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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
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DOCUMENTARY

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF MAINE.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM WILLIS.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING A

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF MAINE.

BY

J. G. KOHL.

WITH AN APPENDIX

ON THE VOYAGES OF THE CABOTS.

By M. D'AVEZAC, OF PARIS.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN offering this first volume of a new series of its publications, the Maine Historical Society believes it will confer a high gratification, not only upon historical students in our own State, but on all who take an interest in the early annals of our country residing within the limits of the charter granted by James I. in 1606, to the Council of Plymouth.

The Society, having long had the impression that the archives of the chief commercial nations of Europe contained rich materials relating to the discovery of these shores, and of the early attempts to colonize them, were anxious to explore those store-houses of hidden treasures. For this purpose they appealed to the State, and, in 1863, obtained a pecuniary grant to enable them to make a preliminary investigation. Sufficient encouragement was given by this appropriation, to induce the government to enlarge its bounty; and, in 1867, the Governor and Council were authorized to contract with the Society for the publication, annually, of a volume "containing the earliest documents, charters, and other State papers illustrating the history of Maine."

Stimulated by this liberal benefaction, the Society availed itself of the opportunity of a visit to Europe by the Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., LL. D., late President of Bowdoin College, to obtain his aid in the necessary examinations. This accomplished scholar, being accredited by the highest recommendation in the country, and aided by his learning and personal address, had access to various public and private collections of rare and valuable documents, and an introduction to scholars of similar

Giff. Mr. W. Bowdoin 5/10/43

taste, availed himself of those advantages to promote the objects of his inquiry.

He explored the archives of the British State-paper offices, under the guidance of Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, the familiar spirit of those obscure regions, through whom he obtained transcripts of valuable documents relating to our early history. He also visited the British Museum, and especially the map department, rich with early and authentic maps, and conducted by its head, the learned R. H. Major, F. S. A., etc., whose historical and geographical works have placed him among the first—*primus inter pares*—in those pursuits, gained access to that unrivalled collection. He also conferred with M. D’Avezac, the learned archaeologist at Paris, from whom he obtained interesting information pertinent to his object, and has since received from him a valuable communication which is placed in our Appendix. He then proceeded to Germany, where, in Bremen, he made the acquaintance of Dr. J. G. Kohl, whose reputation as a traveler, author, and cartographer, was eminent in this country, as well as in Europe. In him he found a congenial spirit, and a ready and hearty sympathy in the objects of his pursuit. It was not long, therefore, before he came to terms with Dr. Kohl, to give to our Society and State the benefit of his great learning and practical experience, in the accomplishment of our purposes.

Dr. Kohl was born in Bremen in 1808, and educated to the law at Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Munich. Several years after this, he was occupied as a private tutor in Courland and traveling in Russia. On his return, in 1838, he settled in Dresden, from which place he made excursions in all directions, visiting every important district of Europe, and published the observations and experience derived from his various expeditions, in a series of volumes. In 1854, he came to America, where he traveled four years, during which time he prepared for the government of the United States, a series of valuable maps relating to America. Since his return, he has been engaged upon a minute geographical survey and history of this continent. His

life has been filled with useful literary labor, and a portion of its fruit has been given to the world in nearly twenty distinct publications. Among these are "Travels in Canada," 1855; "Travels in the United States," 1857; "Kitahi Gama, or Tales from Lake Superior," 1860. Another interesting and important work, published by him in 1861, after a severe course of study and preparation, is entitled "History of, and commentary on, the two oldest charts of the new world, made in Spain on the command of the emperor Charles V."

To secure the services of a man so distinguished, and so peculiarly qualified for the task by long experience in similar studies, was at once honorable to Dr. Woods, and most acceptable and valuable to our Society and community. The result of his labors, so promptly and amply furnished, are presented to the public in the volume before us. And I may venture to say, that the amount of authentic information here brought together on the discovery and early voyages to America, so fully and clearly illustrated by *fac-simile* copies of the earliest maps known to exist, has never been collected in so brief and limited a space. The maps, twenty-three in number, the latest of which is Mercator's of 1569, with the learned explications of them, reduced and lithographed in Bremen under the superintendence of Dr. Kohl, throw fresh light, not only upon the voyages and discoveries with which they are connected, but upon the condition of science and art in those departments of knowledge during that period. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by these illustrations.

The maps, of course, give an imperfect and inaccurate view of our coast, from the desultory and cursory manner in which the visits were made to it; but they furnish a general outline of the north-eastern shores; in most of them are represented the prominent points of Cape Cod, Penobscot Bay, the numerous islands along the coast of Maine, Cape Sable, and Cape Race, points which could not fail to arrest the attention of even a common observer. The ancient *Norumbega*, embracing sometimes the

whole of New England, has a conspicuous place on nearly all the early maps, and retained its name far into the next century, but over a narrower region.

Perhaps we ought not to be surprised at the imperfection of these maps, or of the narratives of those early discoveries, when we consider the ignorance which still prevails in Europe on the geography of America. A French author recently did Portland the honor to make it the capital of New England, and conspicuous points in the south and west of our country are often so transposed in the writings of some of their literary men, that we know not where to find them. It is a familiar fact, that before the Revolution, the name of Boston was often used for the whole of New England. But it is singular that the extraordinary discoveries and transactions of the sixteenth century, so much at variance with the routine occurrences of European societies, should not have been transmitted by contemporaneous writers with more fullness and accuracy than we have received them. Even Eden and Hakluyt, who may be called partisans in American discovery, fail to give us accurate representations of those wonderful and peculiar enterprises, which we should suppose must have made a deep impression upon the public mind. Humboldt says, "the extraordinary appearances of nature, and the intercourse with men of different races must have exercised an influence on the progress of knowledge in Europe. The germ of a great number of physical truths is found in the works of the sixteenth century."

But other events nearer home, and of more absorbing interest, cast a shadow over those remote, desultory, and exceptional transactions. Lord Bacon, in his "Reign of Henry VII," affords but two duodecimo pages to the Cabots, whose enterprises we are accustomed to regard as among the most important of that reign, and were indeed so, in their influence upon the future course of history; and in those few words, he entirely ignores John Cabot and his first voyage. We place this passage in the Appendix. And Speed, in his "History of Great Brit-

aine," published in London in 1611, takes no notice of those events except in these words, "and though some other actions, as Sebastian Cabot's discovery," he thought best "to postpone," that he might "couch all that concerns Perkin Warbeck here together;" so that we have no more of the Cabots, or of any other foreign undertakings to our coasts, in either of those works.

The editor of Bacon's Henry VII, therefore, in his preface justly says, "The original records of the time had not been studied by any man with a genius for writing history, nor gathered into a book by any laborious collector. The published histories were full of inaccuracies and omissions, which it is impossible to correct or supply, without laborious research in public archives and private collections."

In the present work, it gives us pleasure to feel, that Dr. Kohl has given, in a most compact and interesting form, the results of a careful and laborious research into the scattered original sources of information, relating to the eventful, but obscure period of which it treats, illuminating it by a comprehensive, profound, and impressive resumé of its record. We cannot but sympathize with him in his repeated lamentations over the loss of reports and charts of voyages, the neglect of the adventurers to indicate the course and progress of their discoveries, and of cosmographers to delineate them. These neglects and omissions will be particularly noticed in his analysis—dissection we may rather call it—of the maps introduced. The most elaborate and acute of these discussions is upon the celebrated map of 1544, unjustly, as he thinks, ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, and on the Cabot voyages, of which there have always existed contradictory opinions.

Dr. Kohl may, perhaps, be thought by some to have traveled beyond the primary object of the work, by introducing the movements of the Spanish and French in Florida. But he thought it not only useful, but necessary to the unity and fulness of the task he had undertaken, to bring these voyages within his

comprehensive review of the development of the northern and eastern section of the country in which we are more especially interested, and to which Thevet's account of Norumbega is an important appendage. In a private letter on the subject, he naively says, "You will perhaps at first sight be astonished to find in my work, not only a report on Cartier's voyages and explorations in Canada, but also one on the French settlements and discoveries in Florida. But by looking nearer into the subject, I hope you will find that these matters also, are so intimately connected with the history of every part of the east coast of the United States, with that of Maine and New England, that it was impossible for me to leave them out. Moreover, the *geographical* and *hydrographical* part of these voyages, in several modern works, has not been much cleared up. I hope you will find, that taking this into consideration, I have come to some new results."

The volume now presented to the public derives additional value from the very interesting communication of M. D'Avezac of Paris, to Dr. Woods, and translated by him, which, with his explanatory letter, will be found in the Appendix. It is most gratifying to be able to place side by side the arguments of such distinguished champions in the field of historical inquiry. M. D'Avezac and Dr. Kohl both reason from opposite views of the same admitted transactions; but Dr. Kohl is more full and minute in his examination of the still doubtful and disputed problem of the Cabot voyages and map. Both, wise and diligent seekers after truth, discuss the obscure and indistinct indications of the imperfectly revealed events of the time, in a spirit of impartiality and ability, which is exhaustive of the subject. It is a generous and honorable contest, which cannot fail to interest and instruct the historical student curious in such investigations.

It was the original intention of the Society to limit its inquiries and researches in foreign archives to the voyages and discoveries which related particularly to our territory, and to the

first efforts to colonize and bring it forward into the line of settlement and civilization. But as the subject was investigated, it grew in importance, until we were carried back for an initial point, to the penumbra of our history, in the earliest known authentic records of American discovery. And we could not but think that a carefully prepared summary of the voyages of the Northmen to the Gulf of Maine, and the later voyages along its coast in the sixteenth century, would be an appropriate and interesting introduction to the history of its actual and permanent colonization.

Our Society had been encouraged to undertake the task, whose results are partially contained in the present volume, by the successful example of other historical societies. Those of Georgia, Maryland, New York, Massachusetts, and others, aided by their respective governments, had pursued their investigations into the musty archives of the State and colonial departments of Great Britain, and had brought forth from them treasures of great value, long hidden, and unrevealed even to their possessors. Perhaps it is not too much to say that it was owing to the discovery of valuable documents revealed by the eager curiosity and persevering search of our American scholars, that a change was effected in the policy of the British government, by which these treasures, long neglected and carefully secluded from observation and use by their jealous guardians, were at length thrown open, and the government itself, becoming aware of their importance, undertook to arrange, classify, and calendar them, and furnish printed abstracts to the public. These valuable collections are thus made available to the cause of history, and have largely contributed to rectify errors and to furnish new facts for the illustration of the early and obscure periods of our history.

In the course of the researches undertaken for our Historical Society, Dr. Woods obtained possession of an *unpublished manuscript* of Richard Hakluyt, the ardent patron and recorder of American discovery; in which, as early as 1584, he urged upon

Queen Elizabeth with great earnestness and force, the prosecution of colonization upon our coasts. This interesting and valuable document, containing in the original draft sixty-two and a half large folio pages, will form part of a second volume of our Documentary History, to be published in the course of the present year.

It is with no unworthy pride that the Maine Historical Society now presents to the public this, their first documentary volume, richly freighted with rare and authentic materials, as a valuable contribution to American history.

I cannot close these introductory remarks without tendering my grateful acknowledgments to the Rev. Edward Ballard, D. D., Secretary of the Maine Historical Society, for his very valuable aid in preparing this volume for the press. His wide historical researches, and critical judgment, have supplemented my many deficiencies. The *Index*, carefully prepared and arranged by him, gives additional value to the volume, and will be cordially welcomed by historical students.

WILLIAM WILLIS.

A HISTORY

OF THE

DISCOVERY OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

PARTICULARLY THE COAST OF MAINE;

FROM THE

NORTHMEN IN 990,

TO THE

CHARTER OF GILBERT IN 1578.

BY J. G. KOHL,

OF BREMEN, GERMANY.

ILLUSTRATED BY COPIES OF THE EARLIEST MAPS AND CHARTS.

L'ensemble des faits, auquel
nous donnons le nom d'histoire
n'est qu' une portion—portion
encore mutilée et rompue—des
annales du genre humain.

WALCKENAER.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION,	17

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE GULF AND COAST OF MAINE.

1. Introductory Remarks,	31
2. General Configuration of the Continent of North America,	32
3. The four Great Gulfs of the East Coast of North America,	33
4. Name of the Gulf between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia,	35
5. Size and General Configuration of the Gulf of Maine,	36
6. Soundings,	38
7. The Fishing Banks and Shoals,	39
8. Currents,	41
9. Tides,	43
10. Climate, Temperature, Winds, Fogs,	44
11. Deviation of the Magnetic Needle,	47
12. Capes, Headlands, Peninsulas, Indentations,	47
1. Cape Cod,	49
2. Cape Ann,	50
3. Cape Elizabeth,	50
4. Cape Sable,	51
13. Islands,	52
14. Harbors, Bays, and Inlets,	53
15. Rivers,	54

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN IN NORTH-EASTERN AMERICA DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

1. Introductory Remarks,	57
2. Discovery of Iceland and Greenland,	60
3. First Discovery of New England by Biarne,	62

4. Voyages of Leif, Erik's Son, and First Settlement in "Vinland" (New England),	63
5. Voyages and Discoveries of Thorwald, Erik's Son, in "Vinland," .	66
6. Unsuccessful Attempt of Thorstein, Erik's Son, to reach "Vinland" again,	70
7. Voyage of Thorfinn Karlsefne to "Vinland," and a New Settlement effected there by him,	70
8. Expeditions from Greenland and Iceland to "Vinland," subsequent to those of Thorfinn Karlsefne,	82
9. New England considered by the Northmen to be a part of Europe,	85
10. Reminiscences and Traces of the Northmen among the Indians of New England,	88
11. Voyages of the Venetians, Zeni, in the northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean at the end of the Fourteenth Century,	92
The Sea-chart of the Zeni,	97

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER II.

Charts for the Northmen.

1. Map, No. 2, of the North-Atlantic Ocean, drawn by the Iclander Sigurdus Stephanius, in 1570,	107
2. Map, No. 3, of the North-Atlantic Ocean, drawn by the Iclander Gudbrandus Torlacius, in 1606,	109

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH TRADING EXPEDITIONS FROM BRISTOL, AND OTHER ENGLISH PORTS, TOWARD THE NORTH-WEST, PRINCIPALLY TO ICELAND, DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.—JOHN OF KOLNO.—COLUMBUS,	111
---	-----

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITIONS OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT TO NORTH-EASTERN AMERICA, IN THE YEARS 1497, 1498.

1. Voyage of John and Sebastian Cabot in the year 1497,	121
2. Voyage of Sebastian Cabot in 1498,	135

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER IV.

Charts for the Voyages of the Cabots.

1. Map, No. 4, of the Ocean and Islands between Western Europe and Eastern Asia, from the Globe of Martin Behaim, in 1492, . .	147
--	-----

2. Map, No. 5, of the East Coast of North America, by Juan de la Cosa, in 1500,	151
3. Chart, No. 6, of the New World, by Johann Ruysch, 1508,	156
4. Map, No. 7, of North America, from the Globe of Johann Schoner, 1520,	158

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITIONS OF GASPAR AND MIGUEL DE CORTEREAL TO THE NORTH-EASTERN COAST OF AMERICA, IN THE YEARS 1500-1503.

1. Introductory Remarks,	164
2. First Voyage of Gaspar Cortereal, in 1500,	166
3. Gaspar Cortereal's Second Voyage, in 1501,	169
4. Searching Voyage of Miguel Cortereal, in 1502,	171

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER V.

Charts for the Cortereal Voyages.

1. Portuguese Chart, No. 8, of the Coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, about 1504,	174
2. Chart, No. 9, of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Greenland, by Pedro Reinel, made about 1505,	177
3. Portuguese Chart, No. 10, of Florida, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, made about 1520,	179

CHAPTER VI.

OFFICIAL AND OTHER VOYAGES, AND SEVERAL PROJECTS OF DISCOVERY FROM ENGLAND, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND FRANCE, SUBSEQUENT TO THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CABOTS AND CORTEREALS.

1. Two Patents of Henry VII. of England, to Navigators, in 1501, 1502.—English Voyages to Newfoundland in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century,	183
2. Portuguese Fishermen on the Newfoundland Banks,	187
3. Voyages to Newfoundland proposed by Juan Dornelos, Juan de Agramonte, and Sebastian Cabot, in 1500, 1511, and 1515,	192
4. French Voyages to the North-east of America, after Cabot and Cortereal,	199
5. An English Voyage to the North-west, said to have been made under the command of Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert, in 1517,	206

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER VI.

Charts for the first French Discoveries in "Terre Nueve."

1. Map, No. 11, of New France, composed by the Italian Cosmographer, Giacomo di Gastaldi, in 1550, 226
2. Map, No. 12, of "Tierra Nueva," by G. Ruscelli, 1561, 233

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH EXPEDITIONS TO THE COAST OF FLORIDA, FROM COLUMBUS TO AYLLO, FROM 1492 TO 1520.

1. Introductory Remarks, 236
2. Columbus and the East Coast of the United States, 237
3. Expedition of Ponce de Leon from Porto Rico to the East Coast of Florida, in 1513, 240
4. Voyage of Antonio de Alaminos, from Vera Cruz through the Bahama Channel to Spain, in 1519, 243
5. The First Expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to Chicora (the Coast of Carolina), in 1520, 245

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITIONS TO THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA UNDER THE FRENCH, BY VERRAZANO,—THE SPANIARDS, BY GOMEZ,—AND THE ENGLISH, BY RUT.

1. Expedition of Giovanni da Verrazano, in 1524, 249
2. Expedition of Estevan Gomez along the East Coast of North America, in 1525, 271
3. Expedition of two English ships, the Mary of Guilford, and the Sanson, under the command of John Rut, 1527, 281

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER VIII.

I. *Charts for Verrazano.*

1. Map, No. 13, of North America, by Michael Lok, in 1582, 290
2. Map, No. 14, of North America, by Baptista Agnese, 1536, 292
3. Map, No. 15, Four Sketches, a, b, c, d, of North America, by different authors, in 1530-1544, 296

II. *Charts for Gomez.*

1. Chart, No. 16, of the East Coast of North America, from a Map of the World, by Diego Ribero, in 1529, 299

2. Chart of the East Coast of North America, by Alonzo de Chaves, in 1536, and Oviedo's Description of the Coast, in 1537, . . . 307
3. Map, No. 17, Sketches 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, of the East Coast of the United States, by different authors of the Sixteenth Century, . . . 315

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS TO CANADA, IN 1534-1543, AND HORE'S VOYAGE, 1536.

1. First Voyage of Jacques Cartier to the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, in 1534, 320
2. Second Voyage of Jacques Cartier to the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, in 1535, 329
3. Voyage of Master Hore, and other Englishmen, to Cape Breton and Newfoundland, in 1536, 337
4. Expedition of Jean François de la Rogne de Roberval and Jacques Cartier to Canada, in 1540 and 1543, 340

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER IX.

Charts for Cartier and Roberval.

