persia	*Juan*
VII	Embassy to Tamerlane	*Clavijo*
VIII	The English-American	*Gage*
IX	The First Englishmen in India	*Locke*
X	Five Letters	*Cortés*
XI	Jahangir and the Jesuits	*Guerreiro*
XII	Jewish Travellers	*Adler*
XIII	Memoirs of an Eighteenth Century Footman	*Macdonald*
XIV	Memorable Description of the East Indian Voyage	*Bontekoe*
XV	Nova Francia	*Lescarbot*
XVI	Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure	*Sherley*
XVII	Travels and Adventures	*Tafur*
XVIII	Travels in Asia and Africa	*Battúta*
XIX	Travels in India, Ceylon and Borneo	*Hall*
XX	Travels in Persia	*Herbert*
XXI	Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China Vol. I	*Huc and Gabet*
XXII	Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China Vol. II	*Huc and Gabet*
XXIII	Travels into Spain	*D'Aulnoy*
XXIV	The Travels of an Alchemist	*Li*
XXV	The Travels of Marco Polo	*Benedetto*
XXVI	The True History of His Captivity	*Staden*

THE ENGLISH-AMERICAN

A New Survey of the West Indies

1648

THOMAS GAGE

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 1928 by
RoutledgeCurzon

Published 2014 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY, 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A CIP catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

The English-American

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-34480-7 (hbk)

The Broadway Travellers

This page intentionally left blank

PLATE 1

THOMAS GAGE RECEIVING GIFTS FROM HIS PARISHIONERS

(*Frontispiece of the First German Edition*)

Front.

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS
AND EILEEN POWER

THOMAS GAGE

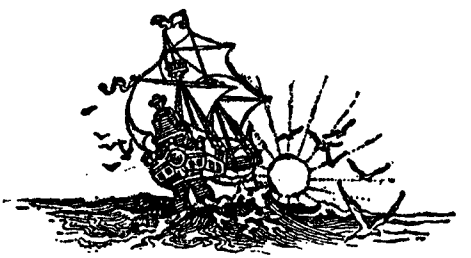
THE ENGLISH-AMERICAN

A NEW SURVEY OF THE WEST INDIES, 1648

Edited with an Introduction by

A. P. NEWTON

D.Lit., F.S.A., Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London



Published by

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD.
BROADWAY HOUSE, CARTER LANE, LONDON

First published in the Broadway Travellers, 1928

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION ix

CHAPTER ONE

Of the mission sent by the Dominicans to the Philippines in the year 1625 5

CHAPTER TWO

Of the Indian Fleet that departed from Cadiz, Anno Dom. 1625, *and of some remarkable passages in that voyage* . . 12

CHAPTER THREE

Of our discovery of some islands, and what trouble befell us in one of them 18

CHAPTER FOUR

Of our further sailing to St John de Ulhua, alias Vera Cruz; and our landing there 25

CHAPTER FIVE

Of our landing at Vera Cruz, otherwise St John de Ulhua, and of our entertainment there 31

CHAPTER SIX

Of our journey from St John de Ulhua to Mexico; and of the most remarkable towns and villages in the way . . 37

CHAPTER SEVEN

A description of the town of Tlaxcala 45

CHAPTER EIGHT

Concluding the rest of our journey from Tlaxcala to Mexico, through the City of Angels, and Guacocingo . . 50

CHAPTER NINE

Shewing some particulars of the great and famous City of Mexico in former times, with a true description of it now, and of the state and condition of it the year 1625 59

CONTENTS

CHAPTER TEN

PAGE

Shewing my journey from Mexico to Chiapa southward, and the most remarkable places in the way 109

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Describing the country of Chiapa, with the chiefeſt towns and commodities belonging unto it 149

CHAPTER TWELVE

Shewing my journey from the city of Chiapa unto Guatemala, and the chief places in the way 169

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Describing the dominions, government, riches, and greatness of the city of Guatemala, and country belonging unto it . . . 187

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Shewing the condition, quality, fashion, and behaviour of the Indians of the country of Guatemala since the Conquest, and especially of their feaſts and yearly solemnities . . . 228

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Shewing how and why I departed out of Guatemala to learn the Poconchi language, and to live among the Indians, and of some particular passages and accidents whilſt I lived there 271

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Shewing my journey from the town of Petapa into England; and some chief passages in the way 333

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Shewing how, and for what causes, after I had arrived in England, I took yet another journey to Rome, and other parts of Italy, and returned again to settle myself in this my country . . . 383

INDEX 403

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE

1. THOMAS GAGE RECEIVING GIFTS FROM HIS PARISHIONERS *Frontispiece*
   (*Frontispiece of the first German edition.*)
2. FRONTISPIECE TO THE FIRST ENGLISH EDITION . . viii
3. THE ATTACK OF THE SAVAGES AT GUADALOUPE . . 22
   (*From the Dutch edition of* 1700.)
4. RIOT IN MEXICO CITY. (*Ibid.*) . . . 106
5. THE HERMITAGE OF THE INDIANS. (*Ibid.*) . . 176
6. FUNERAL PROCESSION OF THE KING OF MECHAOCAN. (*Ibid.*) 208
7. THE CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL IN THE CHURCH OF PETAPA. (*Ibid.*) 262
8. THOMAS GAGE IN THE DOMINICAN HABIT . . 272
   (*Frontispiece of the Dutch edition of* 1700.)
9. FLYING LOCUSTS. (*Ibid.*) 288

MAPS

(*From the Second English Edition*)

1. THE ISLANDS OF THE WEST INDIES . . . 18
   (*Drawn by Michael Sparkes from a mixture of Spanish and Dutch material.*)
2. NEW SPAIN 64
   (*Shewing only the region between Mexico City and the Pacific coast.*)
3. THE SPANISH MAIN, NEW GRANADA AND POPAYAN . 344

This page intentionally left blank

PLATE 2

The Engliſh-American his Travail by Sea and Land:

OR,

A NEW SURVEY OF THE WEST-INDIA'S,

CONTAINING

A Journall of Three thouſand and Three hundred Miles within the main Land of AMERICA.

Wherin is ſet forth his Voyage from *Spain* to *S. Iohn de Ulhua*; and from thence to *Xalappa*, to *Tlaxcalla*, the City of *Angeles*, and forward to *Mexico*; With the deſcription of that great City, as it was in former times, and alſo at this preſent.

Likewiſe his Journey from *Mexico* through the Provinces of *Guaxaca*, *Chiapa*, *Guatemala*, *Vera Paz*, *Truxillo*, *Comayagua*; with his abode Twelve years about *Guatemala*, and eſpecially in the Indian-towns of *Mixco*, *Pinola*, *Petapa*, *Amatitlan*.

As alſo his ſtrange and wonderfull Converſion, and Calling from thoſe remote Parts to his Native COUNTREY.

With his return through the Province of *Nicaragua*, and *Coſta Rica*, to *Nicoya*, *Panama*, *Portobelo*, *Cartagena*, and *Havana*, with divers occurrents and dangers that did befal in the ſaid Journey.

