

The Circumnavigation of the Globe by Pieter Esaiasz. de Lint 1598-1603

by Fred Swart

In 1598 Oliver van Noort sailed from Holland with a small fleet to accomplish what would become the first circumnavigation of the globe by a Dutchman. While Van Noort's achievement in itself might be unfamiliar to many English-speaking readers, even fewer will be aware of the remarkable voyage of Pieter de Lint, one of Van Noort's subordinate captains. Separated from the rest of the fleet after leaving the Strait of Magellan, De Lint made his own way north along the coast of South America then struck out across the Pacific to arrive successfully in the Spice Islands, where his negotiations became instrumental in ensuring the financial success of the mission. Unfortunately, the evidence for De Lint's achievement remains scattered and somewhat fragmentary, although a critical part of the voyage is described in the very interesting narrative, reproduced here, of Agustin de Cavallos, a Franciscan friar who spent some time as a captive aboard De Lint's ship. The present article draws on the testimony of De Cavallos, and that of other contemporary observers, to establish the route that De Lint followed around the world and the story of his adventures.

Preliminary comments and acknowledgments

Several years ago a genealogical researcher and distant relative posted an article on the Rootsweb Dutch Colonies List that had appeared earlier in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*¹. This article detailed the lineage of Elisabeth de Lint, an ancestor common to both myself and the researcher. It traced her lineage back as far as Anneke Esaiasdr. of Brielle, the Anabaptist martyr executed in Delft in 1539 under Charles V's edict of 1535 which made heresy, and particularly rebaptism, a crime punishable by death. The article went on to describe how Anneke's 15-month old son was adopted and raised by the Rotterdam baker Lenert Jansz. Jansz. raised the child well and he became a prominent businessman of the city, owning a tavern (the Lindeboom in the Kipstraat) and a brewery. He was a member of the *Vroedschap*, or city council, from 1575 to 1602, and was *Burgemeester* of Rotterdam in 1580, 1581, 1589 and 1590. The children of Esaias included another common ancestor, Ewout, and one whose name was Pieter, identified in the article as a member of the Van Noort voyage of circumnavigation and offering this brief biography:

¹ The Netherlands Ancestry of Elisabeth de Lint, wife of Theunis Cornelisz. Swart, NYGBR 120, no. 2, pp. 137 & fol. (July 1989).

Pieter, born of his father's first marriage, according to his entry in NNBW², which states that in September 1598 he was captain of the yacht the *Eendracht* in the fleet of Olivier van Noort and the only survivor of a raid on the Portuguese island of Principe off Africa. In January 1600 he became captain of the *Frederik Hendrick* (*sic*) at the Straits of Magellan when his predecessor was put ashore for insubordination. He sailed off course and after a prolonged voyage reached the East Indies where his crew sold the ship for cloves. He was found near Bantam in 1602 and returned to the Netherlands, where he is believed to have died by 1618.

This rather slight but fairly accurate note eventually stimulated my curiosity to the point that I tried to find more out about this distant kinsman. I found surprisingly little beyond his minor role in reiterations of Van Noort's own account of his voyage, which ends on the occasion of De Lint's separation from the main body of the fleet on March 12 1600. In frustration I posted an inquiry on a message board operated by the Hakluyt Society, asking if anyone knew anything about De Lint. Ray Howgego, an author and an acknowledged authority on voyages of discovery, answered my query. Mr Howgego suggested my search must necessarily be conducted outside English resources on the subject and provided me with a bibliography that might contain the information I sought. Happily I found that the information was indeed available, both in Dutch and in Spanish, and the account I submit here is a synthesis of the 1926 annotations of Dr J. W. IJzerman to Van Noort's *De Reis om de Wereld*³ and Dr Engel Sluiter's 1937 *New Light from the Spanish Archives*, published also by the Linschoten Vereeniging as a supplement to Dr IJzerman's earlier *Reis om de Wereld*. Dr Sluiter provided the document as rendered by its author in 1600 in its original Spanish, and thoughtfully provided a translation, *in Dutch!* These documents, together, seem to fill most of the holes in the story of Pieter de Lint, but not his point of departure nor his route across the wide Pacific. Other sources include Spanish accounts of the countermeasures taken in South America to apprehend the intruders into what, they maintained, was their private ocean.

I am indebted for the assistance I have received and the courtesy with which it has been accompanied from the Sawyer Free Library of Gloucester, Massachusetts, which procured for me volumes I had thought unobtainable; Mr Howgego for his assistance with translating some of the more difficult passages in modern Dutch and Andre Engels for his help with totally incomprehensible archaic Dutch; to Professor Emeritus John Beauregard, archivist and curator of the rare book collection of Gordon College, Wenham, Massachusetts, where I was the first ever to view the previously uncut pages of an 1804 copy of Burney's *Chronological History*; and to my daughter Sarah Swart for proofreading my initial crude document, suggesting many changes to improve clarity.

² *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografische Woordenboek*, N. Israel, Amsterdam, 1974 (2):823–4.

³ J.W. IJzerman (ed.) and O. Van Noort, *De Reis om de Wereld, 1598-1601*, 2 vols., Linschoten-Vereeniging, 's-Gravenhage, 1926 (henceforth, 'IJzerman').

The voyage of Olivier van Noort and its background

The Dutch had the largest commercial fleet in the world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and maintained their dominant position in trade by building ships cheaply and quickly, rigging them in ways to reduce labour, manning them sparingly, paying their seamen lower wages than elsewhere and feeding them poorly. No one could ship goods more efficiently. Newly released from Spanish domination, they sought new ways to put this fleet to work⁴. Spice trading with Portugal had been profitable for Netherlands merchants during the years of Hapsburg rule, which encompassed both Spain and the Netherlands, but in 1568 the northern seven provinces revolted against Spain. In 1580 Spain absorbed Portugal, and in 1584 Portugal diverted her spice trade to the merchants in the ten southern, obedient Netherlands provinces.

For more than a century Portuguese middlemen had made the Indian Ocean their private lake, tolerating no intrusions into this territory, which had been granted to them by Pope Alexander VI in 1494. The spice trade was one of their greatest sources of income and was guarded jealously. Dutch seamen had served on many Spanish and Portuguese ships in the days of Charles V. Many were familiar with the South Seas and were willing to risk Portuguese wrath for the sake of the immense wealth possible from buying spices at their source. A Dutch spy, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, secretary to the Portuguese archbishop of Goa from 1583 to 1589, learned everything he could about the business. His treatises, *Travel Document of the Navigation of the Portuguese to the Orient*, published in 1595, contained explicit sailing directions to the islands of the South Sea and Indian Ocean, and his *Itinerario* (1596) exposed how tenuously the Portuguese held their trading empire. Dutch merchants were shortly thereafter devising schemes to exploit their weakness. Gold and silver from the Americas, enriching Philip's coffers and helping to finance his suppression of the Netherlands, was a more specific military target than Portuguese spices, and had not been ignored. A few Dutch seamen, who joined French and English privateers already operating there for decades, began to plunder outposts in the Caribbean and along the Spanish Main and to target treasure ships bound for Spain.

Olivier van Noort, a Rotterdam tavern-keeper and adventurer, fired by the lure of Spanish gold, fame and the riches of the Spice Islands, decided that he would join the ranks of the circumnavigators. He joined with three other merchants and several dozen smaller shareholders to form a *rederij* – a company of trader-adventurers and a common means of joint financing practiced in the Netherlands⁵. Authority was granted by the States-General for the undertaking and the Prince of Orange issued Letters-of-Marque authorizing the expedition to make war on Spanish ships and possessions:

⁴ C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*, Penguin Books, London, 1990 (originally published by Hutchinson, London, 1965), p. 22 (henceforth, 'Boxer').

⁵ Boxer, pp. 6-7; IJzerman, p. xx.

We, Maurice, Prince of Orange, have fitted out these vessels which we are sending to the coasts of Asia, Africa, America and the East Indies to negotiate treaties and to trade with the inhabitants of these regions. But as we have been informed that the Spanish and the Portuguese are hostile to the subjects of our provinces, and are interfering with their navigation and trade in these waters, contrary to all natural rights of cities and nations, we hereby give explicit orders to go to these islands, to resist, to make war, and to strike as many blows as possible against said Spanish and Portuguese.