1. Chart, No. 18a, of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by Gaspar Viegas, 1534, 348
2. Chart, No. 18, on Canada and the East Coast of the United States, from a Map of the World, made in 1543, 351
3. Chart, No. 19, of the East Coast of North America, from the Atlas of N. Vallard de Dieppe, 1543, 354
4. Engraved Map of the World, No. 20, said to have been made by Sebastian Cabot in 1544,—and on the Voyage said to have been made by John and Sebastian Cabot in 1494, 358
5. Chart, No. 21, of the North-east of North America, by Diego Homem, 1558, 377
6. Chart, No. 22, of the East Coast of North America, from a Map of the World, by G. Mercator, in 1569, 384

CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION OF THE SPANISH EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

1. Expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to Chicora (Carolina), in 1526, 394
2. Expeditions of Fernando de Soto, Diego Maldonado, and Gomez Arias, 1533-1543, 402

CHAPTER XI.

THE EXPEDITIONS UNDER RIBAUT AND LAUDONNIERE TO FLORIDA, AND THE SPANISH AND ENGLISH UNDERTAKINGS CONNECTED WITH THEM, IN 1562-1574.

1. The time between De Soto and Ribault, including Thevet's Description of Maine,	413
2. First Exploring Expedition of Captain Jean Ribault from Havre de Grace to the East Coast of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, in 1562,	421
3. The Fate of the French Settlement at Port Royal, 1562-1563,	432
4. Second Expedition of the French to Florida under Captain René de Laudonnière, in 1564,	434
5. Voyage of Captain John Hawkins along the Coast of North America, from Florida to Newfoundland, in 1565,	440
6. Third Expedition of the French to Florida under command of Jean Ribault, in 1565,	447
7. Expeditions and Surveys made under Don Pedro Menendez de Avila, on the East Coast of Florida, in 1565-1567,	455
8. French Expedition under Dominique de Gourgues to Florida, in 1567-1568,	462
9. Spanish Survey of the East Coast of Florida, in 1573,	467

CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUSION AND RECAPITULATION.

1. Agency of the Northmen,	477
2. Agency of the English,	478
3. Agency of the Portuguese,	482
4. Agency of the Spaniards,	484
5. Agency of the French,	487
6. Agency of the Italians,	490
7. Agency of the Germans,	493
8. Agency of the Netherlanders,	496
APPENDIX,	499
Notice,	501
Letter of M. D'Avezac,	502
INDEX,	515

LIST OF MAPS.

	PAGE
I. NORTH ATLANTIC, BY THE ZENI, <i>Italian</i> , 1400,	97
II. NORTH ATLANTIC, BY STEPHANIUS, <i>Icelandic</i> , 1570,	107
III. NORTH ATLANTIC, BY TORLACIUS, <i>Icelandic</i> , 1606,	109
IV. BY MARTIN BEHAIM, <i>German</i> , 1492,	147
V. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY JUAN DE LA COSA, <i>Spanish</i> , 1500,	151
VI. NEW WORLD, BY JOHANN RUYSCH, <i>German</i> , 1508,	156
VII. NORTH AMERICA, BY JOHANN SCHONER, <i>German</i> , 1520,	158
VIII. NORTH-EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, ANONYMOUS, <i>Portuguese</i> , 1504,	174
IX. NORTH-EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY PEDRO REI- NEL, <i>Portuguese</i> , 1505,	177
X. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, ANONYMOUS, <i>Portu- guese</i> , 1520,	179
XI. NEW FRANCE, BY GASTALDI, <i>Italian</i> , 1550,	226
XII. TIERRA NUEVA, BY RUSCELLI, <i>Italian</i> , 1561,	233
XIII. NORTH AMERICA, BY MICHAEL LOK, <i>English</i> , 1582,	290
XIV. AMERICA, BY AGNESE, <i>Italian</i> , 1536,	292
XV. NORTH AMERICA (FOUR SKETCHES), 1530-1544,	296
XVI. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY RIBERO, <i>Spanish</i> , 1529,	299
XVII. EAST COAST (SEVEN SKETCHES),	315
XVIIa. THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE, ETC., BY VIEGAS, 1534,	348
XVIII. CANADA AND EAST COAST OF UNITED STATES, ANONY- MOUS, <i>French</i> , 1543,	351
XIX. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY VALLARD, <i>French</i> , 1543,	354
XX. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY SEBASTIAN CA- BOT (?), <i>Spanish</i> , 1544,	358
XXI. NORTH-EAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY HOMEM, <i>Portu- guese</i> , 1558,	377
XXII. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY MERCATOR, <i>Ger- man</i> , 1569,	384

ERRATA.

Page 37,	line 12	from bot.,	for 'eastern' read 'western.'
" 38,	" 8	" top,	" 'Bayo' read 'Baye.'
" 48,	" 9.19	" "	for 'indentated' read 'indented.'
" 49,	" 9	" "	insert 'southern' before 'entrance.'
" 49,	" 1	bot.,	for 'Riffs' read 'Reefs.'
" 52,	" 1	" "	" 'islands' read 'inlets.'
" 55,	" 5	" "	" 'Piscataquis' read 'Piscataqua.'
" 64,	" 11	" top,	for 'they' read 'and.'
" 215,	paging,	for '115'	read '215.'
" 228,	line 18	from top,	for 'Jean' read 'Jacques.'
" 233,	" 17	" bot.	" 'Terra' read 'Tierra.'
" 285,	" 20	" "	" 'Chan' read 'Khan.'
" 293,	" 2.3	" "	" 'coniectures' read 'conjectures.'
" 359,	" 12	" "	" 'deñro' read 'de ñro.'
" 375,	" 9	" bot.	" 'merc hant' read 'merchant.'

INTRODUCTION.

THE Historical Society of the State of Maine honored me, in the month of March of this year, with an invitation to write for them a volume on the history of the discovery of the coast of Maine, which was to be published in the "Collections" of that Society, during the present year.

The volume was to begin with the history of the earliest discoveries made by Europeans on the east coast of North America, in the eleventh century, and proceed with the history of the subsequent discoveries down to the end of the sixteenth century, or to some period beyond the middle of that century. that might appear to be a proper point of division, if it should be found convenient to confine the volume within narrower limits.

This history, while it should include the discovery of the whole length of the eastern coast from Labrador to Florida, was to present a more particular account of all the voyages known to have been made during that period to, or along the coast of Maine, and show, as far as possible, by extracts from the originals, when it had been simply passed by, and observed from a distance, and when it had been seen more nearly, and more fully described.

The work was to be accompanied by fac-simile copies of such maps and charts, manuscript or printed, as would illustrate these discoveries. And it was desired that these maps and charts should be accompanied by such notices of their history, and such explanations of their contents, as would render them both interesting and instructive to the general student.

This was a difficult task; and the more difficult, because it was to be performed in a short time. But feeling a deep interest in the subject, and being to a certain degree prepared for the work by my previous studies, and the collections I had formerly made, I ventured to accept the honorable proposal made to me by the Maine Historical Society; and have tried to meet, in the following volume, the views and wishes

they expressed respecting it, so far as my limited means and powers would permit.

Postponing to CHAPTER I. what I wish to say regarding the physical features of the whole country embraced in our survey, I propose in this Introduction to lay before the reader my manner of proceeding in the work I have undertaken; and, in this view, will now make some explanations; *first*, with regard to the history I am to give of the discovery of North America, and the limits within which it is to be confined; and, *secondly*, with regard to the maps by which this history is to be illustrated, the principles on which they have been selected and arranged, and the manner in which they are treated.

I. ON THE HISTORY.

1. *Its starting point.*

There may have been European navigators on the east coast of North America before the time of the Northmen; but of this we have only vague traditions and uncertain rumors. The first well-ascertained expeditions from Europe to these regions were made by the Northmen, or Scandinavians, near the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. The documents relating to these voyages are for the most part preserved in the well-written annals of Iceland. As the north-east coast of America was first seen and described by these Scandinavian adventurers in the eleventh century, our history ought therefore to begin with them.

2. *Its concluding point.*

After the discoveries of the Northmen, but more particularly after those of Columbus and the Cabots at the end of the fifteenth century, there followed a succession of expeditions to the east coast of North America, undertaken by English, Portuguese, French, and Spanish navigators, which may be generally characterized as diverse in their objects, disconnected in their plans, often separated from each other by long intervals of time, and unproductive of any great or permanent results. The period, during which this long succession of voyages took place, from that of Biarne in 990, in which the coast of North America was first seen by Europeans, to that of Sir John Hawkins in 1565, in which he sailed along the whole extent of our east coast,—a period of nearly six centuries,—may be justly regarded as the *early* period in the history of the discovery of North America, during which indeed the coast became gradually better known; but in which nothing was accomplished for the settlement of the country.

But at last, toward the end of the sixteenth century, a new era

dawned. Those two great and sagacious sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France, began to pay more attention to the new world, and particularly to that part of it which lay opposite to their western coasts. Then commenced an uninterrupted succession of expeditions to these transatlantic coasts, led on by Gilbert and Raleigh, by De Monts and Champlain, who were supported by the commissions of their own sovereigns, and zealous to defend their rival pretensions. The east coast was now explored more minutely, and illustrated by better reports and better charts; particularly the coast of Maine, on which the rival claims of England and France came more immediately into conflict; and, what is more important, permanent colonies were now for the first time established.

It thus appears that, between the second voyage of Hawkins in 1565, and the first voyage of Gilbert and Raleigh under the letters-patent of 1578, there is a natural division in the history of American discovery, into an *early* and a *later* period. The termination of the early period will naturally form the concluding point of the historical narrative contained in this volume.

3. *Its contents, their arrangement, and distribution into chapters.*

As discoverers and colonizers of North America, the Northmen stand forth in the middle ages foremost and alone, without allies or rivals. Hence I have brought together all that is known of their successive expeditions, and have treated of them in CHAPTER II, adding to them only the little I have to say regarding the brothers Vadino, Genoese, and the brothers Zeni, Venetians, who appear to have sailed at nearly the same time, and in nearly the same direction, with the Northmen.

The old Scandinavian spirit at last died away. The expeditions of the Northmen to America gradually ceased, and their colonies in America were destroyed. Nevertheless, their knowledge of the west was never quite forgotten by them, being perpetuated by their traditions. The connection of their colonies in Iceland with Europe, and particularly with England, was never entirely broken off. The English and Hanse towns, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, maintained a lively commercial intercourse with Iceland on the old north-western route from Europe to America. This probably was not without an influence on the subsequent undertakings of Columbus and the Cabots. Columbus visited Iceland in the year 1477, and in 1497 the Cabots sailed from Bristol, the port which was the chief emporium of the intercourse between England and Iceland, for the discovery of North America. These trading expeditions from England to Iceland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, following next in

order after the expeditions of the Northmen, and forming a connecting link between them and later enterprises, are treated of in CHAPTER III.

Inspired by the example of Columbus, whose discoveries are not here related, but assumed to be known, the Venetians, John and Sebastian Cabot, made their famous voyages of 1497 and 1498, in which North America, if not first discovered, was first re-discovered since the time of the Northmen, and in which almost its entire east coast was first surveyed. To these important voyages of the Cabots, CHAPTER IV. of our volume is devoted.

In imitation of the example of Columbus and of the Cabots, the adventurous Portuguese sent out, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, several exploring expeditions to the north-west under the command of the brothers Cortereal. These expeditions, though they do not appear to have touched the coast of Maine, are still particularly interesting to us, as having thrown much light on the neighboring regions in the north of Maine. They, moreover, conducted Portuguese fishermen to the Banks of Newfoundland; and these fishermen became, at the same time, active explorers of the north-east of America, and furnished the materials for several highly interesting charts of those regions. The expeditions of the Cortereals form the subject of our CHAPTER V.

Tempted by the advantages offered in the regions recently discovered, the Bretons, Normans, and Basques of the west coast of France, and also several English and Portuguese adventurers, followed thither the steps of the Cabots and the Cortereals. The French, with the Portuguese, for nearly the entire sixteenth century, took the lead in the fisheries on the Grand Banks, and in the exploration and delineation of the adjacent coasts. The interest thus created in these regions gave occasion, in France, for several exploring expeditions to the north-east of America; and also, in other countries, to diverse schemes and projects for such expeditions as were never performed. In CHAPTER VI. I have treated of all these expeditions, which followed after the Cortereals, whether simply designed or actually accomplished.

The explorations of our east coast, undertaken by the English, Portuguese, and French, which have been already described, began at Newfoundland in the north, and proceeded thence to the south. The Spanish explorations, on the contrary, usually began in the West Indies, and proceeded thence along the coast of Florida toward the north, and reached sometimes the coasts of New England. CHAPTER VII. treats of these Spanish operations, from the time of Columbus to about the time of Ayllon and Cortes, 1524.

In the years 1524 and 1525, two expeditions were sent out with the

particular object of exploring the east coast of the present United States: the first from France, commanded by Verrazano, an Italian, and the second from Spain, commanded by Gomez, a Spaniard. These expeditions, though proceeding from different countries, were similar in their plans and objects. They were both made at nearly the same time. The one was probably a consequence of the other. Both touched the coast of New England, and particularly of Maine. Through the entire first half of the sixteenth century, there were no other expeditions which contributed so much to the knowledge of these coasts. The expedition of Verrazano produced our best description, and that of Gomez our best chart, of the coast of New England. Each of them was also quite isolated. Neither Gomez in Spain, nor Verrazano in France, had an immediate successor. One English expedition, however, that of the year 1527, was somewhat connected with them, as to its date, its purposes, and its results. In view of these considerations, I have separated these two eminently important expeditions from the rest, and treated them together in CHAPTER VIII, to which, however, I have added the contemporary English voyage of 1527.

After Verrazano, the French paused for about ten years, and then renewed their efforts for the exploration of some section of the east coast neglected by him. From 1534 to 1543, at the suggestion of Cartier, one of their most eminent navigators, and under the commission of Francis I, they undertook a series of expeditions to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by which, at last, the entire geography of this region was disclosed. These expeditions gave rise to some admirable reports and maps, which are especially interesting to us from the intimate relations existing between the regions described and the State of Maine. The history of this series of expeditions is given in CHAPTER IX. I have added to it, however, a short report of an unsuccessful English expedition, made to the same regions at the same time. Nearly all the English expeditions of the sixteenth century are so disconnected that they cannot be easily grouped together. Sometimes there are feeble imitations of the enterprises of other nations, or at the best, results of them; and I have therefore thought it proper to dispose of them, as in this case, under the head of some greater undertaking of some other nation, to which they seem to be most nearly related with respect to time, and perhaps also to plan.

In CHAPTER X, I have given an account of the continuation of the Spanish expeditions, including that of Ayllon to Chicora, in 1526; that of De Soto to the Mississippi, and that of Maldonado and Arias along the east coast of North America, in the years 1538-1543.

After the extensive explorations of Verrazano and Cartier, the

French gave the name of New France to a large section of North America, and sometimes even to the whole American continent; and they continued to navigate thither, especially to the Banks of Newfoundland and the neighboring coasts. Until near the close of the century they took the lead of other nations in the affairs of North America. At the time of their religious wars, soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, the Huguenots, who had friends in some of the western ports, desired to find upon the east coast of North America a suitable place, where they might establish a new home for the adherents of their religion, condemned and persecuted as heretical in France. They commenced, therefore, in the year 1562, a series of exploring and planting expeditions, under the command of their captains Ribault and Laudonnière, to the coasts of "French Florida," the name given by them to the region included in our present States of Georgia and South Carolina. On these expeditions some new and shorter oceanic routes were discovered, which afterwards became common, and were used in sailing to the coasts of New England. By these French expeditions to Florida, the Spaniards were also attracted to the same regions, and under their great navigator, Don Pedro Menendez, explored a great part of the east coast. The English also followed the French, under the command of Sir John Hawkins, and, conducted by French pilots, sailed from thence along the entire east coast of North America. Still another expedition, connected in a similar manner with these expeditions of the French Huguenots, and accompanied and described by the celebrated French cosmographer, André Thevet, sailed along the east coast, and came to anchor in Penobscot Bay. On the breaking up of this Huguenot colony, under the assaults of the Spaniards and the neglect of their own government, some of the colonists took refuge in England, where their reports and maps on the beautiful country of "French Florida" were the means of arousing the English nation to those enterprises, which ended at last in the establishment of the colony of "Virginia." In CHAPTER XI, I have treated on all the English, French, and Spanish expeditions here alluded to. The voyages of Ribault and Hawkins, described in this chapter, being the immediate precursors of the voyages of Gilbert and Raleigh, with which the *luter* period commences, form the appropriate conclusion of our historical report.

In a concluding chapter, CHAPTER XII, I have summed up the whole contents of the volume; but discarding the chronological arrangement before adopted, have distributed this recapitulation under the heads of the different nations participating in the enterprises and discoveries herein described.

4. *General remarks.*

1.) In the history of the discovery of the east coast of North America, which I have given in these chapters, I have always had special reference to the discovery of Maine, as the particular object of this volume. I have accordingly described the discovery of the other, and especially the more remote sections of the coast, less fully, and in more general terms; and at the end of the chapters, in which these other sections have been treated, have stated the influence which their discovery may have had on the discovery of Maine; while I have at the same time given prominence to all those voyages and explorations which were intended directly for the coast of Maine, or in which it was incidentally observed and surveyed, taking care to give in full the original passages, in which this coast and the coasts adjacent to it are described. This particular coast, and also the entire east coast of the United States, are, as the reader will observe, often spoken of by me throughout the work, as *our* coasts. In using this expression, adopted sometimes for the sake of brevity, and sometimes for the sake of variety, I have not intended to convey the impression of my being a citizen of the State of Maine, or of any other State of the Union, but have rather allowed myself, almost unconsciously, to identify myself with my subject.

2.) The further we advance into our subject, and the more active the nations as well as individuals appear on the stage, the greater becomes the difficulty of grouping the whole mass of partially connected and disconnected enterprises in a strictly chronological order. Sometimes a series of voyages having the same object, and following the same route, and growing out one from the other, was prosecuted in one and the same country for a long course of years; while during the same period of time, expeditions and explorations were undertaken from other countries. In observing, therefore, a strict chronological order, and relating these enterprises year by year, as several Spanish authors, for instance Herrera and Barcia have done, I should have been forced to transport myself and the reader continually from one country to another, and there would have been no end of the breaking and the mending of the thread of the story. It appeared, therefore, to be evidently better, that, putting aside chronology, we should follow out the enterprises of one nation to a proper stopping-place, and then go back and resume the consideration of the contemporaneous enterprises of another nation.

But on the other hand, the division of the subject according to nations, which has been adopted by Forster, and other historians, has also its great inconveniences, if strictly and exclusively followed. The maritime enterprises of any particular nation, the English for example,

were, as a general thing, undertaken not so much from causes originating at home, as operating from abroad, and could not be justly described, without keeping in view the parallel enterprises of friendly or hostile nations, of the allied or rival powers.