ALSO,

A New and exact Diſcovery of the Spaniſh Navigation to thoſe Parts; And of their Dominions, Government, Religion, Forts, Caſtles, Ports, Havens, Commodities, faſhions, behaviour of Spaniards, Prieſts and Friers, Blackmores, Mulatto's, Meſtiſo's, Indians; and of their Feaſts and Solemnities.

With a Grammar, or ſome few Rudiments of the *Indian* Tongue, called, *Poconchi*, or *Pocomàn*

By the true and painfull endevours of THOMAS GAGE, *now Preacher of the Word of God at* Acris *in the County of* KENT, Anno Dom. 1648.

London, Printed by *R Cotes*, and are to be ſold by *Humphrey Blunden* at the Caſtle in *Cornhill*, and *Thomas Williams* at the Bible in *Little Britain*, 1648.

(*Frontiſpiece to the First English Edition*)

[*Face p.* viii

This page intentionally left blank

INTRODUCTION

By PROFESSOR A. P. NEWTON

To Englishmen of the first half of the seventeenth century the term "America" usually signified the regions discovered by the Spaniards whose possession had made the King of Castile the richest monarch in Europe. In the popular imagination America was a land of wonders whence a stream of gold and silver poured into his coffers. The real circumstances in the New World were so little known that fancy could paint its marvels almost as it would. Eden, Hakluyt and Purchas had translated the adventurous stories of the *Conquistadores* and painted in vivid prose the wonders of Mexico and Peru, but no foreign traveller had ever been permitted by the Spaniards to visit and describe the new lands as they really were after their conquest. For half a century the ambition of English sailors was to capture the rich spoils of the annual treasure fleet, and the profits of even smaller prizes made the English public associate the Indies with the idea of inexhaustible riches.

The residence of all foreigners and especially of Englishmen in the Spanish colonies was stringently forbidden, and though in the pages of Hakluyt we occasionally get glimpses of some men of English descent living in New Spain under Philip II, they were humble merchants or traders who had become denationalised and had neither the power nor the opportunity to describe for English readers the real America as it was. The sailors who raided and robbed the cities on the coast could give but fragmentary descriptions of the interior, and the few survivors of Drake's and Hawkins' crews who escaped,

knew more of the prisons of the Inquisition than the glories of the country. When they got back to England, some of them had to draw largely on their imaginations to satisfy their questioners, and so the tale of America's marvels grew. As his boon companion Thomas Chaloner wrote in his advertisement in verse which precedes the first edition of Gage's *English American* :

> "Those who have describ'd these parts before
> Of trades, winds, currents, hurricanes do tell,
> Of headlands, harbours, trendings of the shore,
> Of rocks and isles, wherein they might as well
> Talk of a nut, and only shew the shell;
> The kernel neither tasted, touched nor seen."

That there was a widespread curiosity as to the interior of the New World and its inhabitants is clear from the care with which any fragmentary accounts by Englishmen were collected and printed, but they were always bald and unsatisfying, and their readers turned with relief to translations of Gomara or Oviedo's vivid pages where the tale of the conquest was told. There they could sate themselves with wonders or with adventures such as Raleigh told of his search for the city of *El Dorado*.

The publication in 1648 of the first authentic account of the provinces of New Spain and Central America by a well-known and educated Englishman excited widespread interest, and *The English American* found many readers even though the country was in the midst of revolution. It had an important share in reviving the anti-Spanish policy of Elizabeth, and when Cromwell had restored England once more to power in international affairs, he caused the publication of a second edition of Gage's book (1655) in order to excite public opinion in favour of his "Western Design" against the Indies. Twenty years later, when Colbert was planning the extension of French power overseas at the expense of Spain, he

commanded the publication of a French translation of the book (1677), and during the long struggle between England and France for the trade of the Spanish Indies this was several times reprinted. (Paris editions of 1680, 1691, 1721, 1722.) Dutch and German translations also appeared during the same period, and new English editions in 1677, 1699 and 1711. Gage's work owed its popularity to its monopoly of first-hand information about regions with which national interests were concerned, but after the Peace of Utrecht (1713) the book was less read, and its popularity was eclipsed by stories of the buccaneers in the highly coloured pages of Esquemeling and Dampier. Our author has suffered at the hands of subsequent writers the fate of most of those who have changed their party or their creed. The writers of the Restoration despised him for his polemical passages in favour of the unpopular Puritan cause, while Roman controversialists damned him unfeignedly for his apostacy, and the Jesuits whom he had especially attacked were relentless in pouring scorn upon his memory. Subsequent writers both in English and French have occasionally quoted from the book, but it has never been reprinted in a modern edition. Edward Long referred to it in his *History of Jamaica* (1774), and Robert Southey used its information for his Mexican epic *Madoc* (1805), though he unfairly disparaged its originality. The comparative neglect of a book that on its first appearance caused such a sensation and that undoubtedly exercised an influence on public policy has been undeserved. Though it can hardly be claimed that Gage's account of his adventures can rank in liveliness with the stories of the most celebrated travellers, it is filled with touches of acute observation, and it describes at first hand a stage of American society so little known that it amply deserves the modern dress that is here given to it for the first time.

The main features of Gage's career are outlined in his own pages, but they appear in a light that is strongly coloured by the circumstances of religious and political controversy. To understand many of his allusions it is necessary to place his story against the background of its time, and this can be done best by tracing something of the history of his family, one of the most celebrated among the English recusants. It will recall the incidents of a forgotten persecution and do something to justify Chaloner's claim of reality for the book.

> ". . . It so befell
> That these relations to us made have been
> Differing as much from what before y'have heard
> As doth a land-map from a seaman's card.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sure the prescience of that power Divine
> Which safely to those parts did him convey,
> Did not for naught his constant heart decline
> There twelve whole years so patiently to stay
> That he each thing exactly might survey.
> Then him return'd, nay more did turn to us,
> And to him shew'd of bliss the perfect way,
> Which of the rest seems most miraculous,
> For had the last of these not truly been,
> These fair relations we had never seen."

The course of events which made a quondam priest of the Roman Church describe Spanish America to Puritan England must be explained by attention to his family and associations, and we must try to amplify the somewhat imperfect notices of him in the biographical dictionaries.

The Gage family was sprung from the county of Sussex and rose to wealth and prominence in the service of the House of Tudor. The founder of the family fortunes was Sir John Gage, who succeeded his father in the estate of Firle Place, Sussex, while still a minor. He was trained in the household of the

Duke of Buckingham, and passed thence to the brilliant Court of the young King Henry VIII, with whom he became associated on terms of close personal friendship. For the rest of his life he served the Crown at home and in the field with the ability and loyalty of a well-trained soldier, and his fortunes prospered like those of most of the "new men" of Henry's household. That he did not go further was possibly due to the fact that he was lukewarm in the matter of the Divorce. While accepting without question the royal supremacy in the Church, he strongly adhered to the old doctrines and was opposed to the Protestant party who came into power on the accession of Edward VI. This is of importance in the history of the family, for the Gages thenceforward were strongly identified with the Catholic party and took a prominent place among the recusant gentry and the supporters of Roman missions. Sir John Gage retired into private life until the accession of Mary, but then his religious views assured him of high favour. He held one of the foremost positions at Court until his death in 1556, and warmly supported the Queen's marriage with Philip II. This brought his family into an association with Spain that was maintained for several generations. By his wife Philippa Guldeford Sir John had a family of four sons and four daughters.