The warrant was signed on 28 June 1598. Investors in Rotterdam furnished two ships, a veteran of the joint English-Dutch assault on Cadiz in 1596⁶ of about 275 tons named *Mauritius*⁷ after Prince Maurice, and a 50-ton yacht, the *Eendracht* (Concord). Other investors in Amsterdam raised enough money to buy and equip two additional ships, the 350-ton *Hendrick Frederick* (named for the Stadtholder's brother) and the 50-ton yacht, *Hoop*. The investors' company elected Van Noort *Admiraal* of the enterprise, with the *Mauritius* his flagship (Huigen Jansz. van Troyen, master). On the *Hendrick Frederick* was *Vice-Admiraal* Jakob Claesz. van Ilpendam (Arend Klaesz. Kalkbuis or Callebuys, master). Jakob Jansz. Huidekoper was captain of the *Hoop* and Pieter Esaiasz. de Lint, a thirty-year-old from Rotterdam, was captain of the *Eendracht*.

De Lint was a very junior commander of a very small ship when the expedition set sail from Goeree, southern Holland, on 13 September 1598, after several weeks of delay while the Amsterdam component itself got underway. De Lint's adventure was very nearly ended before it had properly begun. On 11 December 1598 Van Noort sent a shore party to the Portuguese Island of Principe to bargain for provisions. While Portugal was technically at war with the Netherlands (the thrones of Portugal and Spain were united in 1580), the Dutch had enjoyed prosperous trade with Portugal until 1584, when King Philip II, only then securely in power⁸, closed all Portuguese ports to the provinces of the Low Countries who were in revolt against his rule⁹. Van Noort sent responsible officers of the fleet under a flag of truce to conduct the business, expecting a courteous reception. The Portuguese allowed the party to come ashore, then set upon them, killing all but De Lint, who narrowly escaped. Cornelis van Noort, brother of the admiral; Captain Melis, an experienced English navigator who had sailed with Cavendish, whom Van Noort had taken great pains to recruit (his loss was to be costly, indeed, for Van Noort's voyage is most remarkable for its failure to find its way); Daniel Gerretsz. van der Buys, *commis* (trader), from the *Mauritius* and Hans van Bremen, *stuurman* (first mate) of the *Hendrick Frederick* were among the dead.

⁶ Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. & ed. by J. S. Cummins, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1971.

⁷ J. Burney, *A Chronological History of Voyages of Discovery*, London, 1804, p. xx, maintains that the *Mauritius* was Van Noort's personal ship.

⁸ Don Antonio, the prior of Crato, pretender to the Portuguese throne, made his last, unsuccessful attempt to unseat Philip in 1583. See note 53.

⁹ '... both sides were largely kept going with resources provided by trading with the enemy... in the years 1572–1648 they were carried on by both sides to unprecedented lengths. ... the trade continue(d) on payment of special port charges by those concerned therein. The receipts... formed the chief source of income for the five provincial admiralties... which maintained the Dutch warships...', Boxer, pp. 23–24.

The relatively simple voyage across the Atlantic was complicated by scurvy, ship fever, poor rations, insubordination, cruel punishments, inaccurate navigation (not a single way-point was successfully achieved), terrible storms, worse calms, and desertion. Along the way, the *Eendracht* was abandoned as unseaworthy, and her equipment, crew and supplies distributed throughout the fleet. De Lint was without a command only for a few days, for Jakob Huidekoper died of scurvy and De Lint was named captain in his stead. The *Hoop* was renamed *Eendracht*. The fleet finally reached the entrance to the Strait of Magellan at Cape Virgins after more than a year in the Atlantic.

Vice-Admiraal Jakob Claesz. had difficulty submitting to Van Noort's authority. He was haughty and sneered (with good cause) at Van Noort's seamanship. He may have skirted close to mutiny, but only Van Noort's side of the story survives. The articles issued by Prince Maurice required absolute obedience to the commander. Jakob Claesz. was arrested on Christmas Day, 1599, and given three weeks to prepare his defence. Van Noort assembled a court and duly tried the unfortunate man. He was found guilty of conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline; his sentence to be abandoned on a desolate island in the strait with a few weeks' supply of food and wine. Nothing is known of his fate. Pieter was appointed *Vice-Admiraal* in his place, and transferred to the *Hendrick Frederick*. Lambert Biesman, who signed on to the voyage as a head trader, was made skipper of the *Eendracht*. That part of De Lint's story with which we are concerned begins with his elevation to *Vice-Admiraal* and command of the *Hendrick Frederick* on 26 January 1600.¹⁰

The progress of the fleet into the Pacific and the separation of De Lint's vessel

The Strait of Magellan was entered on the fifth attempt on 25 November 1599. The passage was arduous. Rare favourable winds blew the fleet out into the Pacific on 29 February 1600 (old calendar), where the weather was stormy with poor visibility¹¹. On 12 March at 46° S. latitude the *Hendrick Frederick* lost sight of the other vessels and was never to see them again. A plan had been agreed upon to cover this eventuality, for it was well known that progress through the strait was difficult and separation likely. Stragglers were instructed to make their way to the island of Santa Maria, well north along the coast, in warmer latitudes¹², and to wait there for two months for the fleet to assemble. De Lint did exactly as he was told, and arrived at Santa Maria on 25 March, 1600.

¹⁰ It should be mentioned that at De Lint's side after his promotion was his sailing master, or *Schipper*, Arend Claesz. Callebuys. He might have been senior to De Lint, considering their relative positions and responsibilities at the beginning of the voyage. Callebuys (alternatively, Kalkbuis or Calckbuys) had shipped on the *Hendrick Frederick* in Amsterdam, and had no difficulty finding subsequent employment. After the return of the crew to Rotterdam, Callebuys obtained the same position on the turnaround voyage of the 600-ton *Amsterdam*, embarking from Texel on 18 December 1603, returning to Bantam, arriving on 31 December 1604. He died at sea between Borneo and Celebes on 31 July 1605 (IJzerman).

¹¹ 'Van Noort with two ships and a yacht entered the South Sea, after a most tedious (and to say the truth, unskillful) navigation of nearly a year and a half from the time of his leaving Holland', J. Burney, *A Chronological History of the Principal Voyages, etc.*, London, 1804, vol. 2, p. 219 (henceforth, 'Burney').

¹² Latitude of Santa Maria is 36°58' N.

Van Noort had also arrived at Santa Maria on 25 March, but considerably earlier than De Lint. When Van Noort approached the island he could see a sail. At first he thought he was reunited with the *Hendrick Frederick*, but upon nearing the island he could see that it was a Spanish patache¹³, the *Buen Jesus*, part of a reconnaissance party sent from Callao¹⁴ in January, making frenzied preparation for departure. Van Noort, always hungry for prizes, gave chase, and pursued the Spanish ship into the next day, finally capturing her. The ship had been sent to watch the sea lanes to the south, to warn the coast if more intruders made their way through the strait, as four ships of a second Dutch expedition, initially under the command of Jacques Mahu, but after Mahu's death under Simon de Cordes, had already passed through since September¹⁵. One of the ships now lay in Callao harbour¹⁶ and its captain, Dirck Gherritsz. Pomp¹⁷ was a prisoner in Lima.

The Viceroy of Peru had received news from Spain about Dutch intentions in June 1599. On November 8 the Viceroy had been informed by the Governor of the Province of the River Plate of Van Noort's dilatory progress along the Atlantic Coast in August and at Rio de Janeiro the previous February¹⁸. On December 2 he was informed of the Chilean intrusion of the Dutch Mahu-DeCordes fleet, and on December 8, the *Blijde Boodschaap*, of the Mahu expedition, was taken from Valparaiso, where she had surrendered, to Callao, with her captain Dirck Gherritsz. Pomp a prisoner. On 1 January 1600, with eight ships at his disposal, he sent, under the command of Pedro Ozores de Ulloa, two galleons and the *Buen Jesus* to stand off Santa Maria until 20 March. Then the galleons were to break away to accompany the silver ship from Arica (carrying the annual production of the mines of San Luis Potosi) to Callao, while the *Buen Jesus* continued the patrol. The five remaining ships he sent for sentry duty off Pisco, about two degrees south of Callao, until they should be required, in turn, to escort the silver shipment, just transferred from Arica, from Callao to Panama¹⁹.

Van Noort knew nothing of this of course, but lusted after the prize, and subsequently did nothing to conceal himself from Spanish attention. The chase carried Van Noort far to the north. The captain of the *Buen Jesus*, now a prisoner aboard the *Mauritius*, advised him that the prevailing winds are southerly, so Van Noort decided he could not manage the rendezvous at Santa Maria (in Van Noort's defence, the square-rigged ocean ships of the period could not make way against headwinds, and the captured

¹³ A patache of that period was a small ship, often used for dispatches, of less than 60 tons burden, not usually longer than 60 feet, exclusive of bowsprit, shipping 6-10 guns and crewed by about 40 men.