From these considerations I have followed in my work a middle course, arranging its materials, partly according to the order of time, partly according to that of nationality. If I have met a group of connected enterprises, undertaken in one country, or under the influence of a single individual, I have traced it from beginning to end; and then arranged it chronologically with other groups, formed in a similar manner.

3.) With respect to the sources from which I have taken the data for my historical report, I have to make the following remarks. It has been my endeavor to obtain the best and earliest editions of the works on which I have relied as my authorities. But it has not always been possible for me to obtain the "best editions;" nor always, indeed, any editions of some works which I have wished to consult. In these cases, I have contented myself with secondary sources. I may say, however, that I have seen and consulted most of the great authorities in this department of learning, preserved in the libraries of Germany, Paris, the British Museum, Oxford, New York, Boston, and Cambridge; all of which, in the course of my travels, I have formerly visited for the purpose of collecting materials for a general history of the discovery of America.

It was my first intention to give an account of the standard works on the topics discussed at the beginning of each chapter; but this might have rendered the volume too bulky. Instead of this I have taken care to refer the reader, in foot-notes, to the works consulted, and the editions used. I trust, therefore, he will be satisfied of the solidity of my literary foundation.

II. ON THE MAPS.

Geographical maps and charts have been composed from time immemorial. The ancient Greeks and Romans, and after them the Arabs, composed maps. Even the Northmen of the middle ages did the same, so far as they were able. In the era of modern discovery, it became customary for explorers to draw, during each expedition, a chart, marking the configuration, and the latitude and longitude of the new country seen by them. These original charts of the discoverers themselves, made from actual survey, drawn on board their ships, or composed soon after they had reached home, with the assistance of their journals and notes, would be, if we possessed them, invaluable historical documents.

But the instances are rare in which they have been preserved. They came at first into the hands of hydrographers and map-makers, who copied and reduced them, and embodied their contents in the general maps of the world, or so-called "Portolanos,"—sailing-charts,—which they composed for the instruction of the public, or the uses of navigation. After having been employed in this manner, they were consigned to oblivion. A similar fate soon overtook the copies and compilations made from them. For a time, indeed, those great and splendid pictures of the new world, which were composed from the original charts of the great discoverers, had great celebrity, and were held in high estimation; but only for a time. We hear of new maps, which were hung up by kings in their palaces; and of others, which were discussed in the academics, and sent from city to city for the inspection of the learned. They were studied, copied, engraved, and painted over and over again; but only so long as they were *new*. When another *new* map appeared, which occurred often and after short intervals, the old map disappeared from the palace and the academy, and was laid aside and forgotten.

The maps which through age had become erroneous, were considered good for nothing, and even held in contempt; though their errors often had some good reason, and at least showed the ideas of their authors, and of the times in which they were composed. They sometimes contained excellent intimations of the better views which afterwards prevailed.

For these and other reasons it may be justly said, that there is no class of historical documents on which the "tooth of time" has been more busy, more cruel and destructive, than on old maps,—those compiled, as well as those made from actual survey, the manuscript, as well as the engraved and printed. We could point out some maps engraved and printed only a few hundred years ago, and then existing in hundreds or thousands of copies, of which now scarcely a copy is left, which is valued by amateurs at its weight in gold.

Nevertheless it has happened, that by chance and good fortune, a considerable number of old maps and charts has been preserved to our times, either in the public archives, or in the old State libraries of the nations of Europe. But even these maps and charts, which had been spared by all-destroying time, were scarcely noticed by the historians and geographers of the last century; sharing the neglect with which, during that period, Gothic buildings and other mediæval monuments were regarded. Indeed, during this interval, the old maps and charts were never invested with the dignity of historical documents. Even

those most learned and intelligent French geographers, D'Anville and Delille, who were still living in the time of our grandfathers, felt no interest in old maps, and did nothing to recover or preserve them; though they would have found in them some information not to be obtained elsewhere, and might have used them to illustrate and adorn their geographical works.

Historians, geographers, explorers, and travelers have sometimes laid down on their maps and charts certain facts, of which they have omitted to speak in their reports and books, finding it easier to speak to the eye than to the ear; or rather to convey the information they wished to impart, by using the brief and compact delineations of the map, instead of the diffuse and cumbersome phraseology of the book.

It is not seldom the case, that an old map will contain the only information we possess concerning some expedition or discovery. To give a single instance: our books and manuscripts give us very imperfect information about those highly interesting expeditions which Cortes ordered to be made in the Gulf of California, and along the western shores of the Californian peninsula. A chart of these regions, which was made by a contemporary of Cortes, and which, near the end of the last century, was discovered and published in Mexico, furnishes a most satisfactory supplement to our knowledge on this subject.

Moreover, the map-makers of former times were not content with merely giving the outline and name of a particular region, but they often affixed to it some inscription, legend, or notice, in which they informed the reader what kind of people lived there, what animals and plants were raised there, and, occasionally, by whom and when it was discovered. Now and then remarks like these are seen on those old maps: "In the year 1500 the Spaniard Bastidas sailed as far as this point;" or, "Here Solis was killed;" or, "In the present year Garay has gone out to this country, but is not come back as yet." We often see jotted down on the old maps, all kinds of observations, conjectures, and hypotheses, from which we can learn the ideas and notions which were current at the time when they were composed. These old maps were often highly embellished with pictures of the mountains, the forests, the animals, the cities of the newly-discovered countries, of their aboriginal inhabitants, and of the discoverer and his companions in their antique armor and costume, and the flags and crosses erected by them; to say nothing of the monsters in the surrounding waters, and the ships sailing among them to and fro; in great contrast with the dry and purely scientific character of our modern maps.

This will suffice,* at present, to show the great importance of the old maps and charts in the history of discovery. In more modern times this importance has come to be more generally acknowledged. Near the beginning of this century, a praiseworthy antiquarian enthusiasm was awakened; and under this impulse historians and geographers began to search after old maps in the archives and libraries of the different States of Europe; and when they were found, to have them carefully copied, collected, and published; thus repairing, as far as possible, the mischief resulting from the carelessness of former times, and restoring these lost documents to the common treasury of knowledge. To recite all that has been done in this way since the beginning of the nineteenth century by learned individuals and by scientific bodies, would be aside from my present purpose. Suffice it to say, that no work on the history of American discovery would now be regarded as complete, unless illustrated by copies of the old maps and charts, appropriate to the country of which it treats.

In accordance with these views, and with the wishes expressed by the Maine Historical Society, I have in this work paid particular attention to the subject of maps. From all which offered themselves for illustrating the discovery of the east coast of North America, and particularly of the coast of Maine, I have selected, in preference, those which come nearest to the first charts; those, too, made from actual survey, by the explorers themselves; and next to these, such as were made by distinguished contemporary cosmographers, and which are specially valuable, as exhibiting the leading geographical notions and ideas then prevailing.

The arrangement of the maps is attended with some difficulties. If there were a separate original chart for each distinct discovery, there could be no question, but that it should be placed in connection with the history of that discovery. But generally, even the earlier maps are only later compilations, and exhibit the results of several explorations made in different periods and distant places. However, even in such instances, there is commonly, on each map, some one discovery which constitutes its most prominent feature, and gives it a special interest. I have, therefore, arranged the maps according to their prominent and characteristic features, and annexed them to the chapters to which they are related by their principal or most important contents. In doing this, I have not omitted to notice those contents of the maps which are

* I take the liberty to refer the reader to a lecture on the subject of the old maps, delivered by me in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, and published in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of that Institution for the year 1856, pp. 93-147, where the subject is treated more fully.

of secondary and subordinate interest; and to connect them also, by references, with the chapters to which they are related by their subjects, to which they afford some illustration, and from which they receive in turn some explanation. And as the chapters and the maps are both numbered, the connection between them can be easily indicated.

I might have embodied the maps in the chapters they were designed to illustrate; but I have thought it preferable to place them in an "Appendage" at the end of these chapters, and to give the history and explain the contents of each map in a separate section of this Appendage. If, on this method, repetitions could not be wholly avoided, they are certainly reduced to the smallest possible number. In our examination of the maps it will often appear, that they not only confirm the facts related in our history, but often furnish additional information.

In accepting the proposals made to me by the Maine Historical Society, I understood, as they did, that fac-similes of the original maps were to be furnished. But in the strict sense of the term, a fac-simile is, in my opinion, an impossibility; and furthermore, if it could be had, it would avail nothing for our purpose. Whether fac-similes should be furnished, must always be a question of degree. To give a perfect fac-simile, one must make a copy of the old maps of the size, with the handwriting, with the gold and silver embellishments, with the yellow, red, and blue coloring; nay, with the very material, the rich vellum, of the originals,—a proceeding beyond the means ordinarily possessed either by individuals or societies.

In giving fac-similes of the old maps, it cannot certainly be understood, that the enormous size of some of them should be retained. I have, therefore, reduced them to more convenient dimensions. The reduced copy is not, however, necessarily a less exact copy of the original, than an enlarged copy would be.

Nor would a fac-simile necessarily require, that the rich coloring of the old maps should be followed in the copy. However much this might add to the beauty of the map, it would add nothing to its historical value. From all these various and costly colors, I have therefore retained only two; blue for the water, and black for the outlines of the firm land, and for the names.

Nor have I undertaken to reproduce exactly the quaint and often illegible handwriting, in which the names and inscriptions are written on the old maps; differing in fashion in different periods, different nations, and in different maps of the same period and nation. To have done this, would have been to throw a great deal of heavy work upon the reader. I have, therefore, taken this labor upon myself, and have written all the names and inscriptions in a uniform style, and in our

current letters. And if it should appear to the reader, that on this plan he finds, in the case of doubtful names, nothing but my own private opinion; it might be a question, whether he would fare better, in being left to decipher them for himself. Besides, my rendering of the old names, in many cases, is the same as had been given before by learned geographers, and is commended to the reader by their high authority.

To guard against all error in this matter, I have stated in my account of each map how far, and in what sense, it may be considered a facsimile copy of the original.

At all events, the reader will understand, that in reducing the size of the old maps, and in modernizing their handwriting, I have not made my task any easier. The method I have adopted, and which I think is an invention of my own, is no labor-saving contrivance. It would have been a far easier task for me, to place the original in the hands of a competent artist, and simply to have required of him an exact and faithful copy.

I will add nothing to these introductory remarks, but the expression of my hearty wish, that the manner in which I have performed the difficult work assigned to me, and have solved the many intricate problems connected with it, may prove to be satisfactory to the members of the Historical Society of Maine, and to the patriotic citizens of that State, and that they will be kindly disposed to excuse its manifold imperfections.

BREMEN (Germany), 29 August, 1868.

DISCOVERY OF THE COAST OF MAINE.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE GULF AND COAST OF MAINE.

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE first navigators and explorers of our coasts and waters reconnoitered, and the old map-makers depicted them, only in a very rough and general manner. In introducing a report on their history by a hydrographic description, it is not my intention to go into all the details of the subject. To describe minutely every little harbor or island on the coast, to enter deeply into its geology and geography, in our case would be perfectly superfluous; because all these smaller objects, during the period of time which we have to examine, never came into consideration. They were not observed by the first explorers, who from time to time, often after long intervals, appeared on our shores, sweeping along them in good or bad weather; and were never represented on their charts, or mentioned in their reports. They became important only at a later date, when our regions were oftener visited, and when the nature and value of every spot and corner for commercial purposes or settlement, were better estimated. For such a later period, a more detailed examination no doubt would become necessary.

Here it will be sufficient and proper, to give only a general description of the coast, and to point out those very prominent physical features, which from the beginning of the discovery of America by Europeans came into notice, by which the old mariners and cosmographers themselves were struck, and which can serve us for the better understanding of their doings, writings, and charts.

2. GENERAL CONFIGURATION OF THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

The continent of North America, of which the territory of the present State of Maine is but a very small part, may be said to form an irregular quadrilateral region of dry land, a kind of rhomboid of colossal proportions facing on all sides, with only one small exception, the salt-water.

This great quadrangle is broad in the north, and somewhat contracted toward the south.

The southern coast-line, along the shores of the American Mediterranean Sea, and more particularly of the Gulf of Mexico, is, therefore, not very extended. In a rough measure, and as far as the great mass of the continent goes, it is about 1500 miles long. And the continent, by a long and gigantic bridge of countries, is united there to its sister continent, South America. By this bridge, or isthmus, the coast-line is broken, the surrounding waters interrupted, and the form of the quadrangle made still more irregular.

The northern or arctic coast-line runs from Behring Strait in the west, to Labrador and the north coast of Newfoundland in the east, where it ends at Cape Race. It has an enormous extent of more than four thousand miles, and faces the arctic waters, which, for the greater part of the year are frozen over or filled with icebergs and not navigable. Though upon the whole it runs from west-north-west to east

south-east, still it is made very irregular by great peninsulas, large islands, bays, and gulfs, deviating from the general trending of the coast-line. The largest and most important of these bays of the arctic coast is Hudson's Bay. And by far the largest island in its neighborhood is Greenland, from which the continent is separated by the broad and gigantic channel of Davis' Strait and Baffin's Bay.

The west coast extends from Behring Strait to Mexico and to the above-mentioned Central American bridge, or isthmus. It has, likewise, an extended length of about four thousand miles, a general trending from north north-west to south south-east, facing the Pacific Ocean. It has many peninsulas and gulfs, which project beyond the general coast-line. The largest of them are the peninsulas of California, the gulf of the same name in the south, and the peninsula of Alaska and Behring's Sea in the north.

The east coast of North America extends from Cape Florida in the south, to Cape Race in the north, with a general length of about two thousand miles. It is, on the whole, pretty straight-lined, and has a general trending from south-west to north-east, facing the Atlantic Ocean. It, therefore, more exactly should be called the *south-east* coast of North America. But for brevity, we may be allowed to adopt the name *east* coast.

3. THE FOUR GREAT GULFS OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

On the east coast of North America, of which the territory of the State of Maine forms a prominent part, are five projecting points, or peninsulas, which stand out more to the east of the general coast-line.

1. In the south, the southern part of the peninsula of Florida.

2. The broad peninsula of North Carolina, ending in Cape Hatteras.

3. The peninsula of New England, running out with Cape Cod.

4. The great hammer-like peninsula of Nova Scotia, offering a long coast to the ocean.

5. The south-western peninsula of Newfoundland, projecting to the east with Cape Race.

These peninsulas and capes form and hold between them four large gulfs or bays, namely, the following:

1. Between Cape Florida and Cape Hatteras is a broad and not very deep gulf, which has its most interior part on the coast of the State of Georgia, and which we, therefore, might call the Gulf of Georgia.

2. To the north of it, between Cape Hatteras and the peninsula of New England, is included a similar not very deep gulf, which, from the principal State and port on its shores, might, perhaps, be called the Gulf of New York.

3. Between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia is formed a somewhat smaller, but more marked gulf, on which we shall have to treat here somewhat more particularly.

4. By Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Canada is confined a gulf, which has only two narrow outlets to the south and north of Newfoundland, is nearly everywhere surrounded by land, and might, therefore, be called a Mediterranean Basin. It has a somewhat square form, and, therefore, in ancient times, was called "Golfo quadrado" (the square-shaped gulf). After the discovery of the River St. Lawrence emptying into it, it obtained the name, Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The discovery and history of all these gulfs is more or less connected with the history of the gulf and coast of Maine, which stands in the midst of them. I shall, therefore, have

to allude to them often, and it was necessary to point them out in a general way, and to state under what names I intended to mention them.

I now will try to delineate somewhat more particularly the principal features of the Gulf of Maine, as far as they are of interest to us.

4. NAME OF THE GULF BETWEEN CAPE COD AND NOVA SCOTIA.

The gulf between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia, though it forms a very marked and peculiar piece of water, has, up to this day, no generally adopted name. Usually, in our geographical works and maps, it is left without any name whatever.

The first Spanish describers of this coast sometimes used for it, as will appear hereafter, the name, "Arcipelago de Tramontana" (the Northern Archipelago), or, from the first Spanish explorer, "Arcipelago de Gomez" (the Archipelago of Gomez).

The old French fishermen, who visited it sometimes, from the great banks, probably gave to it the name "The Gulf" or "Sea, of Norumbega," which latter was their name for the country stretched out along our gulf:

At a later time, when the English colony of Massachusetts was established, the name "Bay of Massachusetts" was introduced, and sometimes applied to the entire gulf, though this name at present is usually given to only a small section of it.

Because the gulf is formed by the peninsula of New England, and because the principal States and harbors of New England stretch along its coasts, the name of "Gulf of New England" would be a very proper appellation.

The name, "Gulf of Maine," was proposed and used

in the year 1832 by the Edinburgh Encyclopedia,* and in more modern times by officers of the United States Coast Survey. This name is particularly appropriate, because the State of Maine stretches along the inner parts of the gulf, and occupies by far the greater section of its coasts, and especially those which are most characteristic of these waters. Moreover, Maine-built vessels and Maine sailors are the most numerous *coasters* of the gulf. And last, but not least, the name is shorter and more euphonious than all the others, and probably, therefore, will soon come into general use.

For these reasons I am inclined to adopt in my work the name of "Gulf of Maine," though, for the sake of variety, I may also, in some cases, use the name of "Gulf of New England."

5. SIZE AND GENERAL CONFIGURATION OF THE GULF OF MAINE.

The Gulf of Maine has a much more marked form and figure than the two other great gulfs of the United States mentioned above. Its principal body begins in the north at Cape Sable, with the rectangular or square-shaped southern end of Nova Scotia. From Cape Sable the coast-line runs for some distance to the north-west, and a continuation of this line strikes the coast of Maine at Quoddy Head, at the distance of somewhat more than one hundred miles from Cape Sable.

From Quoddy Head, the general line of the coast runs for about 160 miles as far as Cape Elizabeth, to the west south-west. But there it begins to trend more decidedly to the south-west and south, and, in the vicinity of Boston, it turns round to the south-east and east toward Cape Cod and the

* See the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Philadelphia edition, 1832, by Thos. Parker. Vol. XVIII, p. 263. Article, "United States."

Nantucket Shoals, forming in this manner a kind of semi-circular line of about 150 miles in length.

Cape Sable and the peninsula of Cape Cod may be called the outposts or entrance-capes of the gulf. They are about 230 miles distant from each other. And this may be considered the base-line, or the breadth of the gulf. From this base-line to the inner parts of the gulf at the coast of Maine is about a distance of 120 miles, which may be called the depth of the gulf.

Summing up this, the Gulf of Maine may be described as a *square-shaped or somewhat semicircular basin*, of a depth, from south-east to north-west, of 120 miles ; and of a width or breadth, from north-east to south-west, of about 230 miles.

Everywhere in old reports and charts of the east coast of America, where we meet in our latitudes a semicircular bay of about the said size and figure, we may presume that the Gulf of Maine has been meant.

From this regular form adopted for it, the Gulf of Maine shows, however, one very remarkable deviation or exception. The "square" or "semicircle" is not closed in the north-east corner. There, on the contrary, the basin opens and runs out between the north-eastern coast of Nova Scotia and the south-eastern coast of New Brunswick, into a broad and long appendage or bay, which again, at its eastern end, separates into two narrow branches, running out toward the north and east.