The second son, Robert Gage, under his father's will, succeeded to the estate of Haling Park near Croydon in Surrey. There he and his wife, the daughter of a merchant of Liège,[1] with many of the neighbouring gentry, were diligent in the practice of the old faith. They often afforded harbourage to the priests who passed back and forth to the Low Countries, and thus they came under the unfavourable notice of the authorities. Their younger son Robert was implicated in Antony Babington's plot for the assassination of Elizabeth and the release of Mary Queen

[1] St. Pap., Dom., Eliz. cxcv. no. 102.

of Scots, and in September 1586 he was tried for high treason, attainted and hanged.

Robert Gage the elder died in the following year and Haling then passed to his son John,[1] who married Margaret Copley, daughter of Sir Thomas Copley of Gatton, Surrey. The Copleys were notorious recusants and probably the most devoted supporters of the Jesuits in the South of England. In 1590, three years after John Gage had succeeded to his estate, he and his wife were arrested on suspicion of concealing a missionary priest, one Richard Garnet, in their house, and for two years they were closely imprisoned. In 1592 they were tried and convicted under the savage laws against recusants and were sentenced to death. While they were being carried in a cart to the place of execution with their hands ignominiously bound, Margaret received a letter respiting the sentence, and she and her husband were released.[2] This favour had been obtained by the intercession of the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and he obtained his price by the grant of a lease for a period of 21 years of Haling House, which was forfeited on John's attainder, and it never came back to the Gages.[3] Mr. and Mrs. Gage were greatly impoverished by the confiscation of their property, but they were more confirmed than ever in their recusancy and their attachment to the cause of the proscribed Jesuits. They were helped by their relatives, and after a time of banishment in the Spanish Netherlands they returned to live quietly with their friends in London. Their eldest son Henry was born in 1597, and Thomas, the second, probably in 1600. In 1601 Margaret was again in trouble for her religion, being arrested with one Mrs. Line for harbouring a Jesuit priest, Father Page. Mrs. Line

[1] *Vict. County Hist. of Surrey*, iv. 222.
[2] *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, i. 425.
[3] *V.C.H., Surrey*, iv. 222.

and the priest were hanged, but Mrs. Gage was set at liberty by the influence of the Howards.[1]

Henry was sent in 1609 when twelve years old to be educated by the English Jesuits at their seminary at St. Omer, and there he remained until 1615 when he proceeded to the English College in Rome.[2] He entered the Spanish service as an officer in the English Legion in the Low Countries and earned a high reputation among the soldiers of his time. He did much to organise and train the Royalist armies in the Civil War, and was killed in action in 1644 when Governor of Oxford.

Thomas was destined by his father and mother for the priesthood from the beginning and followed his brother to St. Omer. He was trained under the severe but effective discipline of the seminary along with Thomas Holland and other English boys who were devoted by their parents for the conversion of England and many of whom were to suffer a martyr's fate. Though he acquired some sound learning, Thomas does not seem to have won any special reward or to have attracted notice as Henry had done. Three other brothers were ordained to the priesthood, William, a Jesuit, George, a secular priest, and Francis, who became one of the most celebrated preachers among the English Roman Catholics after the Restoration. Thomas came back to England to see his family in 1617, and his intention of returning to St. Omer becoming known, he was arrested and brought before the Privy Council. After a few days' detention he was released and went back to his studies.[3]

At that period the pupils of the Jesuits who were destined for the priesthood were passed from St. Omer to complete their preparation in Spain. The English College at Valladolid had been founded by Father Robert Parsons, S.J., in 1589, with the aim of infusing

[1] *Records, S.J.*, i. 425. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 184.
[3] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1616-7, pp. 264, 299.

its students with an admiration of Spanish glory and an obedience to Spanish discipline which would make them fitting tools for the projected conquest and conversion of their nation.[1] But Parsons's plans had miscarried, and the College was troubled with dissensions and lack of means from the first. The Spanish Jesuits were determined to keep the education of the students in their own hands, but English Catholics had little liking for young priests who had been "hispaniolated," and they were none too warmly welcomed when they came to take up their work of proselytization. The College was also unpopular with the regular religious Orders, and their lack of sympathy with its political aims led to frequent difficulties and disorders among the students. Before 1620, when Gage arrived at Valladolid, these disorders had become so acute as to result in open scandal. The Benedictines in particular were ready to receive deserters from the Jesuit College into their novitiate, and, to quote the words of their Rector, "the students, seeing they were so run after, began to be somewhat puffed up and to neglecteth discipline of the house, or rather to despise it altogether. They began to get lax in their zeal for study and prayer, and to hold meetings among themselves" to concert measures to annoy their superiors.[2] Coming into such an atmosphere, young Gage was confirmed in the dislike of the Jesuit system and its insidious discipline that he had felt at St. Omer. The College was insanitary, and the students suffered badly in recurrent attacks of plague which swept Valladolid, while the endowments were so slender that there was a dearth of food and all conveniences. The English youths were distracted from their theological studies and mixed in political disputes between the Spanish Jesuits and the English Rector. Under such forbidding circumstances it was

[1] Taunton, E. L., *Hist. of Jesuits in England*, p. 136.
[2] Fr. Blackfan, *cit.* Taunton, p. 339.

natural that the prevailing tone was not high, and that the weaker sort came to look to their future career rather as a means of gaining promotion and spiritual influence for political ends than as a vocation. Possibly we may attribute some of the flaws of character that appeared in Gage's later life and his selfish lack of scruple to these defects in his upbringing.

As he himself tells us,[1] "No hatred is comparable to that which is between a Jesuit and a friar, and above all between a Jesuit and a Dominican. . . . For these owe unto them an old grudge for that when Ignatius Loyola lived, he was questioned by the Dominicans and by a Church censure publicly and shamefully whipped about their cloisters for his erroneous principles." All over Spain at this time the Jesuits were stirring up the people against their rivals "in so much that the Dominicans were in the very streets termed heretics, stones cast at them, . . . and they, poor friars, forced to stand upon their guard in their cloisters in many cities to defend themselves from the rude and furious multitude."