¹⁴ P. T. Bradley, *The Lure of Peru; Maritime intrusion into the South Sea, 1598-1701*, St Martins Press, New York, 1989, p. 34 and pp. 156-7. (henceforth, 'Bradley').

¹⁵ The ill-fated Mahu-De Cordes expedition had left Rotterdam a few months before Van Noort. Better equipped and financed than Van Noort's expedition, it nevertheless was largely a failure, save only for the personal success of William Adams, the English navigator who became a samurai in Japan. See Giles Milton, *Samurai William, the Englishman who opened Japan*, Lonon & New York, 2002.

¹⁶ Callao was the port serving Lima, the seat of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

¹⁷ Sometimes styling himself Dirck Gherritsz. China.

¹⁸ Burney, vol. 2, p. 233.

¹⁹ P. Gerhard, *Pirates of the Pacific 1575-1742*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1990 (orig. Arthur H. Clark, 1960), p.27 (henceforth, 'Gerhard'). P. T. Bradley, 'Maritime Defence of the Viceroyalty of Peru (1600-1700)', *The Americas*, 36, 2, 1979, pp. 156-7.

captain neglected to tell him that he might find northerly winds farther out to sea). Van Noort continued on his way north, now in company with the *Buen Jesus*. Don Francisco, who had left Callao after Pomp's arrival there, probably informed Van Noort about Pomp's detention in Lima. A slave named Emanuel from the crew of the *Buen Jesus* told Van Noort that she had been carrying three boatloads of gold that the captain had dumped overboard during the chase rather than let it fall into pirate hands. Van Noort tortured a second slave and the pilot, Juan de San Aval, until he verified that the story was true. He failed to ask why a picket ship should have gold on board.

De Lint, meanwhile, followed his instructions to the letter. Dirck Gherritsz. Pomp²⁰, a prisoner still, but with enough freedom to learn much from his captors, confirms for us that De Lint was still at Santa Maria on April 25. In his memoirs Pomp wrote that on that date a great unidentified privateer ship was sighted near Concepción, opposite the island of Santa Maria, which had seized a Spanish provisioning ship under way to the garrison at Fort Arauco, loaded with food. The crew attempted to escape by taking to their longboats²¹, but the privateer captured the ship and its crew from the longboats and placed the crew on shore, where they were terrified of the Indians. The privateer commandeered the food and supplies, and then returned the empty ship to the indignant crew, calling it bartering. The Spanish crew's word for it was 'underhanded'. On May 2 the privateer was still at anchor there. This privateer could only be the *Hendrick Frederick*. The last lingering ship from the earlier Mahu-De Cordes fleet was still in the Chiloe Archipelago on that date, and would remain there through the end of May.

On 25 April, the Viceroy of Peru, in Lima, Luis de Velasco, Marqués de Salinas, learned of Van Noort's presence. Van Noort had been sailing in full view along the coast since taking the *Buen Jesus*. On 28 April Van Noort reached Valparaíso. There he released the prisoners from the *Buen Jesus*, excepting only Emanuel, another slave and the pilot, Juan de San Aval, who would be useful for coastal navigation. While at Valparaíso, Van Noort seized the *Los Picos*, another victualling ship²² carrying leather, wine, olives and fruit, and intercepted letters bound for Panama, from which he learned more about Pomp's imprisonment and the death of Simon de Cordes, leader of the failed expedition which had preceded him. His captured prize ships *Buen Jesus* and *Los Picos* now accompanied him. On 1 May he put in at Huasco where he obtained fresh meat and fruit²³ and burned the *Los Picos*. Having some apprehension of the Viceroy's strategy, Van Noort gave Spanish Naval Base at Callao²⁴ (and fortunately at Pisco) a wide berth as he continued his northward sail.

²⁰ Dirck Gherritsz. Pomp, *Complete report of information with regard to the sea rovers who escaped the Viceroy of Peru on the occasion of their coming through the Strait of Magellan in the year 1599, &c.*, Linschoten-Vereeniging, 1915, p.154. IJzerman, p.124 ff.

²¹ Ibid.

²² K. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire, Piracy in the Americas 1500-1750*, M. E. Sharpe, Armonk New York, 1998. p. 76. (henceforth, 'Lane')

²³ Ibid. Lane says 1 April but must mean 1 May.

²⁴ Callao lies in 12° S.

In Lima, the viceroy was not slow to respond to this threat. The five-ship squadron under the command of the viceroy's nephew Juan de Velasco, now patrolling off Pisco, well armed and carrying 400 men, was already assembled to accompany the annual silver shipment to Panama for transshipment overland to the Atlantic.²⁵ The viceroy gave his nephew Velasco the additional task of searching for the *corsarios* as soon as the silver was safely transferred to a Spain-bound ship in the Atlantic. One of the prisoners released from the *Buen Jesus* told the Viceroy that the pirate wanted to capture the Manila Galleon at Cabo San Lucas, as Thomas Cavendish had done in 1587. Velasco's first assignment was not completed until months after Van Noort had turned west to commence his passage over the Pacific Ocean.²⁶ After leaving Panama on 13 August, the squadron reached Acapulco, the Galleon's traditional landfall, on 26 August. Velasco reported that they had "counted the rocks along the shore" from Panama north, and found no trace of the enemy, whom he believed had already turned west. The search for Van Noort had the happy result of placing five Spanish ships nicely out of De Lint's way.

Near the end of May, De Lint, abandoning his watch, began his northward course. By 18 June, when he reached Arica, at the northernmost point of Chile where the continent begins its westward bulge, the viceroy still did not know that there was another corsair operating in his waters. At Arica De Lint sent out two of his ship's boats to capture a small bark at anchor in the harbor. A hot reception from the Spanish gunners in the fort forced him to withdraw in haste. This feat is related in an account by the tireless diarist, Dirck Gherritz., titled "van de gelegentheijt van Chili ende wat macht de Spaniarden aldaer te lande hebben"²⁷, which contains all that is known from Dutch sources about the voyage of De Lint along the coast of South America. In it he states, "Pieter Esaiasz., vice-admiral to Olivier, who came in place of Jacob Claesz., came by a Spanish bark bound for the harbor of Arica. In it were 700 silver bars, each worth maybe 700, 800, 900 or even 1000 reals. However, the steward was blamed for a mix-up with an identical but insignificant bark ... " The steward, Christiaen Haese, must have related the tale to Gherritz. after he had been placed ashore at Guayaquil²⁸ with other accumulated prisoners by De Lint as punishment for his failure to capture, or perhaps only to correctly identify, the targeted bark.²⁹ In any case, De Lint failed to capture the alleged cargo of silver. De Lint seems to have been as gullible, when great riches were in the offing, as Van Noort. IJzerman dismisses the stories of lost gold and silver as fables "in the land of the imagination."

Van Noort turned into the Pacific on 10 May, well before De Lint had left his vigil at Santa Maria. Charts provided for the Van Noort fleet must have shown Isla del Coco, an infrequently visited island paradise. Van Noort made for Coco, but with his accustomed skill failed to find it after a three-week search, so he gave it up and

²⁵ Gerhard, pp. 104–5.

²⁶ 10 May, 1600.

²⁷ 'Of the Situation in Chile and what Authority the Spaniards there have over the Land'.

²⁸ Lane, p. 77. Guayaquil at 2°S.

²⁹ Dirck Gherritz. Pomp., pp. 90 & 104 (in van Noort, p. 124). It is not clear just what Haese did to incur such displeasure.

proceeded for the Ladrões,³⁰ which would be his first landfall in the East. Along the way, he abandoned the *Buen Jesus*, which had broken her rudder on 15 August³¹, and on 28 August an unidentified prize for which he had no further use. Shortly after that, he threw the coastal pilot captured from the *Buen Jesus*, Juan de San Aval, over the side³². The unfortunate man had accused Van Noort of trying to poison him to death, even though he had previously been treated with courtesy and took his meals with the officers³³.