This somewhat hidden bay appears to have been very little known to the early Spanish and French official explorers of our coast. It is not clearly indicated in the reports of Verrazano (1524), nor in those of Gomez (1525). But we find on the first old Spanish maps, in the latitude where it ought to be, names like these: "Rio hondo" or fondo (a deep river), or "Bahia honda" or fonda (a deep

bay); or "Golfo" (a gulf); once, also, "La Bahia de la Ensenada" (the bay of the deep inlet). I presume that these were Spanish names for that bay. There is no doubt that the early Portuguese and French fishermen of the Great Bank also visited and knew this bay, so rich in fish. We see it depicted on their charts, but without a name. Afterward, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French gave to it the name "La Bayo Françoise" (the French Bay). But this name has disappeared, probably because it was not acceptable to the English settlers. The present name of the gulf is "Bay of Fundy," which, however, on maps of the seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century especially, is written "Bay of Funda." I believe, therefore, that this modern name grew out *from*, and is a revival *of*, the old Spanish name, "Bahia fonda."

If we unite the Bay of Fundy with its two interior branches, and the Gulf of Maine, taking them as a whole, we may say, that the entire piece of water in its configuration is very much like the figure of a colossal turnip with a broad head, a small body, and two thin roots.

6. SOUNDINGS.

The soundings of the Gulf of Maine, and the nature of its submarine bottom, have not for us a very urgent interest. We will enter into their examination only so far as is necessary to prove, that there existed in this gulf no great obstacles to navigation; that it was rather inviting for the old mariners; and that they easily, and without great danger, might sail from one end of the gulf to the other in all directions.

The entire central parts of the gulf between the peninsulas of Nova Scotia and New England present a large sheet of navigable water of a mean depth of about one

hundred fathoms. This depth comes very near to the shores of the continent. The fifty-fathom line runs nearly everywhere along the coast at a distance of only about sixteen miles, and sometimes comes much nearer. In this respect, the Gulf of Maine, in comparison with the two other great gulfs of the United States, is quite peculiar. At the south of Cape Cod, in the "Gulf of New York," the fifty-fathom line remains at a distance of more than sixty miles from the coast.

From the fifty-fathom line the soundings in the Gulf of Maine decrease very gradually toward the rocky coasts to twenty and ten fathoms. This latter depth enters into many bays and inlets, and runs sometimes deep into the interior of the country. We may say, therefore, that the cliffs, islands, and rocky shores of Maine are everywhere surrounded by navigable and convenient soundings of a middling depth.

7. THE FISHING BANKS AND SHOALS.

From the bottom of the ocean, surrounding the coast of Maine and the neighboring countries, rise several large and small more or less elevated plateaus, the surface of which lies not very deep under the level of the sea, and which are called banks.

The most extended of these plateaus or banks begins opposite Newfoundland, to the east of it. It stretches out in its greatest length north and south from about 50° to 42° north latitude, with an average breadth of about 150 miles, and has been called, from time immemorial, "The Great Bank," or "The Grand Bank of Newfoundland."

From the middle parts of this great bank a long chain of smaller banks runs out to the west and south-west a long way. This chain begins on the south of Newfoundland with the St. Peter's Bank, having the smaller Whale Bank and Green

Bank to the south of it. To the south of Cape Breton Island, stands the Middle Bank and the Banquereau. To the south of Nova Scotia stands Sable Island Bank, with the remarkable island of the same name, and further to the south-west, Roseway and Le Have Bank, formerly also called Brown's Bank.

The western end of this chain of banks approaches the Gulf of Maine in the George's Bank, and still nearer in the Nantucket Shoals at the east of the peninsula of Cape Cod; and enters this Gulf in Jeffrey's Bank and Jeffrey's Ledge along the coasts of New Hampshire and Maine.

All these banks, having pretty deep water above them, are generally no obstacle to navigation. Only a few very shoal places on the Great Bank are an exception: and also that sandy low Sable Island, famous for its dangers and shipwrecks. St. George's Bank has also some bad shoals, and the Nantucket Shoals form a whole nest of rips dangerous to navigation. Also on "Cashe's Ledge," in the midst of the Gulf of Maine, a few dangerous soundings have been discovered.

All the said banks, more particularly the "Great Bank," are the breeding-places of innumerable little animals, which serve as food for several sorts of fish. Herring, salmon, haddock, and other valuable fish resort to them in great numbers. But above all, the most important of them, the cod, called by the French "La Morue," by the Italians "Merluzzo," by the Germans "Kabeljau," by the Spaniards and Portuguese "Bacallaos."

This most historical of all the fishes of the sea has its principal habitat through the whole northern half of the Atlantic Ocean, from the coasts of Europe between 50° and 60° north latitude to the coasts of America from 58° down to 42° north latitude. On the coasts of Europe in Norway, Germany,

France, Great Britain, the Shetlands, etc., it was hunted after by the fishermen of these countries from time immemorial ; and also for a very long time in the vicinity of Iceland, where, principally in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and also before and after, it was the standard article of commerce. At the end of the fifteenth century the western end of the cod-fish region on the above-mentioned banks of North America was discovered, which, in richness of fish, surpassed all the rest, and which soon attracted there the French, the Basques, the Portuguese, and also the English fishermen, merchants, and navigators in great numbers ; so that the cod-fish gave occasion for the better exploration and settlement of these regions.

The chain of cod-fishing banks, which, as I have said, ended in the Gulf of Maine, led the European repeatedly to the coasts of Maine, to Cape Cod, and to the Bay of Fundy ; which latter bay, in this direction, was about the last refuge and hiding-place of the every-where hunted cod-fish.

8. CURRENTS.

On the details of the currents in the Gulf of Maine we have as yet very little exact knowledge. The general movement and tendency of the waters in this basin, I believe, may be described thus :

The cold arctic current comes down in a south-western direction along the south-east coast of Nova Scotia as far as Cape Sable. From this cape it continues its initial direction, setting across the broad entrance line of the Gulf of Maine, and drawing with it the waters of the south-west coast of Nova Scotia from Bryer's Island to Cape Sable, which there, consequently, will run in a south-eastern direction, uniting themselves with the arctic current.

This arctic current pursues its south-western course toward

Cape Cod and the great submarine plateaus or banks to the east of this cape. By these banks and capes the current is probably divided, and partly turned off. The principal body moves onward with its initial direction along the south coast of New England. But one branch of it turns to the north-west and north along the coasts of Massachusetts and Maine; so that in this manner a somewhat circular movement of the waters takes place in the basin of the Gulf of Maine. I will only add the remark, that the soundings, being deepest in the midst of the gulf, appear to support and prove this view.

The north-westerly and northerly current along the coasts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, has been proved by actual experiment of the officers of the United States Coast Survey, who have made regarding it the following observation: "Our experiments have revealed the existence of a coast-current sweeping along the westerly part of Cape Cod Bay, and there taking a course northward. At first it is feeble, but it gathers considerable strength further to the north."*

The existence of such a current may have influenced the reports and charts of early navigators not acquainted with it, and not bringing it into account. Sailing from the north along our coast, and being retarded by the current, such a navigator would be inclined to think his latitude to be more southerly than it really was, and consequently would put on his map Cape Cod, for instance, under a more southern latitude than it has.

The Gulf-stream from Florida runs at some distance along the coast of the United States from south-west to north-east. Many navigators sailed along with it without knowing it. Arriving with the Gulf-stream in sight of Cape Cod and

* See this in the Coast Survey Report of the year 1860, p. 43.

the Nantucket Shoals, they would also be inclined to give to this cape a more southerly latitude than it has. We, therefore, in examining the old charts, should always have in mind the direction of these coast-currents and their probable influence on the operations and on the charts of the old navigators.

9. TIDES.

The rise and fall of the tides in the Gulf of Maine and along its shores are known to be very great. They are the highest on the entire east coast of the United States, and those in the Bay of Fundy, perhaps the highest on the globe.

The spring tides on the shores of the Gulf of Maine sometimes have a rise and fall of more than twenty feet, and in the interior parts of the Bay of Fundy even, it is said, of more than fifty feet. Throughout the whole Gulf of Maine they may be said to have a mean rise and fall of ten feet.

These high tides begin at once north of Cape Cod peninsula, and end at once at the south of it; so that, for instance, the harbor of Plymouth, at the north of Cape Cod, has a mean rise and fall of more than ten feet, whilst the harbor of Hyannis at the south of it, and only a few miles distant from Plymouth, has but a mean rise and fall of about three feet; and from there, these low tides are found along the entire coast development of the United States, as far down as Cape Florida, generally decreasing in this direction, and only exceptionally at some places (for instance, New York) increasing again, though they nowhere arrive to the height of the tides of the Gulf of Maine. So that this gulf, also, in this respect is marked among all the waters of the United States, and makes quite an exceptional and peculiar feature.

* See upon this the Tide-table in Coast Survey Report of the year 1863, p. 86.

These high tides make the inlets and rivers of Maine navigable for large vessels as high as their lowest falls, where they are arrested. They carried the vessels of early navigators as high up into the interior as these falls. They also, in modern times, probably, have facilitated the business of ship-building, one of the principal trades of the population of Maine.

10. CLIMATE, TEMPERATURE, WINDS, FOGS.

The Gulf of Maine may be said to lie between the latitudes of 42° and 45° north. The territory of the State of Maine extends about two degrees further north. It is the most northern among the States of the east coast of the Union. The nature of its climate inclines more to the countries north of it (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc.) than to the States south of Cape Cod. This cape, also, in that respect marks a very striking division. The neighboring countries to the south of it (Rhode Island, etc.) have a much milder climate than those to the north. Even the waters at the north of Cape Cod, throughout the entire Gulf of Maine, are, particularly in summer-time, remarkably colder than those in the south, though in latitude they differ only by a few minutes. The arctic current branches off into the Gulf of Maine and circulates in it, whilst the warm Gulf-stream is directed to the more southerly coast of New England, and warms its waters.

All the shores of the Gulf of Maine, and particularly those of the State of Maine, like Canada, have a climate of extremes. The temperature is said to range between 100° above and 30° below zero of Fahrenheit, and even more. The frosts of winter are nearly uninterrupted, and the lakes and rivers may be passed on ice from the beginning of December to the beginning of April. The harbors on the coast of

Maine, especially that of Portland, are usually open throughout the year. The Canadian line of British Steamers make Portland their winter port. The entire line of sea-coast, however, has a somewhat more moderate climate and temperature, being cooler in summer and warmer in winter than the interior parts.

The country, therefore, was little sought after for settlement by the nations of southern Europe. The Spaniards always considered it to be a too northern and little inhabitable country, even when they had settlements on the coast of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. And the French and English at first, likewise, turned their eyes to the more promising South. The French very early tried settlements in Florida, and the English in North Carolina and Virginia.

With respect to her northern sister countries (Nova Scotia, Canada, Labrador, etc.), Maine is a more southern country. The French, after having in vain tried some plantations in Canada in the beginning of the seventeenth century, resorted to Maine as being milder, and, for some time, thought to give it the preference to Canada. And, in times of old, the Northmen came down from Iceland and Greenland to New England, to make it their favorite country, calling it "the *good* country."

South-westerly winds, coming from the Atlantic and from the Gulf-stream, warm the waters and shores of the Gulf of Maine, whilst north-westerly winds, coming from Canada and the coldest region of North America, lower the temperature. North-westerly gales come down sometimes with great fury from the mountains and woods in the interior, being the most dreaded winds in the Gulf of Maine. We hear of the influence of north-western gales even in the time of the Northmen.

The Gulf and coast of Maine, like other countries to the

north-east, have always been famous for their fogs. They are often so thick and dense, that sometimes the coast and its inlets are hidden by them for several weeks. Particularly the opening to the Bay of Fundy from time to time is closed by a bank of fog lying before it like a wall.

The cause of these fogs, probably, is to be found in the warm and cold currents of water and air mixing and meeting each other in these regions. The fogs take place with southerly winds, coming from the warm Gulf-stream, oftener than with any other wind. They being warm and moist, and falling upon the cold waters of the Gulf of Maine, are condensed and show their watery contents. Northerly winds, coming from the dry country, and being more of the same temperature with the cold water of the gulf, will clear away these fogs. But they do this only as far as the cool water of the Gulf of Maine and of the arctic current extends. As soon as they enter the warmer column of air above the Gulf-stream water, they, of course, produce these fogs by cooling and condensing the air.

In examining the history of the early navigators we must, also, have in mind the accidents and errors occasioned by the fogs. It is possible that such a large and broad water as the Bay of Fundy, for a long time was not depicted on the official maps of the European kings, *because* their official explorer, at the time of his arrival, could not recognize it from such a bank of fog being stretched out like a range of mountains before its entrance. In the same manner in modern times Sir James Ross, in Lancaster Sound, believed he saw mountains, where there were but fogs, and depicted this sound as land-locked, whilst it had the widest open water in the world.

11. DEVIATION OF THE MAGNETIC NEEDLE.

The deviation of the magnetic needle in our days amounts, in the Gulf of Maine, to a variation of from thirteen to fourteen degrees west. The variation, of course, has been different at different times, and through the course of centuries. As the old navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were little acquainted with this deviation, and could not bring it into account, their tracks and courses, and also their coast-lines, were not truly laid down on their charts. In examining their old charts we should have this always in mind, though perhaps it would, from other reasons, not be worth our while to try to fix the amount of magnetic variation for every period of time, and to make out how it may have influenced and injured the observation of every old explorer and the correctness of his chart.

12. CAPES, HEADLANDS, PENINSULAS, INDENTATIONS.

The continental region bordering the coast of the Gulf of Maine presents, throughout, an elevated hilly and rocky country, built up by volcanic action, and presenting granite, syenite, and several other eruptive or metamorphic rocks, alternating with silurian strata, fossiliferous limestone, and argillaceous schists.

The rivers coming out from the interior, the waves and tides of the ocean, ice and snow, and other eroding agencies, have worked upon the softer substances, and have scooped out along the coast an innumerable quantity of friths, headlands, narrow peninsulas, high, sharp-projecting points, necks, islands, reaches, bays, and coves, with which the coast is lined and serrated.

These numberless indentations are quite a peculiar and characteristic feature of the coast of Maine. No other sec-

tion of the entire east coast of the United States has a similar character and configuration. Only beyond the limits of the Union, along the shores of the more northern British possessions, do we find coast-lines which offer the same singular aspect; and it is remarkable enough, that they are nearly all in the same position with respect to the ocean as that portion of the coast which we have in view.

The south-eastern coasts of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, and Newfoundland are all serrated, indentated, torn to pieces, and ragged like the coast of Maine; and they all, like this, face the broad ocean and are open to its action: whilst the northern and western shores of these same countries, which are turned to the interior of the Bay of Fundy and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, are much more rounded or straightened, without a great number of deep friths and headlands. It would appear from this, that the waves and tides of the ocean have been among the principal agencies by which those indentations were scooped out.

We find, however, very similarly indentated coasts throughout all the cold regions of the north, as well on the eastern as on the western side of America; and again in Greenland, Iceland, and also in northern Europe, in Scotland, Scandinavia, etc. Then, again, we find them in the cold regions of the South, in the Strait of Magellan, in Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, the Falkland Islands, etc. It is, therefore, very probable, that ice and snow and the action of the glaciers had something to do with their formation.

It is impossible, and also unnecessary, to mention and describe here all the innumerable capes, spits, and necks of our coast. I will enumerate only those which, during the period of its early history, appear to have come into consideration and to have got a noted name.

1. *Cape Cod.* The peninsula of New England, at the south of our gulf, with a pointed angle, runs far out to the east, and projects much beyond the general line of the east coast. It ends with a narrow, low, sandy, more or less hilly piece of country, called Barnstable, or Cape Cod, peninsula. This peninsula turns with a still narrower spit of land like a hook to the north, and ends with a crooked headland, at present called Cape Cod.

The whole may be considered as forming the entrance-cape of the Gulf of Maine. By several islands to the south of it, particularly by Nantucket Island, and then by several dangerous banks and shoals, called the Nantucket Shoals, stretching out still further toward the east and into the ocean, the whole locality is made more prominent; and from the beginning of navigation it must have been a very striking and remarkable object for all the mariners sailing along the coast. On the entire east coast of the United States only one cape (Cape Hatteras) exists, which may be compared to Cape Cod with respect to conspicuousness and importance in the history of navigation.

Cape Cod could scarcely escape observation by any navigator coming along our shores from the north. Those coming from the south sometimes may have been turned off from the coast by the Gulf-stream without getting in sight of the cape. Cape Cod, therefore, usually has been descried *from the north*. The Northmen, the Spaniard Gomez, the French under De Monts, the English under Gosnold, were all, sailing from north to south, arrested by this cape.

The Northmen compared the crooked figure of the cape to the prow of a vessel, and called it "Cape Shipsnose" (Kialarnes). The Spaniards were frightened by the dangerous shoals at the south-east of it, and named it "Cabo de Arcifes" (Cape of the Riffs). The French and Dutch

were struck by the appearance of its sandy white bluffs, which shine far out into the sea, and named it sometimes the White Cape, or the White Hook (Cape Blanc, Witte Hoek). An English captain at last, from the fish which he caught there, gave to it its present name, "Cape Cod."

In the course of our investigations, we shall have occasion often to refer to this cape, which occupies so prominent a figure in the navigation of the coast, and which, when we meet with it on the old charts, gives us useful hints concerning them, and enables us, sometimes, to trace the routes of the navigators.

2. *Cape Ann.* From Cape Cod along the shores of our gulf to the north, we find no other more prominent point than Cape Ann, the extreme point of the rocky peninsula of Essex county. It is high and conspicuous, and was probably often seen by early navigators. I believe that I have found some traces of it in the reports of the old Northmen on our coast, and I suppose that it was the same cape, which, at a later date, the Spaniards called "Cabo de Sta Maria" (St. Mary's Cape).

3. *Cape Elizabeth.* Cape Elizabeth, in its configuration, elevation, and appearance somewhat similar to Cape Ann, is, in several respects, one of the most remarkable points on our coast.

First, it stands out several miles beyond the general line of the coast to the sea, and is very conspicuous. Then it makes a change in the direction of the coast-line, which, as far as this cape, runs more northerly, and then, with an obtuse angle, it turns more to the east. At the same time, it marks a change in the condition and nature of the coast. To the south of Cape Elizabeth, among the rocky

necks and spits, are sometimes to be found low sandy beaches. But beyond Cape Elizabeth, to the north-east, these sandy beaches totally disappear, and everything is converted into innumerable cliffs, necks, tongues, and islands. From this it appears possible, that it was this cape which the Spaniards called "Cabo de muchas islas" (cape of the many islands), and which they so often depicted on their charts somewhat to the west of Penobscot Bay.* It is, however, also possible, that the neighboring cape, "Bald-head," surrounded on both sides by numerous islands, was meant by that old Spanish name.