The friars were ready to welcome any deserters who came to them from the opposite camp, and even did not disdain to take active steps to encourage them. It appears that Gage was still resident in the Jesuit College at Valladolid when Prince Charles and Buckingham came to Madrid, and Thomas Holland, his old schoolfellow from St. Omer, was chosen to express in a Latin oration the loyalty of the English students and their hopes for more favourable times for their religion.[2] It must have been within the next few months that Gage followed the example of so many of his fellows and left the Jesuit College to pass over to the Dominicans. His secession was a bitter blow to his father, who was passionately devoted to the Jesuit schemes and had hoped that his sons would be the

[1] *English American*, ed. 1648, p. 4. [2] *Records, S.J.*, i. 551.

foremoſt of the apoſtles for the conversion of England. He reproached Thomas in unmeasured terms. "My father's angry and harsh letter," Gage tells us,[1] "signified unto me the displeasure of moſt of my friends and kindred, and his own grievous indignation againſt me, for that having spent so much money in training me up to learning, I had not only refused to be of the Jesuits' Order (which was his only hopes), but had proved in my affections a deadly foe and enemy unto them. He said that if I should prove a General of the Order of Dominicans, that I should never think to be welcome to my brothers nor kindred in England nor to him, that I should not expect ever more to hear from him, nor dare to see him if ever I returned to England, but expect that he would set upon me even the Jesuits whom I had deserted and opposed to chase me out of my country, that Haling House, though he had loſt it with much more means for his religion during his life, yet with the consent of my eldeſt brother he would sell it away,[2] that neither from the eſtate or money made of it I might enjoy a child's part due unto me."

These remonſtrances and threats were of no effect, and early in 1625 we find Thomas fully received into the Dominicans and resident in one of their convents at Jeres. Thither there came at the end of May 1625 a commissary of the Pope with licence to recruit prieſts to serve as missionaries for the conversion of the natives of the Philippine Islands. Among those already recruited was one Antonio Melendez, a near acquaintance of Gage's from Valladolid. Although the passage of Englishmen to the Spanish Indies was ſtrictly forbidden, Gage yielded to his persuasion and resolved to accept service with the mission. He planned to journey through Mexico

[1] *English American*, p. 8.

[2] The reversion was sold by John Gage and his son Henry in 1626 to Christopher Gardiner. *V.C.H., Surrey*, iv., 222, note 61.

and across the Pacific to the islands and possibly to get even as far as Japan, of whose wonders and riches he had heard.

As it is at this point that the story of his travels begins, it is unnecessary for us here to trace the succeeding events in detail. Our only knowledge of the next twelve years of his life is derived from his own pages, though possibly a careful search of the unexplored archives in Guatemala and Mexico might yield further evidence. As he relates, he abandoned his intention of proceeding with the Philippine mission when he reached Mexico, and gave his leaders the slip, preferring to avoid the dangers and hardships of the long passage and to remain amidst the rich opportunities of America. We may there leave him and pass on to the time when, twelve years later, having amassed something of a fortune from the credulity of his Indian parishioners, he returned to Europe in 1637. Gage travelled extensively in the New World, and availed himself fully of his opportunities of observing the character and riches of the Spanish dominions, but his first interest seems always to have been in the endless jealousies and disputes of the various religious orders who were at work among the Indians, and his pages abound in unfavourable comments upon the superstition and the general self-indulgence of the ecclesiastics among whom he served. A convert is usually more hostile to the faith that he has left than an impartial observer, and there need be no excuse for our use of the pruning knife to spare the modern reader many of the malicious diatribes, couched in the approved scriptural jargon of his day, which were most relished by his Puritan readers. The reason for their inclusion in the original will appear when we trace the story of our author's later career.

After some twelve years' service as a priest in various charges in and around Guatemala, Gage was weary of the country and anxious to return to Europe. He

implies that he was moved by concern at some points of religion and desired to fly from "that place of daily idolatry" into England and be at reſt. "I weighed the affliction and reproach which might ensue to me," he says, "after so much honour, pleasure and wealth which I had enjoyed for about twelve years in that country, but in another balance of better consideration I weighed the trouble of a wounded conscience and the spiritual joy and comfort that I might enjoy at home with the people of God, and so resolutely concluded . . . to choose rather to suffer affliction . . . than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches than the treasures in Egypt." It is to be feared that these were afterthoughts intended to be palatable to his Puritan readers, and that they were ante-dated to convince his patrons of his sincerity. In 1637 he did not yet contemplate the abandonment of the Catholic faith in which he had been reared, but in all probability he was moved rather by discontent with the hard work and monotony of the missionary life for which he no longer felt a vocation.

After some months of danger and adventure which he describes for us in detail, he arrived at laſt at San Lucar near Seville on 28 November 1637, and a month later he set foot again on English soil for the firſt time in twenty years. He could speak but a few words of his native tongue, and he had little left of the money that he had made in America. He therefore addressed himself to his relations, the Gages and the Copleys, to find what portion his father had left him at his death four years before. But he was disappointed, for he learnt that his claims to a share in the inheritance had been wholly ignored and that his father had done as he threatened when he refused to be a Jesuit, and had wholly thruſt him from his memory.[1] For a year or more Gage lived with one

[1] *English American*, p. 383.

or another of his relations in Surrey and in London in close contact with many of the English and Irish Dominicans, Benedictines and Jesuits who gathered round the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria. He still exercised his priestly functions and preached and celebrated Mass from time to time. After one of his London sermons the Jesuit Father Thomas Holland, his old schoolfellow, came to congratulate him in a particular manner for his good success and to ask him to say Mass for him at a chapel in Holborn.[1] He was thus still in full communion with his co-religionists.

But he was discontented with his somewhat dependent circumstances and the non-fulfilment of the promises of favour that he received from the Catholic Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebanke, and other persons of influence. He wrote to the General of the Dominicans for a licence to visit him in Rome, and, provided with money for his journey by his uncle Copley of Gatton, he left England again early in the spring of 1639 and passed over into the Low Countries. His elder brother, Colonel Henry Gage, whom he had not seen since they were boys at St. Omer together, was now in command of the English Legion in the Spanish service and was in camp against the Hollanders near Ghent. There Thomas received a warm welcome and the promise of financial support. Colonel Gage had many friends in high quarters and he presented his brother in the best circles in Brussels and procured for him many introductions to assist him in Rome. Like his father and mother the Colonel was a firm adherent of the Jesuits and had chosen his chaplain, Father Peter Wright, from the Society.[2] Thomas saw much of him during his stay with the army, and also had a wide acquaintance among the missionary priests who passed backward and forward

[1] *Records, S.J.*, i. 551.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 525.

into England, which was to prove unfortunate for some of them in future years.

Our traveller resumed his journey towards Italy in August 1639, but it is unnecessary to follow his adventures; in February 1640 he was stricken down with ague at Trent and suffered a long illness. He reached Rome in April and was received cordially by many belonging to the inner circles of the Curia. He came into close contact with the English ecclesiastics who were deeply involved in political intrigues for bringing England back to obedience to the Holy See.[1] His younger brother, the Rev. George Gage,[2] was well known in Rome as a plotter, and Thomas was anxious to earn promotion by his service to the cause. In later years he maintained that his time in Germany was spent in a search after truth from Lutherans and other Protestants, but we have only his word for it, and it seems more probable that as late as 1640 he still thought only of opportunities to gratify his ambition within the Catholic Church. There is no doubt that his roving life had weakened, if it had not destroyed, any sincere attachment to religion, and that his main object was his own worldly advantage. This he was ready to pursue with little care for conscience or scruple, and when the Scottish war brought shipwreck to the hopes of Charles I and his Queen and the Catholic plotters alike, Gage saw that the time had come to change his side.