Van Noort had a relatively easy passage to Guam, where he was able to trade bits of iron for food. At Luzon, on 15 October, he pretended to be a French ship with permission to trade in the Indies. When his ruse was discovered, he sailed on, more pirate than trader, looting every ship he found. When he got to Manila he lurked outside the harbor, continuing his piracy. He continued in this activity for about a month, while the Manila authorities frantically modified a merchant ship for war at the Cavite shipyard and completed the construction of another whose keel had already been laid. When the forces met on 14 December 1600, Van Noort improbably came out the winner, but with the loss of the *Eendracht*, now commanded by Lambert Biesman, a member of the first Dutch expedition into the Indian Ocean in 1594. Biesman and his entire crew were summarily executed, the usual Spanish response to piracy³⁴. Considerably weakened, Van Noort could think only of returning home. To satisfy his investors he paused in Brunei and attempted to obtain pepper, but he was largely unsuccessful. Next he tried for Bantam, but displaying his accustomed skill he was unable to reach it. Blown eastward down the Java Sea, he was finally able to pass through the Bali strait, where he paused in a Javanese town long enough to buy a cargo of mace³⁵. He reached Rotterdam on 26 August 1601.

De Lint had proceeded no farther than Camana by 1 July (16°42'S), as the *corregidor*³⁶ there promptly reported. The viceroy first learned of De Lint's visit to Arica on this date. At nearby Quilca, De Lint encountered a frigate underway from Callao (12°S), which escaped after a tenacious pursuit. The frigate's crew reported this encounter at Callao on 18 July, but De Lint, obliged by the frigate's escape to forego the coast in order to avoid detection, sailed by unnoticed by Spanish authorities.³⁷ The Viceroy responded to this latest threat quickly. With no clear idea of the size of the force he faced, he prepared two squadrons from ships he scraped together somehow, to search for the Dutchmen³⁸. Both were underway by 8 July³⁹. The first squadron he placed under

³⁰ Modern Mariana Islands.

³¹ Burney, vol. 2, p. 225.

³² Ibid. 'Casting into the sea was the established mode of punishment for pirates, and was especially decreed to be put in force against the crews of the privateers of Dunkirk, which at the time greatly infested the trade of Holland. It was called *Droit du laver les pieds*.'

³³ R. Silverberg, *The Longest Voyage*, Ohio University Press, 1997 (orig. Bobbs-Merrill, 1972), p. 414.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 419.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 419–20.

³⁶ A sort of mayor or magistrate.

³⁷ Pomp, p. 157 (in van Noort, p. 125).

³⁸ The information about the two squadrons was kindly summarized for me by Mr Howgego from Riccardo Cappa, *Estudio Crítico acerca de la Dominación española en América*, Madrid, 1889–97.

the command of Gabriel de Castilla, with a galleon and three armed ships and instructions to search southward from Callao along the coast to the latitude of Santa Maria. He searched painstakingly, entering all the little bays and estuaries and scouring the islands, and found no trace of them. The second squadron, under the command of Hernando Lamero Gallego de Andrade, with three ships and a launch, was ordered to search from Paita north to the Gulf of San Mateo in Costa Rica.

The *corregidor* of Santa⁴⁰ received information on 17 July from the Callao-bound frigate that a Dutch pirate had pursued him and was headed in the direction of Santa on 11 July. As soon as the *corregidor* heard this news he sent a boat out to try to observe the pirate's activities at the anchorage, but De Lint had already moved on, if he stopped there at all. This was lucky for De Lint, for the following day vice-admiral Hernando Lamero came with a task force of two of his ships and a pinnace.⁴¹ In August young Velasco spent ten days scouring the Baja California coast, from La Paz to beyond Cabo San Lucas – the whole of the southern tip of the Baja. Finding nothing, he began to doubt that the Dutchmen were ever there. Hernando de Lugones, one of his captains, said, "There is news of the enemy everywhere, but they are like phantoms, which appear in many places, whereas we find them in none." Unfortunately, the task force was overtaken by a great storm in mid-August on their return from Lower California, and the flagship was lost with all hands along the coast of Mexico at Salagua, near Acapulco. The battered remnants limped into Acapulco for repairs. On 4 November they resumed the search, both for their missing admiral and for Van Noort, finally sailing back to Callao in February⁴².

Continuing his northerly course, De Lint reached the island of Coiba, just off the thumb of Panama, in early August,⁴³ where he landed to take aboard plantains, water, and wood.⁴⁴ Back at sea, he captured a small maize carrier on 11 August⁴⁵ near Caño, not far away. From this vessel the Franciscan friar Agustin de Cavallos was taken aboard and would remain for some time with De Lint as a captive.

The testimony of Agustin de Cavallos

While aboard De Lint's vessel, the friar Agustin de Cavallos made many acute observations and subsequently passed them on to the *audiencia* of Guatemala in the form of a letter, of which a copy, contemporary to the period, survives⁴⁶. The document, discovered by the late Professor Engel Sluiter of the University of California at Berkeley, holds a major position in the current article and is reproduced here in full.

³⁹ Pomp, p. 155 (in van Noort, p. 125).

⁴⁰ Santa at 9°S.

⁴¹ IJzerman, p. 125.

⁴² Gerhard, p. 105

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Coiba lies at 8°N.

⁴⁵ Juan de Velasco left Panama on August 13 to conduct his northerly search while De Lint was operating in the same waters.

⁴⁶ E. Sluiter, *New Light from the Spanish Archives*, supplement to IJzerman, *De Reis om de Wereld*, Linschoten Vereeniging, 's-Gravenhage, 1937. (henceforth, 'Sluiter'.)

Archivo General de Indias. Audiencia de Méjico, 24 (Est. 58, Caj. 3, Leg. 13)

Copy of a letter that a friar of Saint Francis (who was robbed on the coast of Nicoya by a corsair) sent to the President and Oidores of the Audiencia Real of Guatemala.

Most Powerful Sir [Muy Poderoso Señor],

Because knowing the intentions and disposition of an enemy tends to have a great effect on the ability to prevent that in which he might try to offend, I have been moved to relate to your highness the following story:

I left the harbor of Nicoya near Panama on the 8th of August last, on board a frigate that left from there with a lading of 400 *fanegas* (about 55 ½ litres each, ed.) of maize. On the 11th of that month we met up with a ship, close by the island of Cano (8 degrees 45'N.), that, since we were in sight and becalmed, the ship set out two longboats after us. We fled for our lives in the frigate's boat, but it did not benefit us for want of oars and we were six miles from shore, and he pulled us in. We were seven Spaniards, in addition to one negro belonging to the skipper and a young Indian. They were gladdened greatly when they learned we had maize on board. Taking all of what we had with us, they carried us to their ship.

It was a Dutch ship, named the *Hendrick Frederick*, which name is written on the bow, under the bulwarks. The ship was of about 300 tons capacity, and carried on board seven pieces of bronze cannon and 10, not very big, of cast iron. There were in addition other light cannon, which altogether amounted to 26 or 25 pieces, many weapons and ammunition, and the capacity on board of about 54 men. Of this crew, one man was about as bad as the next, all of them rascals. The important people on the ship comprise the skipper, the ensign and one trader, who complained that he had been deceived by promises of the pursuit of trade. He recognized as soon as they came through the strait that the returns from plundering and all the other evils they do were slim and they could do better.

The three are Pieter Esais Lin⁴⁷, coming from Rotterdam, who claimed that the house where he was born was the same house in which Erasmus was born, the ensign named Daniel (probably Daniel van der Leck, who had gone aboard the *H. F.* as *commies* or *onder-commies*), and the trader Antonio Ynsuleno Niveló (mangled name of Anthony van Suylen van Nyvelt, *commies* on the *H. F.* ed.).