The rest of the many capes and spits on the coast of Maine are so much alike, that none of them can be called strikingly prominent. None of them have been so often mentioned and so clearly designated by the old navigators, as to enable us to recognize and identify them. I omit, therefore, a particular description of them.

4. *Cape Sable.* The southern part of Nova Scotia forms a broad square-shaped peninsula. It runs out under a more or less right angle, the extreme point of which is called, from very old times, "Cape Sable." It forms the north-eastern entrance-cape of the Gulf of Maine, being distant from its south-eastern entrance-cape (Cape Cod) about 230 miles. The cape must have been noticed at a very early time by navigators sailing along the coast. On very old maps, made in the first half of the sixteenth century, we find sometimes depicted in these latitudes of our coast a square-shaped piece of country corresponding with that south-eastern end of Nova Scotia, and we therefore conclude that Cape Sable was, in such cases, meant. Soon after the middle of the sixteenth

*The numerous islands in Casco Bay, lying north-east of Cape Elizabeth, give peculiar appropriateness to the Spanish name.—ED.

century we have a Portuguese map, on which Cape Sable is unmistakably indicated under its present name, which probably was given to it by the old Portuguese or French fishermen from the Great Banks.

13. ISLANDS.

The islands along the coast of Maine are innumerable. All the bays and inlets are full of them. In one bay (that of Casco) have been counted as many as there are days in the year. The islands are of all sizes, some quite large, others small and diminutive. Many being elevated, rocky, covered with trees and meadows, serve much to diversify and embellish the aspect of the coast. They run in a nearly uninterrupted chain along the entire coast from Cape Elizabeth in the west, to Quoddy Head in the east. Some of them, having pretty high mountains, serve as landmarks to navigators. For instance, the hills of Mount Desert, which are elevated to more than fifteen hundred feet, can be seen at sea from a great distance. Some of the small islands stand somewhat out from the coast, lonely and lost in the midst of the ocean. The water between them is generally deep and favorable for navigation. There are not many hidden rocks and treacherous heads half covered by water.

These rocky islands and islets form a most characteristic feature of the coast of Maine. And every early visitor appears to have been struck by them. They are mentioned in the first description of the coast by the French captain Verrazano, in the year 1524. They are also depicted in the first descriptive chart of Maine which we possess, that of the Spaniard Ribero, made after the journals of the navigator Gomez.

No other section of the entire coast of the United States is found, which, in respect to islands, headlands, indenta-

tions, and particularly to the number of rocky islets, can be compared to the coast of Maine. On the south of Cape Cod, all the coasts of the United States, as far down as Florida, are low, sandy, uniform, and have, instead of islands, sandy long-stretched beaches, which, though they may be separated by water, are not easily recognized as islands.

If, therefore, we see on an old chart of the United States a chain of coast-islets depicted in about our latitude, we have a right to presume that the coast of Maine was intended. Without those islands, the historian would often have great difficulty in determining the locality.

14. HARBORS, BAYS, AND INLETS.

The coast of Maine all along is full of excellent harbors, safe ports of refuge, and beautiful bays. The harbor of Portland, in the south-western part of the State, is one of the best of the entire Atlantic coast. From thence toward the north-east there exists, in fact, every mile or two, a roadstead or open inlet for a ship to run into; whilst at the south of Cape Cod, along the greater part of the east coast of the United States, continuous sandy shores, like a rarely broken bulwark, stand against the shelter-seeking vessel; deep harbors being an exception. Probably, therefore, the old Northmen from Iceland and Greenland, when they came down to the south to cut wood and barter furs for their northern countries, did not dislike these coasts. And likewise the fishermen of the Great Banks, long before the settlement of the country, may have often resorted to them for shelter and refuge.

The most striking and widest open bays on the coast are Penobscot and Passamaquoddy; and they, in early times, may have been explored, entered, and used before the rest. We find them indicated on some very early maps, when no

other bay whatever is indicated on them. That very remarkable Casco Bay, with the harbor of Portland, may also sometimes be recognized on old charts.

15. RIVERS.

The territory of the State of Maine, forms a rough and hilly plane inclined toward the ocean from north to south. Its principal rivers, therefore,—the St. Croix, the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Saco,—follow more or less this direction. None of them are very long, and being obstructed by many rapids and falls, even down to the neighborhood of the sea, are also not very far navigable. They, consequently, have not occasioned or facilitated discoveries into the interior, as the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Mississippi, etc., have done.

The greatest exception to this is the Penobscot, by far the most important river of the State. It drains the entire central part of Maine. All its heads and tributaries are included in the territory of the State, and this territory may be considered as having attached itself from all sides to this river system. The State of Maine might be called the Penobscot country, this river being its main artery.

The Penobscot, at its mouth, forms the largest and most beautiful of all the numerous bays or inlets of the coast, and is very deep and navigable for the largest vessels about sixty miles from the ocean upward to the city of Bangor, where tides and vessels are stopped by rocks and falls.

The widely open mouth attracted the attention of all the exploring navigators sailing along the coast, and it was visited by the Spaniards on their first exploring expedition to our regions. We see it depicted on the Spanish maps as the longest river of the whole region, and they gave to it names like the following: “Rio Grande” (the great river), or

“Rio hermoso” (the beautiful river). And the principal of the early Spanish explorer of these regions, Gomez, left his name to this river, which, perhaps, he considered to be one of his most important discoveries. It was sometimes called “Rio de Gomez” (the river of Gomez). It was afterwards often visited by French navigators and fishermen from the Great Bank, and they appear to have built there, before the year 1555, a fort or settlement, which must have been the first European settlement ever made on the coast of Maine.* The Indians of Maine, also, thought highly of this river. Their principal chief, according to the well-known Captain John Smith, an early English describer of the coast of Maine, resided on its shores; and even now, when everywhere else in Maine the Indians have disappeared, the few remnants of them, the little Penobscot tribe, cling to the borders of this their old beloved principal canoe-trail.

The Kennebec, in size and importance, is the second river of Maine. Its chief artery runs down from north to south like that of the Penobscot, and has a very similar development and course. It is navigable for sea-going vessels about fifty miles upward. But its mouth is hidden among many inlets and necks of land very similar to each other, and not as easily recognized as the widely open mouth of the Penobscot. The Kennebec, in its lower section (called “Sagadahoc”), was not found, therefore, till a later time, and came not much into notice during the sixteenth century.

The same may be said of the Saco, and the Piscataquis, a wide and deep river, which at present forms the boundary between the States of Maine and New Hampshire.

The St. Croix River, in the greater part of its course, separates the State of Maine from the province of New

* See upon this chapter XI, paragraph 1, of this volume.

Brunswick. It ends with a widely open mouth, the Passamaquoddy Bay, already mentioned.

As nearly all these rivers, particularly the Penobscot and the St. Croix at their broad mouths, look so grand and promising, they were thought, by early discoverers, to have been much larger than they really are, and as they had their heads in the vicinity of the river St. Lawrence, they sometimes were taken as branches or outlets of this river, and have been depicted as such on old maps. Nay, some old discoverers and geographers had the idea that they were oceanic passages or channels from the Atlantic to the western sea, which they suspected to be very near to the west of Maine, as we shall have occasion to show more particularly hereafter.

This short review of the physical features of the coast of Maine contains, I believe, all that is wanted for the understanding of the earliest history of its discovery. In a volume on the history of subsequent times, the subject should be taken up again more in detail.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN IN NORTH-EASTERN AMERICA DURING THE MIDDLE AGE.*

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE great continents of our globe run out toward the South Pole in two pointed peninsulas, separated from each other by broad deserts of water; whilst on toward the North Pole the dry land becomes broader, and the ocean is cut up into several more or less contracted straits, gulfs, and arms of the ocean.

The human race, spreading itself over the habitable surface of the globe, had, therefore, much more facility in discovering and taking possession of one piece of country after another in the north, than in the south. Between the north-east of Asia and the north-west of America remains but a narrow channel, "Behring Strait;" and here some have supposed the first discovery of the American continent by an Asiatic race must have taken place, and that America here received, by an immigration from the East, her first inhabitants.

Between the north-east of America and the north-west of Europe the waters are much broader. But here several

* Nearly all of what I state and relate in this chapter is taken—sometimes literally—from the excellent work, "*Antiquitates Americanae, Hafniæ*, (Copenhagen), 1837," written and collected by C. C. Rafn, except some general remarks, and the observations on the old history of the coast of Maine, which are my own.

peninsulas and islands are found, forming a chain of stations for the communication of the old and new world.

From the West Indies, the line of the American east coast runs in a north-eastern direction; and from the high north, the coast of arctic America and Labrador come down in a south-eastern course, forming a great peninsula, of which Newfoundland is the most eastern point, stretching far out toward Europe.

Not very far from this north-eastern American peninsula, the southern part of the great island of Greenland presents itself; and, further on, Iceland, the Faröe, and the Shetland group, all separated from each other by sections of the ocean, which, under favorable circumstances, even by small craft, may easily be passed in a few days' sailing.

Scandinavia and Great Britain, also, stretch from the body of Europe, like colossal arms projecting into the ocean toward the north-west, approaching the above-mentioned parts of America and the islands between.

The territory of the State of Maine, the particular object of our researches, forms a part of that large north-eastern peninsula of America. It stands exactly where the American east coast very decidedly takes a turn toward Europe; and it may, therefore, have been affected, in a high degree, by all the migrations, voyages, discoveries, and conquests which, from the remotest times to our century of telegraphs and cables, have been the connecting links of commerce, navigation, and intercourse between the East and the West.

Perhaps long before any annals were written, some people may have passed over from Europe along the stations of this great high road to America, and from America to Europe. The similarity in manners and race existing among the aborigines of the north of Europe (the Laplanders, Samoyedes, etc.) and those of the north of America (the Esquimaux) is

not, perhaps, alone a consequence of climate and natural circumstances experienced by both races. The mounds and fortifications discovered in America, and the old instruments used by the nations, which, before our Indians of the present day, had taken possession of the country, are so similar to the objects of this kind found in Northern Europe, that this similarity can scarcely be otherwise explained than by a direct intercourse between the races.

The Roman historians reported, at least in one case, of some strange people having come over from the West in a boat, and having appeared on some coast of Northern Europe. From what nation and country these strangers came, nobody knew; perhaps they were fishermen driven by storm from the Shetlands or Faröe, or from distant "Thule," perhaps even Esquimaux from Greenland or Labrador. Several cases of the arrival of boats with strange people from the west, in Scotland and other parts of Northern Europe have been mentioned.* During the innumerable centuries of the existence of the human race, such events may have happened many times. In the same manner, vessels from Europe may have been driven by storms to the west;† and so population may have become dispersed from island to island, and from one continent to the other.

The inhabitants of the western and northern parts of the British islands appear to be the first Europeans who have—at least by tradition—sustained a claim to the discovery of American countries in the West. It is said that Madoc, a prince of Wales, in the year 1170, had found islands in the

* See upon this, Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, pp. 470–476. Berlin, 1852.

† An example of a European (French) fisher-boat, said to have been driven in early times (in the year 1501) from Europe to Canada, is quoted by Humboldt, l. c. p. 472.

far western parts of the ocean.* And then we have an old tradition of Irishmen having gone to the west and found there a beautiful country in which they settled, lived for a long time, and left their progeny. But this myth is put into a more southern region of America,—Florida and South Carolina: the examination of its probability belongs to the mythological history of those States.†

The fact, also, that we find the Irish before any European nation in Iceland, is more interesting for our subject. Irish Christians are the first Europeans which well-ascertained history shows us, were immigrants and inhabitants of this large island; and if we consider, as some do, Iceland as being American ground, we ought to say that the Irish were the first well-proved discoverers of some part of America. At what time the Irish arrived in Iceland has not been ascertained. When the Northmen arrived there in the year 860, they found some of these Irish there, designated in the Scandinavian Chronicles by the name of “Papas.”

2. DISCOVERY OF ICELAND AND GREENLAND.

The Northmen, in the eighth and ninth centuries, had commenced a strong emigration from their own country: they took possession of the Shetlands, the Farøe, and the islands of the northern part of Great Britain; and had become the most powerful sea-faring nation on the ocean border of the north-west of Europe. They made conquests and gathered plunder in every direction.

But, for us, the most interesting branch of their activity was that which conducted them to the north-east of America.

* See upon this, William Owen, *The Cambrian Biography*, p. 233. London, 1803.

† See on this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 449. Hafniæ (Copenhagen), 1837.

In this direction they found countries which were either uninhabited, or inhabited by barbarous tribes. The Northmen here could not destroy so much as in civilized Europe, which they ravaged and plundered. But they created new settlements, and introduced European spirit and enterprise.

Naddod, a Scandinavian, called the Sea-king, in the year 860, and Gardar, a Dane, soon after, are said to have been the first Northmen who, driven by storms, came in sight of Iceland, and reconnoitered it. The good news which they brought home from it induced others to follow their track, and the Northman, Ingolf, in the year 874, was the first who settled there. He and his men found there the Christian Irishmen, the "Papas" or "Papar," whom they dispossessed and drove out, until none were left before the overwhelming invasion of these new-comers.

The settlements of the Scandinavians in Iceland, and their expeditions to that country in the following years, increased in number; and, in the year 877, another north-east storm drove one of those Icelandic settlers, called Gunnbjörn, still further to the north-west, to Greenland, another unknown country, which he appears to have seen only at a distance. It was a long time before any other adventurer followed in his track. The Northmen had enough to do with their settlements in Iceland, and the "country of Gunnbjörn" (Greenland), existed for nearly a century only in tradition. A rock between Iceland and Greenland has ever since retained his name, being called "Gunnbjörn's Skjar" (Gunnbjörn's rock).

At last, in the spring of the year 986, Eric the Red sailed from Iceland with the intention of seeking for Gunnbjörn's country. Having found it, he established a settlement, "Brattalid," in a bay which, after him, was called "Eric's Fiord." He found the country pleasant, full of

meadows, and of a milder climate than the more northern Iceland. He gave to it the name "Greenland," saying that this would be an inviting name, which might attract other people from Iceland to join his colony. Another adventurer, named Heriulf, soon followed him, and established himself near a southern promontory of Greenland, which after him was called "Heriulfsnäa," situated not far from our present "Cape Farewell."

3. FIRST DISCOVERY OF NEW ENGLAND.

The above-mentioned Heriulf had a son, Biarne, who, at the time his father went over from Iceland to Greenland, had been absent on a trading voyage in Norway. Returning to Iceland in 990, and finding that his father, with Eric the Red, had gone to the west, he resolved to follow him and to spend the next winter with him in Greenland.

They boldly set sail to the south-west, but having encountered northerly storms, after many days' sail they lost their course, and when the weather cleared, they descried land, not, however, like that described to them as "Greenland." They saw that it was a much more southern land, and covered with forests. It not being the intention of Biarne to explore new countries, but only to find the residence of his father in Greenland, he improved a south-west wind, and turned to the north-east, and put himself on the track for Greenland. After several days' sailing, during which he discovered and sailed by other well-wooded lands lying on his left, some high and mountainous, and bordered by icebergs, he reached Heriulfsnäa, the residence of his father, in Greenland. His return passage occupied nine days, and he speaks of three distinct tracts of land, along which he coasted, one of which he supposed to have been a large island.

That Biarne, on this voyage, must have seen some part of

the American east coast, is clear from his having been driven that way from Iceland by northerly gales. We cannot determine with any certainty what part of our coast he sighted, and what was the southern extent of his cruise. But, taking into consideration all circumstances and statements of the report, it appears probable that it was part of the coast of New England, and perhaps Cape Cod, which stands far out to the east. One day and night's sailing with a favorable wind, was, in Iceland and Norway, reckoned to be about the distance of thirty German miles. Two days and "nights," therefore, would be sixty German miles, and this is about the distance from Cape Cod in New England to Cape Sable in Nova Scotia.*

The second country seen by Biarne would, then, probably have been Nova Scotia. The distance from Nova Scotia to Newfoundland is about three days' sail; and from Newfoundland to the southern part of Greenland, a Northman navigator, with fresh breezes, might easily sail in four days, and thus Newfoundland was probably the third country discovered by Biarne.

The results of the expedition of Biarne may be stated to have been these: He was the first European who saw, although from a distance and very cursorily, some parts of the coasts of New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. He also probably crossed the Gulf of Maine, without stopping, however, to explore its waters, or giving them names.

4. VOYAGES OF LEIF, ERIK'S SON, AND FIRST SETTLEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND.

Biarne, of course, spoke to his father and to the Greenland colonists of all that had happened to him, and of the

* The German mile a little exceeds four English miles.—ED.

large tracts of country he by chance had seen. Afterwards (probably in the year 994) when he returned to Norway, and spoke there also of his adventures, he was blamed by many for not having examined the new found countries more accurately.

In Greenland, too, whither he soon returned, there was also much talk about undertaking a voyage of discovery to the south-west. Leif, the son of Erik the Red, the first settler in Greenland, having bought Biarne's ship in the year 1000, equipped her with a crew of thirty-five men, among whom was Biarne himself, they went out on Biarne's track toward the south-west. They came first to that land which Biarne had seen last, which, as I have said, was probably our Newfoundland. Here they cast anchor and went on shore, for their voyage was not the search of a son after his father, but a decided exploring expedition.

They found the country as Biarne had described it, full of ice-mountains, desolate, and its shores covered with large flat stones. Leif, therefore, called it "Helluland" (the stony land).

After a brief delay they pursued their voyage, and found Biarne's second land, as he had described it, covered with woods, with a low coast and shores of white sand. Leif named it "Markland" (the woodland), our present Nova Scotia.

Continuing their course, in two days they again made land. They found here a promontory projecting in a north-easterly direction from the main; this pretty well corresponds to our present Cape Cod. It was the second time that a European vessel had sailed across the broad entrance of the Gulf of Maine, although at a great distance from the coast.

Leif, rounding this cape to the west, sailed some distance westward, entered a bay or harbor, and went on shore.

Finding the country very pleasant, they, concluding to spend the winter there, constructed some houses, and formed a settlement, which was called "Leifsbudir" (Leif's block-house, or dwelling). It is, with a great degree of probability, supposed that this took place on the south coast of the present State of Rhode Island, somewhere in Narraganset Bay, perhaps not far from our present Newport.

Leif and his men from this point made several exploring expeditions to the interior, to gain a better knowledge of the country. On one of those occasions a discovery was made, which appeared to them so extraordinary, that the name of this country was derived from it. Leif had amongst his followers a good-natured German, with the name of Tyrker, who had long resided with Leif's father in Iceland and Greenland, and of whom he had been very fond from his childhood. This German, on one of their exploring expeditions, lost his way and was missing. Leif, with some of his men, went out in search of him. But they had not gone far, when they saw him stepping out from a wood, holding something in his hands, and coming toward them. Leif received him with great joy, but observed that his German was somewhat irritated and unsettled in mind.* Upon being questioned, Tyrker, in a kind of enthusiastic way, began to say something in the German language, which the Northmen did not understand.† At last he said to them in true Norse, that he had not been a long way off, but still he had discovered something quite new. "I found vines and grapes!" he cried out; showing them what he held in his hands. "But is that true, my friend?" asked Leif, who, probably, as an Iclander and Greenlander never had seen fresh grapes. And then Tyrker said, that he well might know that they

* "Han var ikke ret ved sin samling." Icelandic Report.