At first he thought of making his home in France for a time, and he procured a licence from the General of the Dominicans and a letter of commendation to a convent of his Order at Orleans. He soon relinquished this plan, however, as the news from England

[1] *English American*, p. 393.

[2] The Rev. George Gage, who was Thomas's half-brother, has sometimes been identified with the Rev. George Gage who was one of James I's agents for procuring the Papal dispensation for the Spanish match in 1621-2. A comparison of dates shews that this identification is incorrect.

became more and more adverse to Catholic hopes. As he tells us with a somewhat odious mixture of piety and self-seeking, "Upon this good purpose of mine I presently perceived the God of truth did smile with what I heard He was ordering in England by an army of Scotland raised for reformation and by a new Parliament called to Westminster; at which I saw the Papists and Jesuits there began to tremble and to say it would blast all their designs and all their hopes of settling Popery. . . . With all this good news I was much heartened and encouraged to leave off my journey to France and to return to England where I feared not my brother nor any kindred nor any power of the Papists, but began to trust on the protection of the Parliament which I was informed would reform religion and make such laws as should tend to the undermining of all the Jesuits' plots and to the confusion of the Romish errors and religion."[1]

The time had evidently come for a new attempt to swim to fortune with the stream, and when Gage reached England again on Michaelmas Day 1640, his mind was made up for the plunge. Again we may let him speak for himself. "My brother's spirit I found was not much daunted with the new Parliament, nor some of the proudest Papists', who hoped for a sudden dissolving of it. But when I saw their hopes frustrated by His Majesty's consent to the continuing of it,[2] I thought the acceptable time was come for me, wherein I ought not to dissemble any further with God, the world and my friends, and so resolved to bid adieu to flesh and blood, and to prize Christ above all my kindred, to own and profess him publicly maugre all opposition of Hell and kindred to the contrary." But he had to wait nearly two years before he could convince the Anglican bishops of the sincerity of his conversion, and it was not until

[1] *English American*, p. 397.
[2] November 1640.

28 August 1642 that he was permitted to preach his recantation sermon in St. Paul's.[1]

He could find no influential patron among the Parliamentary leaders, and when his sermon was published in October 1642, his only sponsor was an unimportant country member, Sir Samuel Oldfield. "I thought I must yet do more to satisfy the world of my sincerity," he says, "knowing that converts are hardly believed by the common sort of people, unless they see in them such actions which may further disclaim Rome for ever for the future." He tried to win confidence therefore by entering "into the state of marriage which the Church of Rome disavows to all her priests." This helped him to some extent, for soon after he was appointed by Parliament to the substantial living of Acrise in Kent. But he still spent much of his time in London, and from internal evidence we know that it was at this period that he wrote a large part of his book.

The apostacy of one of their family was regarded with horror by the Gages, who were intensely proud of their devotion to the Old Faith for which they had suffered so much. Colonel Gage wrote offering his brother £1,000 ready money if he would come over again to Flanders, but he had gone too far to retrace his steps, and in a further attempt to convince his new friends of his worthiness for promotion Gage now lent himself to an act of treachery that was utterly unforgivable. For some months he had been secretly giving information against his acquaintances in the English mission. In October 1642 Father Thomas Holland, of whom we have already spoken, was arrested and charged under the Penal Laws with the capital crime of being a Romish priest who had celebrated Mass on English soil. The trial came on

[1] *The Tyranny of Satan, Discovered by the Tears of a Converted Sinner.* Printed by Thomas Badger for Humphry Mosley . . . in Paul's Churchyard, MDCXLII.

in December, and mainly on Gage's testimony the Jesuit was condemned to death. He was hanged and quartered at Tyburn a few days later praying that his death might bring back "that apostate religious" Thomas Gage to the bosom of Mother Church.

The family was filled with bitter anger that one of them should have sold himself so basely, and since they could not get hold of him by fair means they resolved to make away with him by foul. He was assaulted in Aldersgate Street, and another time he tells us he "was like to be killed in Shoe Lane by a Captain of my brother's regiment who came over from Flanders on purpose to make me away or convey me over . . . from whom God graciously delivered me by the weak means of a woman, my landlady."[1] About this time he became friendly with Thomas Chaloner, the regicide who was prominent among the Parliament men but "who was as far from being a puritan or presbyterian as the east is from the west, for he was a boon companion, . . . was of the natural religion, and loved to enjoy the comfortable importances of this life."[2] Though not yet a Councillor of State it was at his prompting that Gage published the account of his travels, and he wrote the advertisement from which we have already quoted. The book was dedicated to "His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knight, Lord Fairfax of Cameron, Captain-General of the Parliament's Army and of all their Forces in England and the Dominion of Wales," and that there was a definite political purpose in its publication is clear from the terms of the Epistle Dedicatory. "I humbly pray . . . that the same God who hath led your Excellency through so many difficulties towards the settlement of the peace of this Kingdom, and reduction of Ireland, will after the perfecting thereof direct your noble thoughts to employ the soldiery of this

[1] *English American*, p. 399.
[2] Wood, A., *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

Kingdom upon such just and honourable designs in those parts of America, as their want of action at home may neither be a burden to themselves nor the Kingdom. To your Excellency therefore I offer a New World."

Chaloner attempted to strike both a patriotic and a prophetic note:

"And though we now lie sunk in civil war,
Yet you the worthy Patriots of this land,
Let not your hearts be drownèd in despair,
And so your future happiness withstand.

. . . . . .

Your Drums which us'd to beat their martial dance
Upon the banks of Garonne, Seine and Soane,
Whilst you trode measures through the Realm of France,

. . . . . .

Now shall the tawny Indians quake for fear
Their direful march to beat when they do hear;
Your brave Red-Crosses on both sides display'd
The noble Badges of your famous Nation,
Which you yet redder with your bloods have made,
And dy'd them deep in drops of detestation
You shall advance with reputation
And on the bounds of utmost Western shore
Shall them transplant and firmly fix their station,
Where English Colours ne'er did fly before.
Your well-built ships, companions of the Sun,
As they were chariots to his fiery beams,
Which oft the Earth's circumference have run,
And now lie moor'd in Severn, Trent and Thames,
Shall plough the Ocean with their gilded stems,
And in their hollow bottoms you convey
To Lands enrich'd with gold, with pearls and gems,
But above all where many thousands stay
Of wronged Indians, whom you shall set free
From Spanish yoke and Rome's idolatry."