The captain said that when he saw all the difficulties he must overcome he would like to set the ship on fire, but he knew that as soon as he tried that, the others would strike him dead, and in such discord he lived. He further related to me that on the 10th of the past month they had been out of Holland for two years, and that six ships started out, but they

⁴⁷ Pieter Esaias de Lint. He came with the fleet as captain of the *Eendracht*. After his yacht was burned he went over as captain to the *Hoop*. Finally, with the setting ashore of Jacob Cleasz. Van Ipendam, he was moved up to vice-admiral and captain of the *Hendrick Frederick*. IJzerman, vol. 1, p. 49

lost each other in the Strait of Magellan. Three went out ahead of the others, and in the end 4 ships came through, one after another. They did not know what befell the others. But now there are already 18 ships lying in the strait, and they will soon bestir themselves from their repose and go away from there.⁴⁸

They had a passport for the admiral of these first ships to sail on this voyage, in the Spanish tongue, given by the Prince of Orange to empower these his subjects. It was written on a parchment of one ell in the square (an ell is about 28 inches), and stored in a tin case thicker than the palm of a hand, protecting the colorful seal of the fore-said prince. The content, insofar as I recall from a single reading, is as follows:

“We, Prince of Orange, Duke of Deutschland [sic], Stadtholder of the United⁴⁹ Netherlandic Provinces, Admiral of the German Sea [sic], etc., make known to all who see this, that in order to preserve peace, we have with good intent sent several ships to the coast of Africa, Guinea, Brazil and the West Indies, for the purpose of engaging in trade, which fleet may not be removed from the command of Admiral N., *creo decia litur biet*. And whenever they find no opportunity, or when opportunity is restricted or prohibited with regard to the fore-mentioned trade, they must do whatever they can by force of arms, provided that they offend none of their Imperial Majesties, neither the King of France nor the King of Scotland nor of England, (at the time I had reached this point it was pointed out to me that King Philip was not mentioned here because he is their enemy), and above-said ships must remain under command of the above-said admiral, and we invite all gentlemen into whose dominions they enter to receive them well, and to offer assistance, under the promise of assistance in return. Given in my palace, I believe, sometime in July '98.”

(Maurice of Nassau, followed by the name of the secretary)

They found no one of any other nation. Almost all they encountered were Spanish, and they inquired of them details of the harbors. Most of the sailors spoke the Spanish tongue; in particular, one sailor they had as an interpreter was as comfortable as I speaking Spanish. His name is Bartolome Graf⁵⁰, who maintained that he left Holland for Spain to serve as a hostage pledge for Don Francisco De Sotomayor, and that he had lived in Spain for more than six years, and he is a man of about 36 years. He said that Don Antonio⁵¹ died and that his son Don Alonso is betrothed to the sister of the Prince of Orange and that Don Alonso's brother is with him.

⁴⁸ There is great confusion here. These are the facts: 1) The fleet of Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes, five sails, left from Rotterdam to the Strait of Magellan on 27 June, 1598. 2) The fleet of Olivier van Noort, four sails, left the same harbor for the same destination on 13 September, 1598. When the ships of Van Noort and Mahu-De Cordes are counted together, there were eight ships in the strait (the *Eendracht* was burned.) But there were never eighteen! This misinformation reached Spain, where it gave rise to the rumour of eighteen ships in the west, spoken of even in Holland. See: F. C. Weider, *De Reis Van Mahu en De Cordes*, 3 vols, 's-Gravenhage, 1923–25, and J. T. Medina (ed.), *Los Hollandeses en Chile* (Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile, vol. 45, Santiago de Chile, 1923), p. 267.

⁴⁹ In the Spanish text, *Reconciliados*. Properly the southern regions not intended to be included.

⁵⁰ Bartolomus de Graf. He is to be found among the ratings of the *Hendrick Frederick*, but what position he filled is not known. He arrived in Ternate well, and died there in 1610. (IJerman II, p. 67.)

⁵¹ The Prior of Crato, born in Lisbon (1531) and died in Paris (1595). An important figure in the history of Portugal, particularly in the dispute over the accession of Philip II of Spain to the throne of Portugal (1580). Don Antonio was crowned and ruled, as a pretender, from the Azores, where he struck a coin to help establish his reign's legitimacy. His last attempt to unseat Philip was in 1583. See *Encyclopaedia Universal Ilustrada*, 5, 840, in *Wikipedia* (Internet resource).

On the 25th of November next it will be one year since they were burdened with sailing into the strait, and this ship was occupied for 5 months in the passage through.⁵² They had strife there with the Indians, but no Hollanders were killed.⁵³ They captured an Indian youth of about 9 years and took him with them as their prisoner, and he still survives. All those who were captured remain alive, and these youths showed on their bodies more than 20 wounds. The Hollanders say they named the youth after their prince, Maurice. Once, they said, while they were in the harbor of Concepcion⁵⁴ in Chile, they were aggrieved that the governor had tried to capture them by deceit. In retaliation they seized a ship, laden with timber, and sent it to the bottom.

From Chile they took four soldiers, captured from the garrison, and released them to make their way overland to Puna.⁵⁵ A Hollander was with them, the steward⁵⁶, who served them on their own ship, but the Hollanders decided to abandon him, and the Spaniards asked to keep the steward with them, so the Hollanders released him to them. The Hollanders had kept strict accounts on the steward, and it was probably their intent to put him ashore all along.

The Hollander took a ship from Loaysa and said that he burned it, because it was leaky. He took the ship that went to Chile to bring help for the soldiers. He took much wheat and more than 100 sheep from a Chilean island. He took an Indian hamlet that lay over by Arica and set it ablaze, and all the Indians fled. There he found great stores of fish, and partook of it. From there he pursued a ship for two days, but he had need of more wind, The sailors on this ship defended themselves when the Hollander sent his sloops. These sloops used up all their gunpowder and returned to the (Dutch) ship to fetch more. Meanwhile the other ship ran in under the fort of Arica. When the Hollander also went inside the harbor with his ship, he was bombarded from the fort, and he (the Hollander) retreated, but he said that, as he still carried away one ship, he had thus taken the place⁵⁷.

At the latitude of Cape San Francisco⁵⁸ he said that he met up with a great ship that shot off a cannon and unfurled its topsail, but before the ship had steerageway, finding himself in danger, he got out of its way. They presumed that this ship was from Bravo, carrying soldiers from Panama to Chile, 300 in all, so they say. From there they put up by certain islands that lie more up by Panama, named Quicara and Coiba⁵⁹, and there took in

⁵² The first attempt at entry into the strait was made on 5 November, 1599. The fifth attempt on 25 November was finally successful. The fleet came out into the Pacific Ocean on 29 February, 1600. (IJerman, I, pp. 29, 33, 52).

⁵³ In the introduction to his account of the voyage, Van Noort related that on 25 November they went ashore inside the strait, and were engaged in a fight there with the Indians, in which the Hollanders killed several, and brought back to the fleet, "four youngsters (knechten) and two girls (meyskens)". It turned out after all that two Hollanders died after the skirmish. (IJerman, I, pp. 34–35, 46–47.)

⁵⁴ It is known from other Spanish sources that the *Hendrick Frederick* anchored by Concepción (36°50' S) on 25 April, that it overtook a Spanish ship near Santa Maria Island and that on 2 May they attempted to conduct trade with the Spaniards. (IJerman, Dirck Gherritz Pomp, pp. 154-156)

⁵⁵ An island in the Gulf of Guayaquil.

⁵⁶ This was Christiaen Haese, set on land by De Lint for a misdemeanor. (Ibid., Pomp, p. 104.) He was lost out of Spanish hands in 1603 at San Lucar, off the coast of Spain, from a Galleon, according to Tymon Barentsz. (IJerman, II, p. 68.)

⁵⁷ This is consistent with the report of Don Louis de Velasco to the King. Pomp, p. 104, 155–7.

⁵⁸ This cape lies on the northwesterly coast of Ecuador at 0°45'N.

⁵⁹ Coiba, between 7°20'–7°45'N.; and Jicaron, at 7°15'N.

bananas, water, and wood. They plan to go away up in California, near where the ship from China⁶⁰ comes, where they mean to find their admiral, for which reason they direct their course from the ship's log of Thomas Candux⁶¹, the Englishman who captured the ship *Santa Anna*. Therein they all find whatever they desire, because it is only a copy written out by hand from the journal, and therein they peruse steadily. They have many sea-charts with them, course books, land charts, and astrolabes, and the ship carries more than fifteen compass needles, and whenever they go somewhere in a sloop they never fail to have a compass by them. From there they plan to sail to Molucca and Canton to pursue trade. They plan to refit the hull of their ship where the Englishman⁶² did it in California. They said that when they return their ships unscathed to Holland, they will come back over the sea from the north to conquer Panama, as the Englishman⁶³ had failed to do.

All these things I learned and attempted to come to know in the 16 days that I was carried with them in the direction of Realejo⁶⁴. During the course of time, on Saturday the 26th of above-said August, we found ourselves again at the level of Cape Blanco⁶⁵. Sunday morning at the dawn of day a ship lay close by that was under way to Costa Rica, owned by a Portuguese named Pedro Gonçalez, and they captured it. It was laden with ship's biscuit, which wanted little for 100 quintals⁶⁶, and of flour more than 400 fanegas, and much butter and bacon, and a little rigging. After the ship was captured what tallow it had on board was thrown into the sea, then it was stripped of its rigging, then they left off for a while. On Monday the 28th, at nightfall, they set it afire, almost ten miles at sea. It burned the entire night until dawn, then it sank. This ship was very near 2500 arrobas⁶⁷. On board this ship they found 11 Spaniards, 4 negroes, and a negress, and carried them aboard.