† "Han dreieda aineue til forskjellige sides og vraengede munden."

were real grapes, having been born and educated in a country in which there were plenty of vines. The Northmen collected many grapes, filling with them their long-boat. This discovery was so extraordinary, that Leif gave to his new southern country the name of "Vinland" (the country of vines). This name was adopted by all his countrymen, and they afterward extended it to the whole coast stretching out to the north as far as what they called "Markland" (Nova Scotia).

During the winter Leif and his men observed that the climate of their Vinland was quite mild. They made also the observation, that the length of the days and nights in Vinland was much more equal than in Greenland throughout the year. On the shortest day in Vinland the sun was above the horizon from $7\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. This astronomical observation confirms the generally adopted view, that their settlement was made in the latitude of the southern part of New England. For the rest, they were occupied in felling trees and filling their vessel with wood, a product which, in Greenland and Iceland, was very welcome; and in the spring they returned to Greenland.

5. VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THORWALD, ERIK'S SON, IN NEW ENGLAND.

Leif's "Vinland voyage" became, among the colonists of Greenland, a subject of as much conversation and excitement, as in later times the discovery of Columbus at the courts of Spain and England.

Leif's brother, Thorwald, was of opinion, that the new country had not been explored sufficiently. He, therefore, borrowed Leif's ship, and, aided by his brother's advice and direction, and by some of his men, commenced another voyage to this country in the year 1002.

He probably sailed on the track of Biarne and Leif, along Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and arrived in Vinland at "Leifsbudir" (in Narraganset Bay), where he and his men spent the winter, employing themselves in fishing and cutting wood. In the spring of 1003, Thorwald sent a party in the ship's long-boat, on a voyage of discovery, the results of which were not very great, and have for us not much interest, because the expedition went, probably, pretty far to the south, and did not return until the fall of the year.

Thorwald himself, however, undertook, in the following year, 1004, another voyage, which has a higher interest for us, because it was directed to the north, and to the vicinity of Maine.

Thorwald, according to his report, sailed from Leifsbudir (in Narraganset Bay), in his large ship, at first eastward and then to the north, "around the country." In doing this the keel of his ship was damaged in a storm, and he landed on a promontory, where he remained some time in repairing his vessel. After this, "he sailed round this spit of land, from the east to the west, into the nearest frith of the coast." The description of this sail agrees very well with the configuration of Cape Cod and vicinity, which had been seen, but not named, on the former voyages of Biarne and Leif. Thorwald, this time, noticed the headland more minutely, and gave to it the name "Kialarnes" (Ship-nose). The outlines of Cape Cod make a figure which is much like the prow of a vessel, particularly of a Northman vessel. They had ships with a very high and pointed nose, like the head and neck of a dragon, and were therefore called "dragons." This circumstance may have influenced Thorwald to give this name to the cape, though it is said that the first occasion for the name was derived from his repairing his vessel there. At all events, the name "Kialarnes," so often mentioned in

the Scandinavian reports, kept its ground, because it was found so appropriate. The Scandinavian reports sometimes mention this cape under the simple name "Naeset," the *nose*, probably because it was the principal and most projecting headland of their "Vinland." This remarkable headland, on account of the snowy whiteness of its sands, always attracts the attention of the passer-by.* As a prominent and important landmark it shows to the navigator his way on the dark ocean; and so, in our researches through the dark ways of history, it will serve us as a guide when we find its unique figure put down on a chart by some explorer. Cape Cod may be called the very handle by which to grasp the hydrographical features of New England.

Thorwald sailed from his "Ship-nose" toward the main land, where he came to anchor not far from a hilly promontory overgrown with wood, and was so much pleased with the place that he exclaimed, "Here it is beautiful, and here I should like to fix my abode." He met there nine men of the aborigines: "eight of them they killed, but the ninth escaped in his canoe." Some time after, there arrived a countless number of "Skrellings"—as the Scandinavians called the aborigines, as well of Greenland as of Vinland,—and a battle ensued. It was the first battle and bloodshed between Europeans and the indigenous Americans, of which we have any account. The "Skrellings" continued shooting at Thorwald and his men some time, and then quickly retired. After the victory, Thorwald asked his men, whether one of them had been wounded. Upon their denying this, he said, "I am! I have an arrow under my arm, and this will be my death-blow. I now advise you to prepare for your departure as soon as possible. But me you must take to that promontory where I thought to have made

* See upon this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 426, 427.

my abode. I was a prophet. For I now shall dwell there forever. There you shall bury me, and plant there two crosses, one at my head and one at my feet, and call the place 'Krossanaes' (the promontory of the crosses), for all time coming." Thorwald, upon this, died, and his men did as he had ordered them.

The place where they buried him and erected the crosses, must have been one of the headlands not far south of the coast of Maine. It is supposed that it was near the harbor of Boston, and that this first battle between Europeans and American aborigines was fought on the same ground where, in modern time, were fought the first battles of the American colonists with the British troops. The cape, "Krossanaes," having a somewhat hidden position, is not often mentioned in the Scandinavian reports.

Thorwald's men returned to their companions at the settlement of Leifsbudir (Narraganset Bay), and spent with them the following winter. But in the spring of 1005, having collected a cargo of wood, furs, and grapes (probably in a dried state), they sailed again to Greenland, having important and sad intelligence to communicate to Leif, Erik's son.

The results of Thorwald's exploring expedition, for our object, may be summed up in a few words. Thorwald and his men staid on the coasts of New England nearly two entire years, principally occupied with explorations. They sailed along the south coast of New England toward, and perhaps beyond, New York. They recognized and described more minutely the important headland of Cape Cod, and gave to it the appropriate and often mentioned name, "Kialarnes" (Ship-nose). They intended to make an expedition along the coast of New England toward the north, visiting the

shores of Maine, but did not come in this direction much farther than the harbor of Boston, where their commander, Thorwald, was killed.

6. UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT OF THORSTEIN, ERIK'S SON, TO REACH "VINLAND" AGAIN.

Thorstein, Erik's third son, now resolved to proceed to Vinland to obtain his brother's body. He fitted out the same ship in which his brother had sailed, and selected twenty-five strong and able men for its crew. His wife, Gudrida, a woman of energy and prudence, accompanied him. But they encountered contrary winds, and were tossed about on the ocean during the whole summer, and knew not whither they were driven. At the close of the first week of winter, they landed at one of the western settlements of Greenland, where a sickness broke out amongst them, of which Thorstein and many others died. In the following spring, his widow, Gudrida, returned to Ericksford, on the southern coast of Greenland.

7. THE VOYAGE OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE TO "VINLAND," AND A NEW SETTLEMENT THERE EFFECTED BY HIM.

In the following summer of the year 1006, two ships arrived in Greenland from Iceland,—one commanded by Thorfinn and Snorre Thorbrandson, the other by Biarne, Grimolf's son, and Thorhall.

Thorfinn was a wealthy and powerful man, of illustrious lineage. He had the surname Karlsefne (*i.e.* one who is destined to be a great man). He fell in love with Gudrida, Thorstein's widow, and their marriage was celebrated during the winter. On this, as on former occasions, Vinland formed a favorite theme of conversation. Gudrida probably spoke to her new husband about the project of her former husband,

Thorstein, of a voyage to the south. Thorfinn, urged by his wife and by others, resolved to undertake such a voyage.

In the summer of 1007, Thorfinn prepared three ships,—one commanded by himself, another by Biarne, Grimolf's son, and Thorhall; the third by Thorwald, who had married Freydisa, a natural daughter of Erik the Red. They had in all one hundred and sixty men, and, it being their intention to establish a colony there, took with them all kinds of live-stock.

They sailed from Greenland in the spring of 1008, on a southerly course to Helluland, and from thence two days further in a southerly direction to Markland.

From "Markland" (Nova Scotia) they did not go out to the open sea through the broad part of the Gulf of Maine, as had been done on the former expeditions; but they coasted along a great way "to the south-west, having the land always on their starboard," until they at length came to Kialarnes (Cape Cod).*

Thorfinn and Gudrida, in following this track, probably wished to find the place where Thorwald had been buried, and his crosses erected, which they of course knew were to be found on the coast toward the north of Cape Cod. They, no doubt, had some of Thorwald's former companions on board.

It appears from this, that we have here the first coasting voyage of European navigators along the shores of Maine. It was a numerous company of one hundred and sixty men in three vessels, who, in that year, had their eyes upon our coast in search of the cross of Thorwald, all of them strong, stout, and heroic fellows. Unhappily, their reports contain no further details of the coast.

* Fra Markland seilede de længe sønderpaa langs med Landet, og kom til at Naeset. Landet laae paa skibets hoire side.

They came at last to Cape Cod, and were struck at this time by "long sandy beaches and downs," and named the straud "Furdustrandr," which may be translated "beaches of wonderful length,"—our present "Nauset" and "Chatham Beach."

In rounding the beaches toward the west, they saw several inlets, islands, and tongues of land, and met at several places strong currents. On one of the islands an immense number of eider-ducks was found, so that it was scarcely possible to walk there without treading on their eggs. They called this island "Straumey" (the island of currents), and to a frith they gave the name of "Straumfiordr" (the frith of the currents). It is well known that the Gulf-stream in this region comes very near to the Nantucket Shoals, and causes amongst them and the neighboring islands very irregular currents.

They landed in the "frith of the currents," supposed to be our Buzzard's Bay, and made preparations for a winter residence. But Thorhall the Hunter, a man whom Thorfinn had carried out with him, left there for the north on discovery, and then Thorfinn himself, with the great body of his men, sailed westward, and entered the same large and beautiful bay, on the borders of which Leif had built his "Leifsbudir." Not far from this spot, on the other side of the water, at a place which pleased him better, Thorfinn now erected his own larger establishment, named "Thorfinn's budir." It stood near a small recess or bay, by the Scandinavians called "Hop" (corner). On the low grounds around this "Hop," they found fields of wheat growing wild, and on the rising grounds plenty of vines.

There, in a beautiful country, they spent the following winter. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open fields, as it may be to-day, in the exceptionally mild climate of Rhode Island. Sometimes the aborigines (Skrel-

lings) would assemble around them in great number. Thorfinn and his men bartered with them for their squirrel-skins and other furs. The Skrellings liked very much the red cloth offered by the foreigners, and gave valuable furs for a small piece of red cloth not broader than a finger's breadth, binding it round their heads like a crown. Thorfinn, also, caused his women to bring out milk-soup, the taste of which the Skrellings greatly relished. They greedily purchased, ate it, and in this manner "carried away their bargains in their bellies," says the old Icelandic chronicler. In fact, this whole traffic of the Northmen with their "Skrellings" was carried on in much the same manner in which the later Europeans used to barter with the poor Indians; with this difference only, that in modern times they gave them brandy instead of milk.

Thorfinn prohibited his men from selling their swords and spears to the Skrellings, a prohibition which was afterwards often repeated by European commanders.

One day, whilst traffic was going on in the like manner, a bull, which Thorfinn had brought with him, rushed out from the woods and bellowed loudly. At this the Skrellings were extremely terrified, and quickly disappeared in the same manner in which, at a later date, the Peruvian Indians, at the court of Atabalipa, were frightened by the neighing of Spanish horses.

But it is not my intention to specify all that happened to Thorfinn and his men in their southern abode, because the details of these events appear to belong to the antiquities of the State of Rhode Island. I have only made an exception with respect to the matters just stated, as they are characteristic of American history in general, and as they serve to confirm the truthfulness of our Scandinavian reports, and foreshadow, as it were, in a clear mirror, many American customs and occurrences afterwards often repeated.

I will only add this, that Gudrida, the heroic wife of Thorfinn, gave birth, on the shores of Narraganset Bay, to a son, who received the name of "Snorre," and who may be considered as the first American-born child of European parents.

We will now turn our attention again to the north, and see what was done by Thorfinn for the exploration of the northern parts of Vinland.

Thorfinn had sent to the north from Straumfiordr (Buzard's Bay) his man, Thorhall the Hunter. "This Thorhall was a strong and stout person, black, very taciturn, and was familiar with the desert places of Greenland and the whole north." Being fond of exploring unknown parts, he, with eight men, had left Thorfinn's party soon after their arrival at the south coast of New England, because he wished to explore the northern parts of Vinland. He sailed along "Furdustrandr" (Nauset) and "Kialarnes" (Cape Cod), and turned to the west into the interior parts of the Gulf of Maine. But there he was caught by a strong west wind, probably one of the wild north-west storms, which, coming down from the mountains of New Hampshire and Maine, sometimes happen in this bay, and still are much dreaded by the coasters. By this storm Thorhall was driven out into the broad ocean, and by other westerly gales was carried so far away, that at last he knew no better refuge than Ireland,* where he landed, and where, according to the account of some merchants, he and his men were made slaves.

Thus Thorhall's attempt to explore the northern parts of Vinland (coast of Maine) in 1008, was as perfect a failure

* I may add the remark, that, in a similar manner, at the end of the sixteenth century, the well-known French discoverer, La Roche, was caught by a western gale on the shore of Nova Scotia, which drove him off the coast, and chased him back toward France.

as the voyage of Thorwald to the same region some years before.

Meanwhile Thorfinn's circumstances had changed. His establishment at "Hop" (Narraganset Bay) had been attacked by numberless hostile Skrellings. Blood had been shed again, and the fights had not been victories for the Scandinavians. Thorfinn thought that, though the country offered many advantages, still the life they would have to lead here might be one of constant alarm. He made preparations, therefore, to return to Greenland. But before doing this, he wanted to see his man, Thorhall the Hunter, who had not returned from his excursion to the northern parts of Vinland. He, therefore, in one of his ships, left "Hop," sailed eastward, leaving the greater body of his companions at his station on the coasts of "Straumfiordr (Buzzard's Bay), and made a searching expedition to the north on the track and in quest of Thorhall. He sailed to the north along "Kialarnes" (Cape Cod), and then to the west, "having the country on his left side." "He found there endless forests so far as he could see, with scarcely any open place." He discovered, also, a river, in the mouth of which he, for some time, rode at anchor.

Here, at this anchoring place, it happened that they one day saw a "Onefoot,"* who, being hidden behind some trees, killed with an arrow one of Thorfinn's men, and then ran off to the north. After this unhappy event, Thorfinn continued his voyage to the north. But finding no trace of his friend Thorhall, and thinking that they now had come to the country of the "Onefoots,"† he did not like to expose his men to further dangers, and returned to the south. "He and his men, however, agreed on this point, that all these

* "En Eenfoding" (Unipes").

† "Eenfodingeland" ("terra Unipedum").

tracts to the north were continuous with those in the south at Hop, and that it was all one and the same country."

The "endless forests" which Thorfinn saw in the north, the river-mouth where he anchored, and where he saw the "Onefoot," might have been somewhere in the inner parts of the Gulf of Maine, on the coasts of the present States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, or Maine. How far, on this excursion, he went to the north, we cannot say. But, as he believed that he had now come to the dangerous "country of the Onefoots," we may put down this as one of the names under which our coasts of New Hampshire and Maine may have been designated by the Northmen.

The reports of the Northmen of their voyages are not near so full of fabulous and mythological phantasms and errors, marvellous and superhuman events and beings, as those of the Spaniards and other more southern nations. They are, on the contrary, remarkable for their straight-forward, most-tentative simplicity and matter of fact clearness. But there are a few exceptions. Sometimes they report, that the "Skrellings," in the midst of a battle or on their flight, suddenly disappeared, "being swallowed by the earth," and similar incredible things. The "country of the Onefoots" may also be called one of these exceptions. The Northmen believed in the existence of such a nation and country, as the Spaniards believed in the existence of the Amazons. They believed they had discovered the country of the Onefoots at several times,* and so Thorfinn thought he had found it here in the north of Vinland (New Hampshire and Maine).

Thorfinn, not having found his man Thorhall, returned to his companions whom he had left on the coast of Straumfiordr (Buzzard's Bay). He there staid with them till the next

* See Rafn, l. c. p. 158.

winter. It was his third winter in Vinland, but not a favorable one to the continuation of the enterprise. Discontent and dissension broke out among the settlers, the causes of which I may leave here undiscussed. Thorfinn, therefore, in the following spring, 1011, with his wife, Gudrida, and his American son, Snorre, then three years of age, left the country together, and with a good southerly wind returned to Greenland. It is not quite clear, but it appears to me probable, that a party of his men remained behind and continued the settlement in Vinland. The reports are somewhat contradictory on this point. Thorfinn, also, carried with him two boys, aborigines of Markland, to whom the Northmen afterward taught the Norse language, and who then gave them some particulars about the interior of their country, and about the manners and kind of living of their countrymen. The old Northmen, in this respect, followed the practice, which, in later times, was adopted by many discoverers.

Thorfinn never returned again to Vinland. He had brought from thence many valuable things collected in the country, and during his traffic with the aborigines,—furs and skins of different animals, specimens of rare wood of several sorts, and probably other products not specified in the reports.

When he arrived with this cargo in Greenland (at the end of the year 1011), two brothers of the name of Helge and Finnboge had come out from Norway. They were probably attracted by the rich plunder of Thorfinn, and, persuaded by some of his companions, resolved to make a voyage to Vinland, which now began to be named "Vinland the good" (Vinland det goda). They associated for this purpose with that enterprising woman, Freydisa, who had been out with Thorfinn, and who knew and liked "the good Vinland."

They made with her a bargain, that they would share with her equally in all the profits this voyage might yield. They sailed in the year 1012 to Vinland. The particulars of their voyage have no great interest for us, because it does not appear that they touched, in any way, the northern parts of Vinland. Freydisa and her companions got into trouble and disagreement, probably about the "profits of the undertaking." They came to arms, and the two brothers, Helge and Finnboge, were slain in a fight. Freydisa and her companions soon after returned to Greenland, very probably with a good booty of furs, etc. They arrived in Greenland in the spring of 1013, where Thorfinn then lay, ready to sail with his cargo for Norway. (All commercial operations appear to have been very slow in old Greenland.) It is very probable, though it is not exactly stated, that Freydisa sold a part of her stock to Thorfinn, to take to the European market. At all events, "Thorfinn's ship was so richly laden, that it was generally admitted a more valuable cargo never before left Greenland."

Thorfinn sailed to Norway, staid there the next winter, and sold his American products.* He appears to have made by them a good profit. Amongst others, a "Southern man," a German merchant of the city of Bremen, in Saxonia, who happened to be present in Norway, offered to Thorfinn, for a piece of American wood, half a mark of gold. Thorfinn was astonished at this high price being offered to him by that "Southerner," but gave his wood for it. "He did not know that it was 'Mösur' he had brought out from Vinland."† This "Mösur," or "Mausur" was a kind of wood then considered to be so precious, that

* Rafn, l. c. p. 73.