The attack upon the Spanish Indies that *The English American* was designed to promote had, however, to wait until Cromwell had brought Scotland, Ireland and the Colonies into subjection.

Meanwhile our author continued his ministry at Acrise, but he was often in London[1] and more than

[1] *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1649-50, pp. 388, 437, 511.

once was called upon by the authorities for information about the English Catholics. His testimony against Father Holland was neither forgotten nor forgiven by his family, but he eclipsed it in infamy at the trial of his late brother's regimental chaplain, Father Peter Wright. The persecution of the Catholics had been somewhat relaxed during the later years of the Civil War, but it broke out with renewed violence at the end of 1650. Father Wright was arrested and was sent for trial along with Father Dade, the Provincial of the Dominicans in England. The authorities ordered Thomas Gage to come up from Kent and give evidence against them. But his brother George determined to do what he could to prevent this. To quote a Jesuit historian: "He did not shrink, though at considerable personal risk, to go to the haunt of vice where the wretched debauchee was lodging and to warn him of the divine judgments that were hanging over him if he should make himself guilty of innocent blood."[1]

It was upon the destruction of Father Dade that the "apostate" was more set, on account of some ancient grudge, but George's entreaty in his own name and the names of other friends not to commit so enormous a crime as to give evidence against the priests of God in court so far prevailed that Thomas solemnly pledged his word to his brother that he would not injure either of them, and he suggested a means to avoid the force of the evidence forthcoming. He kept his word so far as the Dominican was concerned, and in his evidence at the trial astutely contrived to argue that though certainly a friar, he might not be a priest, quoting to the jury the case of St. Francis of Assisi. Dade was acquitted, but Father Wright was not so fortunate. Probably owing to pressure from Bradshaw, the regicide President of the Council of State, Gage attacked the prisoner with

[1] *Records, S.J.*, iv. 520-1.

virulence and testified fully to his previous acquaintance with him. He did this ostensibly not because of his priesthood but because the state of public affairs required it, and he was compelled by lawful authority to appear. "I would not assert against you," he had told Wright on the day before the trial, "that you had resolved upon my death, but you were my brother's confessor, and it was notified to you that he had on foot certain designs upon my life, and had suborned one Vincent Burton to commit the crime, you ought to have dissuaded them from that wicked intention; therefore I have a right to act as I do."[1]

After he had given his evidence, Gage professed himself so much in fear of assassination that he prayed the court to afford him military protection; but he was so despised and disliked that no notice was taken of his application. Father Wright was found guilty and sentenced to death under the Penal Laws, and his hanging at Tyburn caused an immense sensation not unmingled with pity among all but the most extreme sectaries.

The notoriety of the trial had made Gage more disliked and feared than ever, and he endeavoured to justify himself by the publication of a tract explaining how he had been compelled to give evidence. It bore the cumbrous title: "*A Duel between a Jesuit and a Dominic, begun at Paris, gallantly fought at Madrid, and victoriously ended at London* by Thomas Gage, alias the English American, now Preacher of the Word at Deal in Kent."[2] His arguments with Father Wright were likened to the conflict between the Jesuit Florentia and the Dominican Domingo de Torres before the King of Spain in 1622, and Gage concluded the eight pages of the tract by attributing

[1] *Records, S.J.*, iv. 523.

[2] LONDON: *Printed for Tho: Williams dwelling at the Bible in Little Britain*, 1651.

the butchery that he feared to the spite, malice and hatred of his Jesuit enemies.

After the publication of his tract Gage returned to continue his ministry at Deal, and we hear nothing further of him for about three years until Cromwell entered in earnest on his "Western Design" and called upon him for information and advice. The idea of attacking the Indies had often been considered by the Long Parliament, and it was much discussed in 1648 before the Naval revolt rendered it out of the question. It was this circumstance that promoted the publication of the first edition of *The English American* in that year. In December 1654 Cromwell directed Gage to prepare a reasoned report on the proper objects of attack and the best methods to be pursued, and this has been preserved for us among the Thurloe Papers.[1] He must have discussed it with Milton, then Foreign Secretary, and he may have been personally consulted by the Lord Protector, but we have no information as to this. Limitations of space forbid us to devote attention to the further progress of the "Western Design," and we can only note one or two points.[2] The memorandum was to a considerable extent a summary of parts of his book presented in the pious language fashionable at the time. The missionary motive was emphasized to take away the taint of mere gold-seeking. "I pray that these few observations may by your Highness be accepted as from one who for these many years hath observed, yea, admired the activity of your Highness his faith, who waits for the conversion of the poor Indians who long to see the light of the Gospel run yet more and more forwards, till it come to settle in the

[1] *Thurloe State Papers*, ed. Birch, iii. 59. Reprinted in Watts A. P., *Hist. des Colonies Anglaises aux Antilles*, 1649-60, pp. 452-7.

[2] For discussion of Gage's share in the genesis of the Design see Newton, A. P., *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*, especially the final chapter, and Watts, A. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

West among those poor, simple and truly purblind Americans."

The writer was appointed to accompany the expedition as chaplain to General Venables, and a frigate was ordered to transport him from Deal to Portsmouth where the expedition was fitting out.[1] After it had sailed, a new edition of his book was published under the direct inspiration of the Government bearing the alteration in title that was to be borne by all subsequent English editions. It was now called *A New Survey of the West India's or the English American*, and was embellished with three maps, which we reproduce. The dedication to Fairfax and Chaloner's verses were retained, and the edition was in fact little more than a corrected reprint[2] of the original.

The expedition, it will be remembered, failed completely in its attempt on Hispaniola, and its only achievement was the occupation of Jamaica. There Gage died early in 1656, as we know from the fact that in July of that year the Council of State arranged to pay the debts owing to him to his widow Mary Gage and she was granted a pension of 6*s*. 8*d*. a week.[3] His long-cherished scheme for the founding of an English empire in America had come to nothing, but he had lived to see the Red Crosses floating over the island that was to become the centre of England's naval power in the Caribbean, and we may justly credit him with a share in the founding of the largest of our West Indian colonies. But only his book remained to preserve his memory as the first foreigner to describe the Spanish colonies from within.

We have already mentioned the later English editions, but it is of interest to add a few words concerning the French versions. Girard Garnier was

[1] *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1654, Dec. 20, p. 586.

[2] London: *Printed by E. Cotes and sold by J. Sweeting at the Angel in Pope's Head Alley*, 1655.