Of the 11, as I said, that were Spaniards, one was a Hollander, named Cornelio, who by chance had come to Costa Rica, and he stayed with his shipmates. The sailors say that they know he has a wife in Triana⁶⁸. The captain said to me that they were two miles out from the land, but the carcass of the burnt ship accompanied them contentedly. He said that they must not treat us wickedly, because he, for all the 22 years he was under our leadership, had always been treated well.

Sunday the 29th they released the skipper of the other ship in his sloop with all his crew, except for the three negroes that they, as far as I saw, took along with them. They set us free, 10 or 12 miles at sea from the direction of Realejo, bereft of everything.

⁶⁰ The 'Manila Galleon', that once a year or once every two years makes the journey from Manila to Acapulco in Mexico.

⁶¹ Thomas Cavendish, the commander of the voyage around the world, accomplished 1586–88. On November 4, 1587 he overcame one of the richly laden Manila Galleons. Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Trafficques and Discoveries of the English nation*, London, 1907, 8, pp. 206–7, 235. His English pilot, Captain Melis, came also with the fleet of Olivier van Noort, but died before the ships entered the Pacific Ocean. IJzerman I, pp. 2,6.

⁶² Francis Drake, the second commander to sail around the world (1577–80). He scraped his hull and obtained refreshment on the coast of northern California (38° N.), where he stayed on land from June 17 to July 23, 1579. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, Hakluyt Society, London 1854, pp. 7, 115–13 (henceforth 'Drake').

⁶³ Francis Drake (on a different voyage) rested his fleet off Nombre de Dios then marched overland against Panama. Drake, VIII–IX.

⁶⁴ Realejo 12°30'N.

⁶⁵ The southerly point of the peninsula of Nicoya (9°N.).

⁶⁶ A quintal is about 100 pounds.

⁶⁷ Arroba: 11½ kilogram.

⁶⁸ That section of the city of Seville (in Spain) that lies west of the Gaudalquivir.

The holy pictures (by heaven) which we had with us he burned, and the incense for the *agnus dei* they threw down and trod on with their feet. They had many Lutheran and Calvinist books on board written in Spanish. This frigate, wherein we traveled, is low built⁶⁹ and laden with about 450 fanegas of maize. Upon the forecastle are mounted two guns of cast iron and four small cannon, 10 men with pikes, and all kinds of munitions. The frigate is small enough to easily run within and pursue wherever it is his will. He had the frigate's sternpost bedecked with boxwood and dressed up to look Spanish, which deception he can bring about, above all through the interpreter he carries with him, who knows excellent Spanish.

However, I have been prolix, and I have finished placing that which I convey before your High Eminence. God give you long life and increase of dominion and authority.

Out of the harbor of Nicoya, 2 September '600.
The humble servant of Your Highness,
Fray Agustin de Cavallos

Address: To the *President* and *Oidores* of the *Real Audiencia* of Guatemala (collected).
In *Real Acuerdo*, Warning of enemies.

This letter was written to the *Real Audiencia* of Guatemala by a father of the Order of St. Francis, named Fray Agustin de Cavallos, as he signed himself therein, the original thereof is in possession of the President and Governor of Guatemala, Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla.

De Lint's voyage across the Pacific

We must now turn to the route De Lint took across the Pacific, although much about it must remain conjectural. Both Sluiter⁷⁰ and IJzerman⁷¹ make a case for De Lint to have taken the route of Drake across the Pacific, with yet-to-be discovered Dutch exploration of the California coast north of the Baja. There are certainly plenty of coves, bays and estuaries to provide safe careenage and ample food along that coast, and all ocean mariners of the day certainly had read Drake. Emulating him might have been a great temptation. A strong argument, however, is presented by Gerhard⁷² and endorsed by Lane, that De Lint prepared himself for the crossing at Isla del Coco, which Van Noort had so typically failed to reach. Two important considerations support the argument for Coco, while only conjecture supports the argument for Drake's route. The first is that Van Noort seemed to have an intention, previously conceived, to use it at the very least as a secondary point of departure, if other places were untenable (as, for example, if the Spanish were closing in on him); and he seemed determined to get there, lavishing three weeks' worth of supplies in his vain search. Secondly, there is the hard-to-dismiss evidence that some of Spielbergen's sailors knew of Coco in 1615, and urged Spielbergen

⁶⁹ In English this means 'flush decked' or 'race built', according to Julian S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, London 1912, I, pp. 355–60.

⁷⁰ Sluiter, pp. 38, 39.

⁷¹ IJzerman, p. 125.

⁷² P. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 113 n.

to go there⁷³. All of the earlier Mahu-De Cordes expedition's crossings were from southern latitudes, and in any case few of the sailors on those ships survived, had there been any to tell the tale. *Absolutely no Dutch ships* were ever in these waters other than the ships of Van Noort and De Lint, until Spielbergen's voyage fifteen years later.

Burney's 1802 *Chronicle* provides a description of Coco, phrased in his elegant style. He says:

Cocos Island ... is uninhabited, but it affords anchorage (which is best near the North East extremity), excellent water, wood, fish and birds, and (which is not its least advantage, especially to ships that have been a long time at sea). Cocoanut trees grow there in such numbers, as to have given rise to its present name ... The latitude of the middle of the island is about 5° 30' North, and its distance from the nearest part of the continent, about 80 leagues.⁷⁴

The east-west dimension of the island is about 9 km and its north-south about 7 km. It comprises 46 sq.km and is shaped and oriented somewhat like the continent of Australia. Costa Rica considers it the gem of its system of national parks. Gerhard proposes that De Lint went to Coco to careen the ship (long overdue), take on supplies and water and rest the crew for the exhausting voyage ahead. While impossible to prove, he makes a compelling argument. One hopes also that De Lint, if he was indeed there, loaded aboard a large supply of coconuts. While coconuts are not a rich source of vitamin C, a single coconut, eaten every day, is sufficient to prevent symptoms of scurvy to develop, even though a deficiency exists⁷⁵. 5000 coconuts, surely available on the island, would be a sufficient supply for his crew for 100 days. De Lint left the coast, after the last prisoner dump, on 29 August. He might have spent as long as three months at Coco (or somewhere on the western shore of America) and still be afforded three months for the crossing.

The argument can be made that De Lint, having the same set of navigational works as Van Noort, particularly Cavendish's log, would have been coached to follow Cavendish's track across the Pacific, as Van Noort had already done. It is an over-

⁷³ Spielbergen's journal states, 'for the said island is very convenient and offers advantages for revictualling, as some of our men know from their own experience.' Joris van Spielbergen, *East and West Indies Mirror*, p. 102 (in Gerhard, p. 107).

⁷⁴ Burney must have been particularly struck with the beauty of Isla del Coco, for in his *History of the Buccaneers in America* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1912 & subsequent, reprint of 1816 edition, p. 221-2), he gives the following account of the buccaneer surgeon Lionel Wafer, of his visit in 1685, as follows, "The middle of Cocos island is a steep hill, surrounded with a plain descending to the sea. This plain is thick set with cocoa-nut trees: but what contributes greatly to the pleasure of the place is, that a great many springs of clear and sweet water, rising to the top of the hill, are there gathered as in a large basin or pond, and the water having no channel, it overflows the verge of this basin in several places, and runs trickling down in pleasant streams. In some places of its overflowing, the rocky side of the hill being more than perpendicular and hanging over the plain beneath, the water pours down in a cataract, so as to leave a dry space under the spout, and form a kind of arch of water. The freshness which the falling water gives the air in this hot climate makes this a delightful place."