† Rafn, l. c. p. 74.

kings sometimes had goblets made of it, trimmed with silver and gold.*

Thorfinn, probably with a full purse, sailed as before, accompanied by his wife Gudrida and his son Snorre, in the spring of 1014, from Norway to Iceland, where he bought an estate, and where he now settled and resided for the remainder of his life, with Snorre, his son. After the death of Thorfinn, and after Snorre had been married, Gudrida, the widow-mother, made a pious pilgrimage to Rome, where, probably, as an extraordinary person, she was received with distinction, and where, of course, she spoke to the pope or his bishops about the beautiful new country in the far West, "Vinland the good," and about the Christian settlements made there by the Scandinavians. She afterwards returned to her son's estate in Iceland, where Snorre had built a church, and where, after all her adventures, she lived long as a religious recluse.

From Thorfinn and his son, Snorre, a numerous and illustrious race descended, among whom may be mentioned the learned bishop Thorlak Rannolfson, born in the year 1085, of whom it has been made probable, that he was the person who originally compiled the accounts of the voyages of his great grandfather.

The results which these early exploring, searching, and trading voyages of Thorfinn and Gudrida have for our subject, may, in short, be summed up thus:

The coast of Maine, in the year 1008, was, for the first time, coasted along by European ships from north to south.

Thorhall the Hunter, in the year 1008, made his exploring

*The American "Mösur" is said to have come from a kind of maple tree, called in New England the "birdseye, or curled maple." See upon this, Rafn, l. c. p. 442 seq.

expedition from Straumfiordr (Buzzard's Bay) to the northern parts of Vinland (coast of Maine), but was beaten back by a heavy north-western gale.

Thorfinn, in the year 1009, made a searching expedition in quest of his man Thorhall, to the northern parts of Vinland, but appears not to have gone far north, for fear of the Skrelings, whom he thought to be monstrous "Onefoots." He gave their name to the country, which probably included New Hampshire and part of Maine, and which he believed to be continuous with the south of Vinland.

Thorfinn, during his stay of more than three years in Vinland, had collected furs, skins, precious woods, and other American products. He brought them over to Europe (Norway), and sold them at a good price. Thus were New England and its products made known in Europe.

These discoveries were also undoubtedly made known by mariners from Germany, Ireland, and Scotland, and by other adventurers, on their return to their native countries. The Northmen themselves would not be slow in spreading the fame of their bold expeditions and the wonderful discoveries they had made.

That in Denmark and the northern part of Germany, very soon after the expeditions of Thorfinn, the "Vinland" of the Northmen became known, is proved by the testimony of a famous contemporary historian of the North. The bishopric of Bremen, founded by Charles the Great, comprised within its ecclesiastical jurisdiction and diocese, for a long time, the whole north of Europe,—Denmark, Scandinavia, Iceland, and Greenland. The town where this bishop resided (Bremen), therefore, was sometimes called the Rome of the North; and the earliest historian of this bishopric, Adam of Bremen, in his celebrated and important work, "Ecclesiastical history of the north of Europe," paid great

attention to the political, military, and commercial events of the Northmen. He wrote this work about fifty years after Thorfinn's return from Vinland, and, having himself traveled a good deal in Denmark, he added to it "a description of Denmark and of the regions beyond Denmark," and in chapter thirty-nine of this description, he says that Sueno, the King of Denmark, to whom he paid a visit, and with whom he had a conversation on the northern countries, mentioned to him, among many other islands which had been discovered in the north-west, "one which they had called Vinland, because the vine would grow there without cultivation, and because it produced the best sort of wine. That besides, plenty of fruits grow in this country without planting, is not mere opinion, but I have this news from very authentic and trustworthy relations of the Danes. Beyond this island, however, no habitable country is found; on the contrary, everything to the north is covered with ice and eternal night."

Adam of Bremen's work was written soon after the middle of the eleventh century, issued in the year 1073, dispersed in several copies, and probably read by many learned persons. So we may say, that, even at this time, a discovery of America was proclaimed, and a short description of New England given to the reading public of Europe.

Besides this Adam of Bremen, there was another contemporary historian, Ordericus Vitalis, born in England, and afterwards bishop of Rouen in Normandy, who appears to have known something of Vinland, and to have mentioned it in his ecclesiastical history, which was written about one hundred years after Thorfinn's exploring expeditions.*

* See about this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 337.

8. EXPEDITIONS FROM GREENLAND AND ICELAND TO VINLAND
SUBSEQUENT TO THOSE OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE.

After Thorfinn Karlsefne's expeditions, the Northmen from Iceland and Greenland appear to have gone several times to the shores of America. Some of them were driven by storms to more southern parts of the continent. Others made exploring expeditions toward the arctic regions, to the northern parts of Baffin's Bay. The history of these voyages, undertaken to regions very distant from our territory of Maine, has no immediate interest for us.

But the Vinland expeditions did not cease, though we have only scanty information and a few scattered reports on all that happened in Vinland after Thorfinn Karlsefne. The first discovery of this beautiful country, praised so much for its mild climate and fertility, and usually by the Icelandic historians called the *good* country, must, at the beginning, have struck the Northmen with great surprise: their historians, consequently, reported amply and fully on this memorable event. The three sons of Erik the Red, Thorfinn and his heroic wife, Gudrida, being distinguished by birth and social position, and some of them the heads of a large progeny, their descendants took pride and pleasure in describing and recording the exploits and adventures of their ancestors.

After Thorwald and Thorfinn, a voyage to Vinland may not have been considered as very remarkable. The way to it was found, and became, as it were, a beaten track, easy for everybody. The voyages to this country were no extraordinary exploring expeditions to a new region, but only commercial undertakings, probably to gather furs, wood, and other commodities for Greenland. They, therefore, were not chronicled and amply described. But sometimes we find them occasionally mentioned.

So in the year 1121, the voyage to Vinland of a bishop of Greenland, by the name of Erik, is mentioned in the Icelandic annals. This priest is said to have sailed to Vinland for missionary purposes. The fact, that such a high ecclesiastical functionary as a bishop should go to Vinland, appears to be good proof, that, since Thorfinn's time, Northman settlers had remained there, or, at least, that Northman traders, engaged in trafficking, fishing, and wood-cutting had tarried there, and that a constant intercourse with the colony had been maintained. The beauty of the country, so often praised by the Icelanders, and the profits which they had derived from some of their Vinland expeditions, must have been a great inducement to the colonists and traders to retain possession of the country, and not readily abandon it. Of the results of Bishop Erik's expedition we, unhappily, have no particular information.

After this remarkable voyage of the bishop we hear nothing of Vinland for more than a hundred years, nor of countries to the south-west of Greenland. Then we have again a brief notice, that, in the year 1285, two Icelandic clergymen, Aldabrand and Thorwald Helgason, who are often mentioned in Northern history, visited, on the west of Iceland, "a new land," and that some years afterwards, the king of Denmark, Erik the Priest-hater, sent out a ship under the command of a certain Rolf, to pay a visit to this "Newland," which is supposed to have been our Newfoundland.

Again, not quite a hundred years after this event, we find, in the ancient Icelandic Annals, the following very remarkable, though short report: "In the year 1347 a vessel, having a crew of seventeen men, sailed from Iceland to Markland." The dry and brief manner in which this is reported, seems to prove that this vessel of 1347 was not driven to "Markland" (Nova Scotia) by chance or by storms, but that the

expedition was intentional, undertaken probably for the purpose of getting timber and other supplies from that country. The whole affair is mentioned as a daily occurrence, and "Markland" as a perfectly well-known country. On the voyage homeward from Markland, the vessel was driven out of her course by storms, and arrived with loss of anchors on the west of Iceland. From such an account it would appear, that the intercourse between Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland had been kept up to as late a date as the middle of the fourteenth century.

We have very scanty information on the trading and fishing expeditions of the English, Portuguese, and French to the coast of Newfoundland during the sixteenth century, and they are only occasionally alluded to, though there is no doubt that they *yearly* occurred. We are much better informed of the expeditions of the Cabots, Cortereals, and Verrazano, which preceded those fishing voyages, and showed them the way. A comparison of the case of these fishermen with that of the Northmen will serve to make the views and suppositions above developed still more probable.

We cannot prove that in all this time the coast of Maine was seen again by the Northmen. But that this was the case, is not improbable from what has been said. The name of Markland (the country of the woods), in the northern geography, may have sometimes comprised the coast of Maine; which, at a later time, was often included in the same geographical denomination with Nova Scotia.

From the middle of the fourteenth century down to the modern discovery of America, beginning with Columbus and Cabot, we hear no more of Scandinavian undertakings in this direction. The heroic age of the Northmen, and their power and spirit of enterprise, had long ago passed by. Iceland, the

starting-point and mother republic of the western colonies, had become a subordinate and neglected dependency of the kings of Norway and Denmark. The Greenland settlements and bishopric by degrees had been weakened, and at last had completely disappeared, in consequence, as is believed, of epidemics, and of attacks from the Esquimaux, who came over in great numbers from Labrador; so that even their neighbors of Iceland lost sight of this country. In this manner the entire connecting chain between Scandinavia, Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland was broken, and the American portion remained to be discovered anew.

9. NEW ENGLAND CONSIDERED BY THE NORTHMEN TO BE A PART OF EUROPE.

The heroic exploits and great undertakings of the Northmen in Iceland and Greenland, called into existence among them many enthusiastic and talented literary and scientific men, who strove to praise and to describe their exploits in writing. Iceland had, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, her poets, historians, and geographers. With them, who had discovered and conquered a great part of the globe, geography, in fact, must have been a favorite occupation; as it had been, for similar reasons, with the Arabs.

The Icelandic geographers described not only their own home, but gave also descriptions of the entire globe, so far as their knowledge had reached. They also depicted the globe on rough maps, and had their own systems and views on the arrangement and connection of the different great parts of the world.

The feature of this Icelandic geography, which interests us here most, is their idea on the question, what position on the globe should be ascribed to their discoveries in Greenland, Markland, Helluland, and Vinland. They appear not

to have had the conviction, that they had arrived on another continent, in a "new world"; which, after the later discovery of America by Columbus and others, became soon the conviction of modern geographers.

The Icelanders, on the contrary, thought that all these western countries made a part of Europe, and they affirmed this very clearly in their geographical works. And this conception, strange as it may appear to us at first sight, was quite natural from the stand-point of the Northman geographers in Iceland. Their original home, Norway, stretched far out to the north. Beyond this, toward the north-east, they had seen other European countries,—the northern parts of Russia (Biarinia, Novaja Zemlia). Perhaps on their excursions they had even come in sight of the mountains of Spitzbergen. So they saw, in all directions toward the north-east and the north, countries which they thought to be continental with each other as well as with Europe. To the north-west they found Greenland, which they considered to be a continuation of this chain of northern European countries. On many old Scandinavian maps, therefore, we see Greenland depicted as a large peninsula running out from some part of Russia, and encircling, with a large bend, the whole northern half of the Atlantic, and with its southern end (Cape Farewell) coming down to more southern latitudes. It is well known that Spitzbergen, at a later date, was considered to be a part of Greenland, and was even called "Greenland" or "Eastern Greenland." So by this gigantic "Greenland," a bridge was constructed from Europe to the other countries discovered in the western world.

The conception, that these southern countries, Helluland, Markland, Vinland, with Greenland, Iceland, Norwegia, belonged to the same tract or circle of North-European coun-

tries, was so much more natural, because all these countries, so far south as the coast of Maine, in their nature and configuration, have the greatest similarity. Indented, rocky coasts, with the same geological features (granite rocks), long inlets, fiords, numerous coast islands, were to be found everywhere, as in Norway and Iceland. The products of these tracts, also, were not strikingly different from those in Northern Europe,—firs, oaks, and other European trees in the forests; salmon and other fish in the rivers; and on the coast different sorts of cod-fish and whales, as on the coast of Norway. Nay, had not the German, Tyrker, discovered vines and grapes like those in Germany? The Scandinavians might, therefore, well think that they had found nothing very new, but only the extension and continuation of their own Norwegian home.

Columbus and his followers, when, at a later date, they arrived in the West Indies, within the tropics, became soon aware that they had something new before them. Having their imagination full of oriental notions, they saw in America even more new things, differences, and peculiarities, than really existed.

It would be easy to show and prove by many quotations from the books of modern travelers, that those who came from Great Britain, or other parts of Northern Europe, were not much surprised by the differing features of the north-eastern parts of the new world; but, on the contrary, were impressed by their similarity to what they had left. We might, indeed, speak of a Scandinavian America, which would extend as far south as New England, and more particularly the State of Maine.

From all this we may easily explain the alleged fact, that the old Icelandic geographers knew nothing of a fourth part of the world; that, like the Greek Ptolemy, they recog-

nized only three continents, and ascribed all their discoveries on the other side of the ocean to Europe.

An Icelandic geographer, in giving a description of the globe, thus expresses himself: "From Biarmaland (Northern Russia), the land goes out toward the north to uninhabited deserts (Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen), until Greenland commences. From Greenland toward the south lie Helluland (Newfoundland), Markland (Nova Scotia, Canada), and not far from this, Vinland, which, as some think, stretches out toward Africa. England and Scotland form one and the same island, and Ireland is a very large island. Iceland is also a large island on the north of Ireland. *All these countries are in that part of the world which is called Europe.*"* The same, in similar words, has been said by other northern geographers.†

It is well known that modern geographers, for a long time after they had acknowledged South America to be a separate continent, considered the north-eastern regions of America to be a part of Asia. So we may say that New England and the neighboring region were at first considered as a European country, then as a section of Asia, till at last they came to be put upon their own American feet.

In the appendage to this chapter I shall give a few Scandinavian maps, which will illustrate the views of the Icelandic geographers on these regions.

10. REMINISCENCES OF THE NORTHMEN AMONG THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

One would think that the extraordinary appearance of white men, of a much superior race, in immensely large

* See this piece of Icelandic geography quoted in Rafn, *Antiquitates Americane*, p. 289.

† See them quoted, and extracts given from their works, in Rafn, l. c. p. 290 seq.

ships, with iron tools and weapons, would have made a great impression on the barbarous natives of Vinland. They saw their guests come and go very often during the course of several centuries. They had battles, traffic, and converse with them. They admired their large tame animals, saw them constructing colossal ships and houses. Perhaps they mixed also in marriage with those of them who made a longer stay, and produced a mixed race of European and American blood. All this must have been remembered a long time after the final disappearance of the strange settlers.

The name of "Skrellings" was given by the Scandinavians, particularly to that race of Americans whom we now call "Esquimaux," at present the inhabitants of the arctic regions; and the name generally is said to signify "the small people" (*homunculi*); which signification applies very well to the Esquimaux, who are of a small contracted figure, but not so well to the tall Indians of the Abenaki or Algonkin race, which modern discoverers found on the east coast of North America.

Those who adopt the above interpretation of the name "Skrellings" have thought, that, in the time of the Northmen, our New England and vicinity had been inhabited by Esquimaux, and that after the time of the Northmen and before the time of Columbus and the Cabots they had been dispossessed, conquered, and driven to the north by the Algonkin or Abenaki Indians, coming from the west and south. If this had been the case, the historical traditions of the aborigines seen by the Northmen, and the impressions and impulses which they received from them, would have also disappeared.

In contradiction to this theory, Rafn shows, in his often quoted work,* that the word "Skrelling" does not exclu-

* Rafn, l. c. p. 45, note a.

sively mean "people small of body" (homunculi), as is usually supposed, but that it should be differently interpreted. Some Scandinavian authors have said, that the name was given to the aborigines from their meagre and poorly fed bodies, some from their little strength and mean armature. Others have said that the name should be derived from the Norse "Skraekja" (to cry), and that it meant "noisy criers." Others, again, have believed that it meant "vagabonds" or "vagrants." All these interpretations agree in this, that "Skrelling" was a name of contempt. And such a name, by the proud iron-clad Northmen, may have been given to our tall, but poorly living Indians, as well as to the small-bodied Esquimaux. The name, therefore, may have been a general denomination for all the barbarous tribes of America without reference to race. If this is the case, we may suppose that the Algonkin Indians, Miamaes, Tarratines, Pequots, and others, occupied the country at the time of the visits of the Northmen. And, indeed, this appears to me to be probable.

The Indians of New England, though in very ancient times they may have come from the west, had, so far as I know, no tradition whatever of their being new-comers in the countries where our modern discoverers found them, or of having recently conquered these countries. The idea that the East was their old home is, on the contrary, very deeply rooted. A conquest and a complete destruction of another old indigenous race (the Esquimaux) would not have been an easy affair for the Indians. The very first aborigines of our east coast, carried off at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries by the Cortereals and others, are described as a tall, well-built people. So that the Indians must have swept away the "Esquimaux" of New England, Nova Scotia, Canada, and Newfoundland, in that

not very long space between the times of the Northmen and of the Cabots and Cortereals. These same Indians are not even now rooted out by the much more powerful conquest of the French and English since Cabot, a period of about four hundred years. We have in Maine to-day a remnant of Indians in the midst of our civilization, which that has not swept away. I therefore believe, that the so-called Skrelings, which the Northmen found in New England, were not Esquimaux, but Indians of the Abenaki or Algonkin race, the same as found there in modern times.

This view is supported by the observations made by Rafn on some geographical names, which we have found in use among the Indians of the southern part of New England (Massachusetts, Rhode Island), and appear to be of Scandinavian origin. He quotes the Indian name for a locality in Narraganset Bay, which they call "Haup," and suggests that it might be the Scandinavian place "Hop," so often mentioned in the history of the Vinland expeditions of the Northman, Thorfinn Karlsefne. He quotes, also, the Indian name "Nauset" for the peninsula of Cape Cod, and thinks that it might be the somewhat changed Scandinavian name, "Naeset" (the *nose*,—the principal cape of the country), given by the Northmen, by way of distinction, to Cape Cod.* Such names would scarcely have been preserved in the country, if the inhabitants, in the time of the Northmen, had been Esquimaux, and our Indians recent immigrants.

Also, among the Wawenoc Indians of Maine, near Pemaquid, certain numerals have been handed down by tradition, bearing a resemblance to the Icelandic, which may have been derived by them in their barter with the northern strangers.

* Rafn, l. c. pp. 456, 457.

11. THE VOYAGES OF THE VENETIANS, ZENI, IN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN AT THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

It is an extraordinary and nearly an inexplicable fact, that the Northmen, after having once found the countries included in the present United States so well fitted for colonization, did not continue their undertaking. They were planters, emigrants from their own country, and were seeking a new home. They populated under great difficulties the barren tracts of Iceland and Greenland, and founded there, in the neighborhood of the North Pole, flourishing colonies and states. They observed the attractive countries of New England, full of harbors and beautiful rivers, with a mild climate, where the vine and corn grew spontaneously, and where planting would have been easy. They recognized, enjoyed, and praised in their writings all these advantages. Whilst the Spaniards, at a later time, on their maps of the United States, as I shall show hereafter, wrote the inscription, "Here nothing good is to be found;" the Northmen, on the contrary, called those same tracts "Vinland the *Good*."