[3] *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1656-7, 1656, July 18.

licensed to print the first of these at Paris in 1663, and this version was collected by Thevenot for his *Relation des divers Voyages curieux* (1672). The title was changed to *Relation de Mexique et de la Nouvelle Espagne par Thomas Gages*. The text was considerably abridged and the declamatory passages suppressed, notably the early chapters and the chapter at the end relating to the author's activities in Europe after his return.[1]

In 1677 a new translation was made for M. le Sieur de Beaulieu, Huës O'Neil, by one M. de Carcavi, and published in two volumes. It was entitled *Nouvelle Relation des Indes Occidentales contenant les Voyages de Thomas Gage dans la Nouvelle Espagne*, and contained practically the whole of the original but the early chapters and the expressions most offensive to Roman Catholics. The dedication to Colbert shews that it was by his command that the publication was undertaken. "Voici ce fameux voyager qui a traversé la mer sous vos heureux auspices et a qui j'ay appris a parler François par votre commandement." So in the Preface: "Notre nation auroit esté privé de la connoissance de tant de choses curieuses qu'il nous apprend sans la soin qu'a pris Monseigneur Colbert parmi tant d'autres . . . d'en faire ordonner la traduction." It was from this French version that the later translations into Dutch and German were made. The chapter divisions of the original were abandoned and the whole redivided into shorter chapters with fresh headings.

The work as here printed for the first time in modern dress has necessarily demanded some abridgment, for none but specialists in the controversies of the seventeenth century would find much of interest in the writer's polemics. We have shewn in the Table of Contents the full chapter headings of the First Edition and have preserved the original numbering. It will

[1] Thevenot, tom. iv.

therefore be possible to see at once where a considerable section has been omitted. Omissions of minor passages have been indicated in the usual way by dots [. . .].

Robert Southey maintained in the notes to his poem *Madoc* that Gage's account of Mexico which he pretends to have collected on the spot is copied verbatim from T. Nicholas's translation of Gomara, published as *The Conquest of the West Indies* in 1576.[1] This, however, is not the case, and Gage's translation was made independently from the Spanish authorities. He certainly used Gomara and Oviedo and may also have known Herrera. Doubtless a careful collation would enable us to identify the source of his information in each case. Many of those well-known stories of Cortez and his *Conquistadores* have here been omitted, and only those are retained that are of direct interest in connection with their context. For further accounts our readers may be appropriately referred to the graphic pages of Prescott.

The sources of our contemporary illustrations are sufficiently indicated in the notes attached to each.

[1] Southey, R., *Madoc* (1st ed. 1805), p. 468.

Thomas Gage
The English-American

To His Excellency

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, KNIGHT,

LORD FAIRFAX OF CAMERON

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE PARLIAMENT'S ARMY, AND OF ALL THEIR FORCES IN ENGLAND, AND THE DOMINION OF WALES

May it please your Excellency,

The Divine Providence hath hitherto so ordered my life, that for the greateſt part thereof I have lived (as it were) in exile from my native country: which happened partly by reason of my education in the Romish religion, and that in foreign universities; and partly by my entrance into monaſtical orders. For twelve years' space of which time I was wholly disposed of in that part of America called New Spain, and the parts adjacent. My difficult going thither, being not permitted to any but to those of the Spanish nation; my long ſtay there; and laſtly my returning home, not only to my country, but to the true knowledge and free profession of the Gospel's purity, gave me reason to conceive that these great mercies were not appointed me by the Heavenly Powers to the end I should bury my talent in the earth, or hide my light under a bushel, but that I should impart what I there saw and knew to the use and benefit of my English countrymen. And which the rather I held myself obliged unto, because in a manner nothing hath been written of these parts for these hundred years laſt paſt, which is almoſt ever since the firſt Conqueſt thereof by the Spaniards,

who are contented to lose the honour of that wealth and felicity they have there since purchased by their great endeavours, so they may enjoy the safety of retaining what they have formerly gotten in peace and security. In doing whereof, I shall offer no collections but such as shall arise from mine own observations, which will as much differ from what formerly hath been hereupon written as the picture of a person grown to man's eſtate from that which was taken of him when he was but a child; or the laſt hand of the painter to the firſt or rough draft of the picture. I am told by others that this may prove a moſt acceptable work; but I do tell myself that it will prove both lame and imperfect, and therefore had need to shelter myself under the shadow of some high protection, which I humbly pray your Excellency to afford me; nothing doubting, but as God hath lately made your Excellency the happy inſtrument not only of saving myself, but of many numbers of godly and well-affected people in this county of Kent (where now I reside by the favour of the Parliament) from the imminent ruin and deſtruction plotted againſt them by their moſt implacable enemies, so the same God who hath led your Excellency through so many difficulties towards the settlement of the peace of this kingdom, and reduction of Ireland, will, after the perfecting thereof (which God of his mercy haſten), direct your noble thoughts to employ the soldiery of this kingdom upon such juſt and honourable designs in those parts of America as their want of action at home may neither be a burden to themselves nor the kingdom. To your Excellency therefore I offer a New World, to be the subject of your future pains, valour, and piety, beseeching your acceptance of this plain but faithful relation of mine, wherein your Excellency, and by you the English nation, shall see what wealth and honour they have loſt by one of their narrow-hearted princes, who, living in peace and abounding in riches did notwithſtanding reject the offer of being firſt discoverer of America, and left it unto Ferdinand of Aragon, who at the same time was wholly

taken up by the wars in gaining of the city and kingdom of Granada from the Moors; being so impoverished thereby that he was compelled to borrow with some difficulty a few crowns of a very mean man to set forth Columbus upon so glorious an expedition. And yet, if time were closely followed at the heels, we are not so far behind but we might yet take him by the fore-top. To which purpose our plantations of the Barbados, St Chriſtophers, Nevis, and the reſt of the Caribbean Islands, have not only advanced our journey the better part of the way, but so inured our people to the clime of the Indies as they are the more enabled thereby to undertake any enterprise upon the firm land with greater facility. Neither is the difficulty of the attempt so great as some may imagine; for I dare be bold to affirm it knowingly that with the same pains and charge which they have been at in planting one of those petty islands they might have conquered so many great cities and large territories on the main continent as might very well merit the title of a kingdom. Our neighbours the Hollanders may be our example in this case; who whilſt we have been driving a private trade from port to port, of which we are likely now to be deprived, have conquered so much land in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies that it may be said of them, as of the Spaniards, That the sun never sets upon their dominions. *And to meet with that objection by the way,* That the Spaniard being entitled to those countries, it were both unlawful and againſt all conscience to dispossess him thereof, *I answer that (the Pope's donation excepted) I know no title he hath but force, which by the same title and by a greater force may be repelled. And to bring in the title of firſt discovery, to me it seems as little reason that the sailing of a Spanish ship upon the coaſt of India should entitle the King of Spain to that country, as the sailing of an Indian or English ship upon the coaſt of Spain should entitle either the Indians or English unto the dominion thereof. No queſtion but the juſt right or title to those countries appertains to the natives themselves, who, if they shall willingly*

and freely invite the English to their protection, what title soever they have in them no doubt but they may legally transfer it or communicate it to others. And to say that the inhuman butchery which the Indians did formerly commit in sacrificing of so many reasonable creatures to their wicked idols was a sufficient warrant for the Spaniards to divest them of their country, the same argument may by much better reason be enforced against the Spaniards themselves, who have sacrificed so many millions of Indians to the idol of their barbarous cruelty, that many populous islands and large territories upon the main continent are thereby at this day utterly uninhabited, as Bartholomeo de las Casas, the Spanish Bishop of Guaxaca in New Spain, hath by his writings in print sufficiently testified. But to end all disputes of this nature; since that God hath given the earth to the sons of men to inhabit, and that there are many vast countries in those parts not yet inhabited either by Spaniard or Indian, why should my countrymen the English be debarred from making use of that which God from all beginning no question did ordain for the benefit of mankind?