⁷⁵ Ohio State University Extension on-line, Chow Line: Coconuts helpful on desert islands, <http://extension.osu.edu/~news/story.php?id=2289>

simplification to say sail straight west to Mindanao and turn south to arrive in the Spice Islands (the Moluccas, now Maluku), but that is essentially the sailing plan. The equatorial route across the Pacific affords few landfalls, but the north equatorial current coupled with favorable trade winds from autumn into spring suggests a three-month crossing can be made on that route. It is interesting to speculate that De Lint, by design or chance, might have followed Alvaro de Saavedra's route from New Spain (Mexico) to the Philippine island of Mindanao, 31 October 1527 to 1 February 1528, crossing at the right time of year to take full advantage of the trade winds. If De Lint made landfall in the Philippines, however, no-one recorded the event. Such a landfall would not necessarily be recorded, or even observed. What is quite certain, however, is that De Lint reached Ternate at the right time of year to have those navigational advantages, and his remaining crew, numbering a possible forty out of fifty-nine after the entry into the South Sea (and fifty-four by the friar's count at Realejo), were in remarkably good shape, probably as good as Drake's crew and the crew of Cavendish's first voyage. This was clearly not a hardship voyage in which the men ate broiled soaked leather rope windings and sold each other rats for meat. Rather than Mindanao, De Lint may have attempted the northern coast of New Guinea, although it lies rather south of his track and it was not necessarily on his charts. Altogether, this is probably less likely, for De Lint did not seem to be one prone to taking risks. It is not known for certain when De Lint reached Ternate, but it was probably sometime in February or March 1601⁷⁶, and possibly as late as April⁷⁷.

De Lint's arrival at Ternate and the negotiations transacted there

De Lint and Callebuys apparently found their way to Ternate with no difficulty. Upon their arrival they struck fast aground. The two had navigated this far with no mishaps that we know of, so weather or equipment failure was probably to blame for the calamity. De Lint and his crew set about immediately to salvage and protect their munitions, armaments, ammunition and trade goods. The sultan cooperated in the endeavor, and nearly everything was salvaged and secured on shore. De Lint's friendly reception from the sultan of Ternate, Said ud-din Berkat Shah, in his capital, Talingama, was in part due to Francis Drake's visit to the island many years before. Baabu'llah, the sultan's father, had cemented alliances and treaties with Drake for trade and protection against the Portuguese, who had subjugated neighboring Tidore. Baabu'llah waited in vain for the promised English return.

As soon as De Lint was safely ashore, he was no doubt surprised to be greeted by a Dutchman named Franck van der Does, representing the Old Company of Amsterdam. Van Der Does had been left on Ternate as a factor, or agent-representative, of the Old Company of Amsterdam, founded in 1598 from the merger of two earlier companies. The Old Company had sent a fleet of eight vessels that year to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope under the command of Jacob van Neck, with Under-Admirals

⁷⁶ IJzerman, op. cit., pp. 125–131. Nearly everything in this narrative from this point forward is based exclusively on Dr. IJzerman's annotation, and is taken nearly *verbatim*, subject to translation error, from that source.

⁷⁷ Gerhard, p. 107, suggests April or May.

Wybrand van Warwyck and Jacob van Heemskerck. After loading an immense cargo of spices at Bantam, Van Neck sent Van Heemskerck on to the Banda Islands and Van Warwyck to Ternate. Van Warwyck stayed at Ternate from 22 May to 9 August 1599. Van Der Does, with five men to assist him, was left on Ternate to purchase and warehouse cloves and obtain contracts for future purchases from the sultan, in anticipation of the return of the Dutch trading ships. Van Warwyck gave the Sultan assurances of Dutch support against the Portuguese (with whom they were at war, in any case) and concluded treaties giving the Old Company exclusive rights there.

Van Der Does may have been responsible for sending *De Trouw* (the Mahu-De Cordes expedition ship that had lingered so long at Chiloe) to nearby Tidore by not offering to sell them cloves, reserving them for the Old Company, though he warned Captain Balthasar de Cordes that the Portuguese ‘played the boss’ there⁷⁸. At Tidore *De Trouw* was deceived by a show of friendship from the Portuguese. De Cordes and most of his crew were slain there and the ship seized. A half dozen of his men survived and were held in captivity at Goa in Portuguese India for several years⁷⁹. Two Dutch ships of the Old Company of Amsterdam, the *Amsterdam* and the *Gouda*, under the command of Jacob van Neck, returned to Ternate on 2 June 1601 to load cloves purchased by the factor, and to buy more if any were available. Van Neck knew of the Magellan Company fleet’s departure from Rotterdam three years earlier. The admiral warmly welcomed De Lint aboard the *Amsterdam*. “Sr. Franck Verdoes,” wrote Admiral van Neck in his journal, “came to us with a Pieter de Lint, captain of one of the ships that passed through the Strait of Magellan, whose ship was stranded there in Ternate, still, the goods and the artillery were salvaged.”

After hearing the sad tale of treachery at Tidore, Van Neck resolved to punish the sultan of Tidore and his Portuguese allies by reducing the fortification there with his ship’s artillery. During the bombardment, Claes Cornelisz., skipper of the *Gouda*, was standing in the quarter-deck rigging just to the right of the admiral, where he was wounded. The wound was not serious and he recovered in a few days, but the attack was called off. Though Van Neck was disappointed in the outcome of the engagement, he resolved to get back to the business he had come for. The sultan was pleased that the Dutchmen had revenged him upon his old enemy⁸⁰, and insistently urged the admiral to select those whom he considered foremost among his men, and not to depart before he celebrated a great valedictory banquet in their honor.

Van Neck pondered on whom to invite. “All the ships’ crews will want to come,” he wrote, “We acceded to the King’s wish in this and had our crews draw lots to decide which half would remain on ship and which half would go to the banquet. Those to whom it had fallen to attend prepared their stomachs for the appointed day, to take from

⁷⁸ Het schip De Liefde, een van de schepen van de uit Rotterdam vertrokken vloot van Mahu en De Cordes, dat uiteindelijk belandde in Japan, het begin van Deshima. <http://www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Aal/liefde.htm>.

⁷⁹ De Trouw was the only ship of the Mahu-De Cordes expedition to reach the spice islands of Molucca, only a month or two ahead of De Lint.

⁸⁰ The Sultan’s father died while in Portuguese hands en route to Goa, against his will. Subsequently the Sultan of Ternate was perpetually at war with the Sultan of Tidore, who was in league with the Portuguese.

the royal foods manfully.” The guests were invited by “The Admiral of the Sea, on behalf of the King” for the following day, Sunday 29 July. The king came in after the others had assembled. “When we had all greeted him he displayed a friendly countenance to us. Then he took his seat on an elegant couch, canopied with red and green velvet with cushions of good cloth. The couches stood on a dais four feet high. The tables on it were dressed with white linen cloth. When the sultan had taken his seat, we sat also, and according to his wish, my Captain Pieter de Lint, Rochus Pietersz. and Van Hoyer were seated at his table. The others (those with lower rank) sat farther down the table, but at the same level. The sailors were arranged farther outward, equally. Next the spices were placed on the tables, and the tables were bedecked with green leaves. Where we sat the table was covered with a fine tablecloth, furnished with plates and napkins reminding us to eat politely. Van Neck continues:

The king’s two sons, along with the King of Gililo’s son, all three of them of tender years, attended to us while standing at the table. All the other attendants who served us at the meal did so with diligence and unselfish sincerity. They continually pressed the crewmen to eat heartily, who, without too much urging, took to the task valiantly. After their first appetite was sated, many got up to attend the games, then returned to the feasting. These games were performed by the noblemen of the country, and they showed us how they use their rifles when they make war. They were armed and clothed elegantly, making the spectacle delightful to watch, particularly the presentation of their manual of arms, performed with great precision. Altogether we were honored with the greatest friendship possible to bestow. I had meant to bid the king goodbye when it became evening, but he insisted that I should spend the night on Ternate. On the next day he gave me a letter to deliver to His Excellency, along with some of the fruits of the land. When I had taken friendly leave of the king, I took to the ship and departed, it being the first day of August, and the same night found us at sea.

It had been Van Neck’s intention to go directly to Patani⁸¹, but headwinds forced the ship to the coast of China⁸². While there, six of his traders abandoned the voyage to try their fortunes in that foreign land. Some of the crewmen from the *Hendrick Frederick* had been engaged by Admiral Van Neck to replace unexpected vacancies. When Patani was finally reached on 23 August 1601, the admiral left the Rotterdam trader Daniel van der Leck, from the *Hendrick Frederick’s* crew there as a trader for his company. Which other members of the *Hendrick Frederick’s* crew joined Van Neck is unknown. The sultan, seeking protection from the Spanish and Portuguese and fearing retaliation from them for Van Neck’s inconclusive bombardment, decided to purchase the wreck’s weaponry, ammunition, and powder. Van Neck’s journal makes no comment about the sale, doubtlessly because it did not happen until after his departure. Other Ternateans, subjects and servants of the king alike, eagerly purchased the trade goods salvaged from the wreck, which included silks, velvets, linens and other goods.

⁸¹ Patani, on the far side of the intervening island, Halmahera, is only a short voyage from Ternate.