But I will not molest your Excellency with any further argument hereupon, rather offering myself, and all my weak endeavours (such as they are), to be employed herein for the good of my country. I beseech Almighty God to prosper your Excellency, who am

The most devoted and humblest of
your Excellency's servants,
THO. GAGE.

CHAPTER I

Of the mission sent by the Dominicans to the Philippines in the year 1625

IN the year of our Lord 1625 it was my fortune to reside among the Dominicans in Jerez in Andalusia. The Pope's Commissary for their Mission was Friar Matheo de la Villa, who having a commission for thirty and having gathered some twenty-four of them about Castile and Madrid, sent them by degrees well stored with money to Cadiz, to take up a convenient lodging for himself and the rest of his crew, till the time of the setting forth of the Indian fleet. This Commissary named one Friar Antonio Calvo to be his substitute, and to visit the cloisters of Andalusia lying in his way, namely, Cordova, Seville, St Lucar, and Jerez, to try if out of them he could make up his complete number of thirty, which was after fully completed.

About the end of May came this worthy Calvo to Jerez, and in his company one Antonio Melendez of the College of St Gregory in Valladolid, with whom I had formerly near acquaintance. This Melendez greatly rejoiced when he had found me; and being well stocked with Indian patacones, the first night of his coming invited me to his chamber to a stately supper. The good Jerez sack, which was not spared, set my friend in such a heat of zeal of converting Japanese, that all his talk was of those parts never yet seen, and at least six thousand leagues distant. Bacchus metamorphosed him from a Divine into an orator, and made him a Cicero in parts of rhetorical eloquence. Nothing was omitted that might exhort me to join with him in that function, which he thought was apostolical. *Nemo propheta in patria sua* was a great argument with him; sometimes he propounded

martyrdom for the Gospel sake, and the glory after it to have his life and death printed, and of poor Friar Anthony, a clothier's son of Segovia, to be ſtyled St Anthony by the Pope, and made collateral with the Apoſtles in heaven; thus did Bacchus make him ambitious of honour upon the earth, and preferment in heaven. But when he thought this rhetoric had not prevailed, then would he act a Midas and Crœsus, fancying the Indies paved with tiles of gold and silver, the ſtones to be pearls, rubies, and diamonds, the trees to be hung with cluſters of nutmegs bigger than the cluſters of grapes of Canaan, the fields to be planted with sugar-canes, which should so sweeten the chocolate that it should far exceed the milk and honey of the land of promise; the silks of China he conceited so common that the sails of the ships were nothing else; finally he dreamed of Midas' happiness, that whatsoever he touched should be turned to gold. Thus did Jerez nectar make my friend and mortified friar a covetous worldling. And yet from a rich covetous merchant did it shape him to a courtier in pleasures; fancying the Philippines to be the Eden, where was all joy without tears, mirth without sadness, laughing without sorrow, comfort without grief, plenty without want, no not of Eves for Adams, excepted only that in it should be no forbidden fruit, but all lawful for the taſte and sweetening of the palate; and as Adam would have been as God, so conceited Melendez himself a God in that Eden; whom travelling, Indian waits and trumpets should accompany, and to whom, entering into any town, nosegays should be presented, flowers and boughs should be ſtrewed in his way, arches should be erected to ride under, bells for joy should be rung, and Indian knees for duty and homage, as to a God, should be bowed to the very ground. From this inducing argument, and representation of a Paradise, he fell into a ſtrong rhetorical point of curiosity, finding out

a tree of knowledge, and a philosophical maxim, *Omnis homo naturaliter scire desiderat*, man naturally inclines to know more and more; which knowledge he fancied could be nowhere more furnished with rare curiosities than in these parts, for there should the gold and silver, which here are fingered, in their growth in the bowels of the earth be known; there should pepper be known in its season; the nutmeg and clove; the cinnamon as a rind or bark on a tree; the fashioning of the sugar from a green growing cane into a loaf; the strange shaping the cochineal from a worm to so rich a scarlet dye; the changing of the *tinta*, which is but grass with stalk and leaves, into an indigo black dye should be taught and learned; and without much labour thus should our ignorance be instructed with various and sundry curiosities of knowledge and understanding. Finally, though Jerez liquor (grapes' bewitching tears) had put this bewitching eloquence into my Anthony's brain, yet he doubted not to prefer before it his wine of the Philippines, growing on tall and high trees of *coco*, wherein he longed to drink a Spanish *brindis* in my company to all his friends remaining behind in Spain. Who would not be moved by these his arguments to follow him, and his Calvo, or bald-pated Superior?

Thus supper being ended, my Melendez desired to know how my heart stood affected to his journey; and breaking out into a *Voto á Dios* with his converting zeal, he swore he should have no quiet night's rest until he were fully satisfied of my resolution to accompany him. And having learned the poet's expression, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames?* he offered unto me half-a-dozen of Spanish pistoles, assuring me that I should want nothing, and that the next morning Calvo should furnish me with whatsoever moneys I needed for to buy things necessary for the comfort of so long and tedious a journey. To whom I answered: sudden resolutions might bring

future grief and sorrow, and that I should that night lie down and take counsel with my pillow, assuring him that for his sake I would do much, and that if I resolved to go, my resolution should draw on another friend of mine, an Irish friar, named Thomas de Leon. Thus took I my leave of my Melendez, and retired myself to my chamber and bed, which that night was no place of repose and reſt to me as formerly it had been.

I muſt needs say Melendez his arguments, though moſt of them moved me not, yet the opportunity offered me to hide myself from all sight and knowledge of my deareſt friends ſtirred up in me a serious thought of an angry and harsh letter, which not long before I had received out of England from mine own father, signifying unto me the displeasure of moſt of my friends and kindred, and his own grievous indignation againſt me, for that having spent so much money in training me up to learning, I had not only utterly refused to be of the Jesuits' Order (which was his only hopes) but had proved in my affections a deadly foe and enemy unto them; and that he would have thought his money better spent if I had been a scullion in a college of Jesuits than if I should prove a General of the Order of Dominicans; that I should never think to be welcome to my brothers nor kindred in England, nor to him; that I should not expect ever more to hear from him, nor dare to see him if ever I returned to England, but expect that he would set upon me even Jesuits, whom I had deserted and opposed, to chase me out of my country; that Haling House, though he had loſt it with much more means for his religion during his life, yet with the consent of my eldeſt brother (now Governor of Oxford, and Mass-founder in that our famous University) he would sell it away that neither from the eſtate, or money made of it, I might enjoy a child's part due unto me. These reasons ſtole that night's reſt from