⁸² ‘China’ is clearly written, but inspection of an atlas will demonstrate that China was an unlikely landing and would require more time. What shore he was blown to must remain a mystery for now.

A settlement price was arrived at in cloves for the salvage, to be delivered in the future as the cloves were harvested⁸³. In the meantime De Lint could sell the cloves locally, essentially making him the sultan's exclusive agent. De Lint was concerned that handlers might skim the product, and holding the cloves over a long period entailed risks he considered unacceptable. De Lint, after he had concluded the transaction with the sultan, turned the cloves over to his trader Anthonie van Suylen van Nyvelt, with whatever staff he required for their safekeeping.

De Lint's onward voyage to Java, and his return to Holland

De Lint now supervised the construction of a small seaworthy bark⁸⁴, large enough to bring himself, his crew, and his cargo to Bantam (now Banten), the important trading factory at the northwestern tip of Java. The construction was probably accomplished between early September 1601 and the end of January 1602. His departure⁸⁵ probably fell sometime shortly before the arrival of Wolphert Hermansz., after his battle with the Portuguese at Bantam, with the ship *Amsterdam* and the yachts *De Wachter* and *Duyfken*⁸⁶. Hermansz. arrived in Ternate on 17 February 1602 and departed on 7 March. He found the last few Netherlanders from the *Hendrick Frederick* still lingering there "in a singular relationship to the king and to the inhabitants." Hermansz. noted that De Lint had stripped the island of cloves.

Willem Cornelis Schouten⁸⁷, the skipper of the *Duyfken*, after his return to the fatherland, wrote that "the vice-admiral ship of Olivier van Noort arrived in Ternate, and was sold there by the crew to the Sultan for cloves only, and the crew, with a small bark, made by them, sailed to Bantam where we were of service to them." Willem van Westzanen reported the bark's arrival at Bantam in his notation, "moreover, there came around evening of 20 April a sloop from the Moluccan Island of Ternate... which was the ship's crew of the Under-Admiral of Olivier van Noord, who a year or more ago was lost

⁸³ The Sultan's payment of cloves to De Lint during his stay on the island was on his account with De Lint and the Magellan Company, and did not satisfy his entire indebtedness.

⁸⁴ While this feat seems remarkable, it was no great accomplishment for mariners of the period, who were experienced in extemporaneous construction of small vessels. The brig built under De Lint's supervision, while not a small boat (*timmerman* Claes Aertsz. most likely did the heavy lifting), benefited from the availability of shaped planks from the wreck of the *H.F.* Two centuries later, Oliver Hazard Perry constructed his battle fleet of nine ships from standing timber on the shore of Lake Erie, without recourse to shaped planks and exclusively with hand tools.

⁸⁵ The arrival of the *H.F.* at Ternate can be calculated from the testimony of the ship's carpenter Claes Aertsz. van Edam, who swore on 10 September, 1611 that he was acquainted with trader Jhr. Anthonis van Zuylen van Nijvelt (the trader who had handled the cloves for De Lint) for 11 months in Ternate and declared that commerce was conducted there with the King of Ternate's servants and other of the King's subjects, in which cloves were exchanged for weapons, gunpowder, lead, ordnance, velvet, silk, linen, sheets and other goods." (IJerman II, p. 64). If the bark was underway not more than two weeks nor less than one week before Wolphert Hermansz.'s arrival on 17 February (3–10 February), and if the testimony of Aertsz. is accurate to a half month (10½ to 11½ months), then it can be interpolated that the *H.F.* arrived at Ternate between 21 March and 17 April, 1601. Adopting the later date for the departure to Bantam (10 February, 1602) and the arrival recorded on 20 April, sixty-nine days might have been spent on the journey to Bantam.

⁸⁶ *Duyfken* was later to become the first ship to encounter and explore the Australian continent.

⁸⁷ Schouten accompanied Jacques Lemaire on his attempted circumnavigation 1615–16.

by him in the Strait of Magellan, their admiral not having the weather to search and find them, who afterward alarmed the coast of Chili, and arrived in the Moluccas, wearied after many adversities.”

The trader Rochus Pietersz. (De Lint’s table partner at the Sultan’s banquet) wrote from Bantam on 21 November 1602 to his brother Pieter Walechsz. at Patani, “The three ships of Van Heemskerck that were loaded in Banda, had Pieter de Linde with his crew...sailed from here to Holland.” The ships of Heemskerck (who, incidentally, had met Van Noort on his homeward track in the Atlantic while they were outbound⁸⁸) referred to were the *Amsterdam*, the *Hoorn*, the *Enkhuisen (Bruinvis)*, the *Zwarte* and the *Groene Leeuw*. They departed on 11 May from Bantam (where De Lint had arrived on 20 April) under the flag of Admiral Hans Schuurmans, the outgoing head trader of the *Hoorn*, to stay for two months at the Island of Mauritius, then from there to St Helena and onwards. Schuurman’s fleet lay becalmed off St Helena from 23 November until 23 December. Willem van Westzanen wrote from the *Enkhuisen* that they came into the channel at Texel on 13 April 1603.

The yacht *Duyfken*, part of the fleet of Wolphert Hermansz., which arrived at Ternate shortly after De Lint’s departure and had departed Bantam on 25 August, was at the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope on 21 October. She was back home in Vlissingen on 17 February 1603, nearly two months before Schuurmans’ fleet, and was surely the first to report De Lint’s impending arrival, with his welcome cargo, to the Magellan Company’s shareholders. The crew of the *Hendrick Frederick* was divided over many ships and jammed into whatever spaces could be found. The number of them who returned to the fatherland is only a guess. Some men are named in notes. The crew’s strength was nearly sixty in the South Sea⁸⁹. Some were lost on the voyage, one is named as a Van Neck recruit, a few were left behind on Ternate and some are not named at all, making an estimate of forty not much overstated. Only thirteen, clearly identifiable as crewmembers, including De Lint are specifically named among the living. By this time the last few remaining independent traders were returning home from their last voyages. The East India Company monopoly (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) was chartered on 20 March, 1602, and thereafter there were no new expeditions to the Indies except under their banner for the next two hundred years.

Upon his return to the home country De Lint found his father in dire straits. On 4 September 1602 the Advisory Committee reported, “About the difficulties in respect to the receiver Esaias de Lint, who is in arrears a notable amount...we hereby demand the return of his badge of office.” Charges were placed against all his possessions and they were sold at auction. He was discharged from the council and Ewout Adriansz. Bijlewerf, an investor in the Van Noort expedition, was named in his place. What befell Pieter Esaiasz. after his homecoming is unknown; in the further activities (i.e., legal

⁸⁸ Silverberg, p. 421. Van Noort met Van Heemskerck north of St Helena on June 16, 1601.

⁸⁹ The muster of men in the Van Noort fleet upon leaving the strait was 147 and he recorded the loss of eight on his subsequent journey. Van Noort had eighty men at the battle at Manila Bay (see other sources for Van Noort’s adventures), leaving a remainder of fifty-nine, the maximum crew possible for the *Hendrick Frederick*.

proceedings – ed.) of the company of General Van Noort, he is not named. The archivist Mr R. Bijlsma reported he was already deceased by 1608.

Van Noort had returned to the Netherlands in August 1601 with scant pepper and mace, the least of all the spices, in his holds. This dearth of salable goods dismayed Van Noort's backers. One investor called him a disreputable pirate. They were overjoyed to learn, shortly after De Lint's return, that he had carried with him, on board the Old Company's ships, all the cloves he had managed to carry to Bantam aboard his extemporaneously constructed brig. Lawsuits filed by the shareholders of the Magellan Company and their heirs for reparations due them for the abrogation by the VOC of the contracts for future delivery of cloves, negotiated by Pieter de Lint with the sultan of Ternate, continued long after his death. Final settlement was reached in 1635 for the significant sum of 117,000 guilders, far more than the value of the few bags of pepper and mace carried home by Van Noort.

For four centuries Van Noort has enjoyed renown for his arduous voyage, which he did indeed accomplish, and about which he took great pains to inform the world in his self-serving autobiographical journal. Sadly, the recognition owed to his second-in-command, Pieter de Lint, has not been forthcoming. De Lint's masterly seamanship, his leadership and commitment to the welfare of the men under his command, had brought him and his crew safely across the vast expanse of the Pacific, where others before and after met with tragedy. In addition, his unwavering commitment to the objectives of the company led to the ultimate financial success of the enterprise.

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