Nay, more; whilst those navigators, who came after the Northmen, the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and English, made a discovery of America quite against their intention and wish, seeking only China and the East Indies, to which America was a barrier and obstacle; the Northmen, on the contrary, explored America *for its own sake*. It was itself the object of their Vinland expeditions. They did not think it to be a new world. They considered it as a continuation of Europe, as a part of their own Scandinavian home. Yet notwithstanding all this, they abandoned that country, and relinquished the advantages of their discovery, to retire to their icy northern home. Their attempt had no lasting and important consequences for civilization.

Nevertheless, this attempt was not *perfectly* isolated. It has had *some* influence on the progress of discovery and the history of geography. Though their undertaking did not become *universally* known, still the memory of it was kept up by some, who, from different sources, received a knowledge of it, and who followed in their track.

The first of these were certain navigators and travelers from Venice. The Venetians and the Genoese, though planted within their harbors in hidden corners of the Mediterranean during a great part of the middle ages, were the most active navigators and merchants of the time; and their vessels, at an early date, went far out into the Atlantic Ocean. Already in the thirteenth century some Genoese, the brothers Vadino and Guido de Vivaldi in the year 1281, and, again, Theodosio Doria and Ugolino Vivaldi in the year 1292, are said to have sailed far to the west and south, and, as some believe, “with the intention to explore the Atlantic and to find like Columbus a way to the oriental regions,” though the reports on the intentions and results of these Italian expeditions are very uncertain.*

Great Britain was reached by the Venetians at a very early time. They had their entrepôts in London in the thirteenth century. Nay, some authors pretend that the intercourse of the Venetians with the north of Europe is lost in the darkness of the most ancient times.†

By northern historians the Italians are stated to have traded with their ships in the fifteenth century, before the time of Columbus and Cabot, in the southern parts of Ice-

* See about this, Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, pp. 46, 393. Berlin, 1852.

† See upon this, L. Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des Normands*, pp. 114, 116. Paris, 1832.

land, where German vessels from the Hanseatic towns, and English vessels from Bristol, then appeared.*

If Italians are *proved* to have come to Iceland in the fifteenth century, they *may* have been there also in former times.

Iceland, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was a powerful and aristocratic republic, and Greenland a flourishing colony. In both countries were several Roman Catholic bishops, who, being installed there by the pope, were in continuous intercourse with Italy. In Greenland, as late as the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the so-called Peter-pence was collected, and sent from thence to Rome. The pope and his priests may be said, during all this time, to have had their eyes upon these quarters, so near to our region. Might there not also have come a pope's envoy in an Italian vessel to Greenland?

At all events, we need not be astonished to hear, at the end of the fourteenth century, of Italian navigators (Venetians) sailing to these northern countries, which had such a manifold interest for Italy, exploring them, describing them, and trying even to put down their outlines on a chart.

Nicolo Zeno, the descendant of an old well-known noble Venetian family, a wealthy and enterprising man, fitted out, at his own cost, a ship, soon after the famous battle of Chioggia, and navigated with her in the year 1380 toward England. He was driven by a storm further to the north, and arrived at a group of islands by him named "Friesland," which have been proved to be our present "Farøe." These islands had been in the possession of the Northmen, and peopled by them since the year 861. Here the Venetian

* See upon this point, Eggert Olafsen, *Reise durch Island*, vol. 2, p. 231; and Finn Magnusen, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*, vol. 2. Kopenhagen und Leipzig, 1774.

traveler, Zeno, was kindly received by the Norman governor, or lord, "Zichmni," who ruled in this archipelago, having revolted against his chief, the king of Norway. The Venetian, with his vessel and able crew, assisted his friend in his war against the king, and was amply rewarded for it. He became Zichmni's prime minister and chief admiral, and, resolving to remain longer in this hospitable country, he sent to his brother, Antonio Zeno, in Venice, an invitation to join him in "Friesland." Antonio arrived in the year 1391, and had likewise a kind reception by the Lord of the Isles. The two brothers, having made this Zichmni independent and powerful, then thought of making expeditions, conquests, and explorations toward more distant countries. During their long stay of many years in "Friesland," they gained an extensive knowledge of all the islands and countries in the northern Atlantic, which they visited themselves, or of which they heard reports from their Northman friends. Thus they gained knowledge of the Shetland Islands, of the shores of Iceland and of Greenland, and heard also of some countries to the south of Greenland, named "Estotiland" and "Drogeo," to which the men of Friesland had once made an expedition, and of which they had gathered extensive information.

Nicolo Zeno died in the course of these occupations and undertakings, in the year 1395; and his brother, Antonio, who lived longer, described his own and his brother's adventures and discoveries in a book, in which he depicted on a chart, all the surrounding countries and islands, of which he and his brother had gained some knowledge. This he sent to his third brother, Carlo Zeno, who had remained in Venice. After this, he also died in the north, in the year 1404.

Carlo Zeno appears to have kept these writings as a memo-

rial of his brothers, and put them into the archives of his noble family, where the manuscript became damaged and partly decayed. After the invention of printing, and after the modern discovery of America, it fell into the hands of a descendant and member of the Zeno family, "Nicolo Zeno the younger," who, in the year 1558, published all that remained of the wonderful reports on the voyages and adventures of his ancestors; and the book, now for the first time became known to the learned, and created a great sensation in the world.

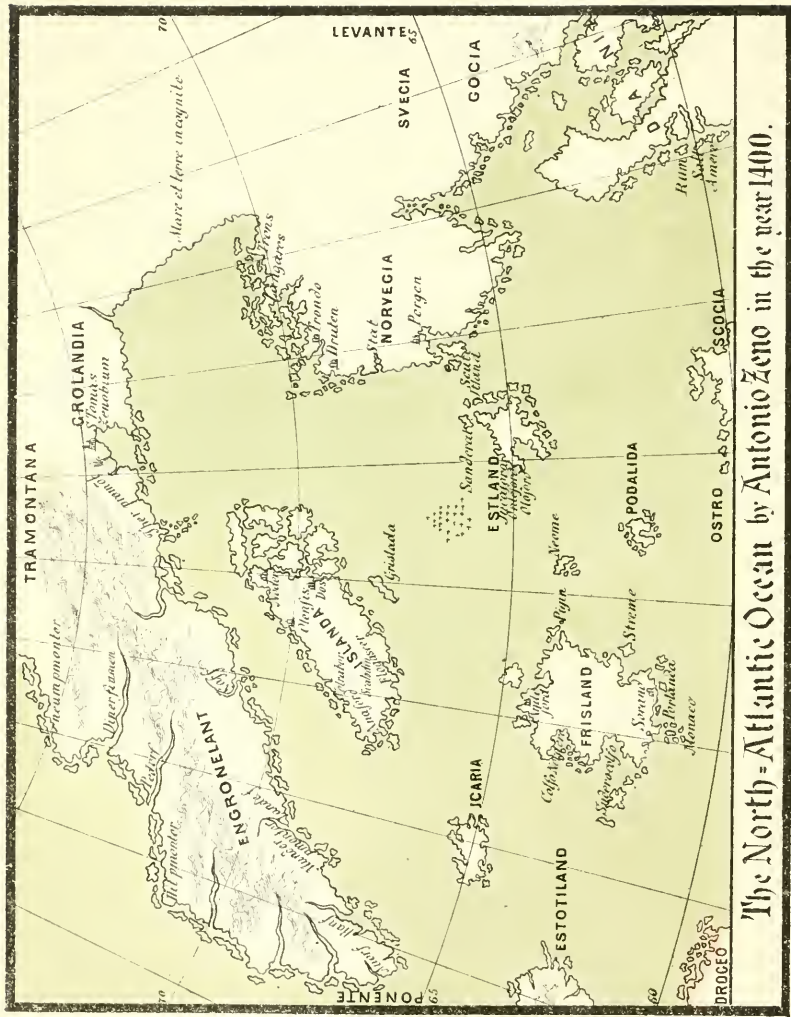
Some believed that it was altogether a fiction, invented by the Venetians to damage the fame of their Genoese rivals and the Spaniards, and to prove that America had been discovered and described by one of their own people long before Columbus. Others, on the contrary, accepted the book as a true and faithful report of voyages and discoveries really made by the authors, and considered their chart as the best and most authentic source of information on the North Atlantic regions.

The discussions on this point were carried on through several centuries, until, in modern times, after a critical and careful examination of the contents of the work of the said Venetians, the greater part of the learned have acknowledged the reality of their voyages and the faithfulness of their reports, although it is admitted that they contained many misconceptions, and were embellished with fanciful fables.*

The most important part of the work of the Zeni is,

* See upon this, Ramusio, *Navigazioni i Viaggi*, tom. 2, fol. 330; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. 5, parte 1, p. 128 seq. Firenze, 1807; Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana*, p. 431. Venezia, 1814; C. C. Zahotmann, *Om Zeniernes Reiser in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyn-dighed*, vol. 2, p. 9. Kjobenhavn, 1833; Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, pp. 47, 82, 361, 370, 372 ff., 388; and, above all, T. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, tom. 3, p. 79 seq.

Nº I.



The North-Atlantic Ocean by Antonio Zeno in the year 1400.

decidedly, the chart annexed to it; because, without it, it is impossible to understand clearly the contents of their report. I will annex a copy of the map; and, in examining it, will also treat of the contents of the report, so far as they may touch the subject of our research.

THE SEA-CHART OF NICOLO AND ANTONIO ZENO, MADE
ABOUT THE YEAR 1400.

The sea-chart of the brothers Zeni, drawn at the end of the fourteenth century, and published in the year 1558, is, in many respects, a most extraordinary and important production. One great country, Greenland, was drawn on it with more accuracy than had been done on any known map before the year 1400, or even before 1558. The chart was copied by many distinguished geographers, adopted by them as true, and introduced into their general works. Its errors or misrepresentations were also continued; and several countries which existed only on the Zeni's chart, were introduced into geography, and sought after by explorers, until at last, after two hundred years, the errors were exposed. Several navigators and discoverers, amongst others Frobisher, had the map of the Zeni as a guide on board their vessels, and sailed by it.* Upon the whole, we can point out scarcely any map which has given so much light, and has, at the same time, caused so much confusion.

The copy which we give is made after the first edition of it published in the year 1558, by Nicolo Zeno. I have copied the outlines and configurations of the countries exactly as they were given there, and also the degrees of latitude and longitude contained on it. For though this graduation was not on the original manuscript, but added by the editor,

* See upon this, G. M. Asher, Henry Hudson, p. 167. London, 1806.

“Nicolo Zeno the younger,” and though it occasioned much misunderstanding and confusion, still it was adopted as true by subsequent geographers, was copied by them, and gained, in this manner, an historical importance. Without this graduation, although not originally placed there, we could not understand the ideas and works of subsequent map-makers, who believed in its truth.

The original is covered with numerous names; some of them evidently correct, existing Scandinavian names, which can easily be identified, or which contain, at least, a Scandinavian element; for instance, all those ending with “fiord.” These names, which I have put down on my copy, have great interest for us; for they prove that they were derived from the true source, and that the authors of the map, who could not find them on other maps existing in Europe at that time, must have taken them on the spot.

There are, however, many other names on the original, which appear strange and fanciful, and cannot be identified with modern names; they evidently never existed in northern countries in the form in which they are here set down. Originally they may have been real and true geographical names, but written on the first draught by Antonio Zeno in an unintelligible manner. The Italian copyists, publishers, and printers of 1558, may have read them according to their own style and view. As the original manuscript of the map had been much damaged, the publishers may have restored some defaced names according to their fancy. These fanciful and strange names, therefore, are no proof whatever against the authenticity of the original map. But I have omitted them, because I cannot decipher and explain them, and because they would only embarrass the reader. For our purpose it is quite sufficient to have the intelligible names, or only some of them, to assure us, that the map is perfectly

worthy of our attention. The chart and all its contents have been examined and explained so thoroughly by several authors, particularly by Lelewel, that I have here but little to do but to make, from his results, a choice of those points which appear to me important for my subject.*

The chart gives in the south-east, at first, the northern point of "Scocia" (Scotland), and then the peninsula of Jutland, which, for the time, 1400, is remarkably well drawn. The same may be said of the waters and gulfs between Jutland and the south coast of "Suecia" (Sweden), and "Norvegia" (Norway), the so-called "Skager Rak," and "Cattegat."

Along the coast of Norway we meet several well-known points and places: "pergen" (the town of Bergen); "stat" (the famous Cape Statlant); "tronde" (the town of Drontheim); and far in the north-east, "Gwardus ensula" (Vardöehuus). The long Archipelago of the numerous Loffoden Islands is depicted, though not named.

The configuration given to the middle and northern parts of the coast of Norway is not correct. But it is better drawn than on any other map before the year 1400, on which no other country of Europe was so much disfigured as Scandinavia. Nay, on many maps of the first half of the sixteenth century, Scandinavia is made to look like a *terra incognita*.

The northern parts of Russia are not indicated; and the author of the map, in putting here dotted or uncertain lines, with the inscription, "mare et terre incognite" (seas and countries unknown), gives us to understand, that he will not decide the question, whether the navigable sea ends here, and

* See Lelewel's Essay on the "Tavola di Zeni" in his "Geographie du Moyen Age," tom. 3, p. 79 seq.

whether the northern parts of Europe are connected by *terra firma* with arctic countries round the pole, or not.

Going from "Norvegia" to the west, the next group of islands is called "Estland" (our present Shetland), which, as on our map, is situated between the north of Scotland and the middle coast of Norway. The ancient Scandinavian name for those islands was "Hialtland," and more commonly, "Hitland." Our map has this name (spelled "itland"). Several names, ending with the Scandinavian "fort," "incafort," "onlefort," "olofort," prove at least that we have before us Northman names, which, in ancient times, may have existed, or which were somewhat changed, under the orthography of the Italians.

To the west of the Shetlands occurs the great island "Frisland," surrounded by several smaller ones. The name, "Frisland," conducts us to the group, which, at present, is named the "Faeroer" (Farøe), and which, in ancient times, were called "Faereyjar" or "Fareysland," or "Ferrisland," shortened to "Freesland," or "Frisland." Some of the names given by our author to "Frisland" correspond to names still found among the Faeroer (Farøe). So the following in the south: "monaco" (the monk), the most southern point of the Farøe group, a rock, is still called the Monk (Munk);* and so "sorand," the southern section of "Frisland," is very probably "Suderøe," the most southern island of the Farøe group.

"Sudero colfo" (Gulf of Sudero) is our present "Sudero sund," a channel separating the said southern island from the rest of the group, "colfo nordero" (the Gulf of Nordero). Nordero or Norderoe (the northern island) is still the name of one of the northern Farøe; "streme"—"stromoc," is the

* See Baggosen, Den Danske Stat, p. 451. Kjobenhavn, 1840.

present name of the largest of the Faröe; and "andoford," "Andefjord" (the bay of the ducks), a gulf in the northern part of the island of "Oesteroe," still bears that name.

These names alone will be sufficient to prove, that the "Frisland" of the Zeni is our present Faröe group.* They put this group nearly in its right position and relation to Scotland, north-west of it, and at the true distance from Iceland. That they made the Faröe so extremely large may be explained from the fact, that they resided upon them for more than twenty years, and that it was their central or starting point for all their expeditions. Lelewel, with good reason, thinks that on the original manuscript map of the Zeni of the year 1400, the Frisland or Faröe group was cut up into many smaller islands, and that the manuscript was injured, particularly at that part, the lines of the interior channels destroyed; and that, in this manner, such a large piece of country as we find on our map, was delivered to the engraver and painter of 1558.† But nearly all the subsequent geographers and map-makers after 1558 concluded that there still existed in the northern Atlantic, a large country, "Frisland," similar in size to Iceland or Greenland. The history of this geographical problem, and how it was solved, is very interesting; but I omit it here, as not connected with our subject.

"Islanda" (Iceland) is placed in its right position, midway between the central parts of Norway and Greenland, and the size given to it is nearly the true one; though the general outlines or form are not quite so.

Among the names which attest the acquaintance of the Zeni with this country are the following, namely: in

* For more proofs and for the literature of this subject, see Lelewel, l. c. p. 103, note 46.

† See Lelewel, l. c. p. 101.

the South, "flogascer" (or foglaster), corresponding to "fuglasker" (the bird rocks), a name still found in the south of Iceland; "Scalodin" (Skalholt), in the interior of the south part of Iceland, the famous ancient residence of one of its bishops; "Anaford" (Anafiord or Hanefiord), a bay on which the place Hanas was standing; "Olensis," "Holum," or "Holar," the residence of the second bishop of Iceland, "episcopus Holensis;" "Noder," something like "Norden."

In their excursions from "Frisland" (the Faröe) the Zeni reached also Greenland, on the map called "Engrone-lant" and "Gronlandia." They appear to have visited it; and the Scandinavian seamen communicated to them their own knowledge of this country, which, at the time of the Zeni, was still a flourishing colony, full of small settlements.

The draught, which the Zeni give on their map of Greenland, is the most remarkable part of their whole work. The size and form they give to Greenland; its triangular shape; its broad extension to the north, and the pointed and narrow peninsula in the south; the high mountains in the interior, and the chain of small islands, peninsulas, headlands, and fiords all round the coast; the latitude given to it, the middle parts north-west of Iceland, and the southern point in the latitude of Bergen, in Norway,—all these are strikingly true features of this large country. It is not probable that the Zeni saw and explored all this themselves. Such a figure of Greenland as they give could only be the result of long research and intimate acquaintance with the country. They, no doubt, obtained their information from the Northmen. Nay, they must have received maps and charts from them. Even if we did not know that the old Northmen made charts of their colonies, we might be certain from this picture of Greenland by the Zeni, that they

could not have drawn it without having before them some map prepared from long observation. Neither in the year 1400, the date of the original of our map, nor in 1558, the date of its being engraved and published, could such a truthful representation of Greenland be found in Europe, either in manuscript or print. The Zeni by their map enriched and corrected the knowledge of the globe with respect to an essential point. Some admirers of their map have given it as their opinion, that they owed their original to the aborigines of Greenland, the Esquimaux, who are known to be skillful in drawing maps. I doubt, however, whether the Esquimaux were able to make such a good *general* and comprehensive picture of their far-extended home, as we see on our map. The knowledge of Esquimaux geographers, probably, did not go very far beyond the cape or fiord on which they were settled. Such a comprehensive picture could only proceed from, and be the result of distant and often-repeated navigations, such as the Northmen were used to make.

Only on the distant north-east of Greenland, which is still undefined, the Zeni and their informants were uncertain; as also on the north-east of Norway. According to their draught they appear to have doubted, whether Greenland was separated from the old world by water or united to it by land.

The Greenland of the Zeni, after 1558, was many times copied by European geographers, and embodied into their general maps of the world, though they wrongly connected it with other countries in consequence of the incorrect graduation of our map, subsequently interpolated by a descendant of the Zeni, Nicolo Zeno the younger. If the old Zeni themselves could have explained their map, they might have told their descendants, that they would not have the southern point of their Greenland end in 66° north latitude, knowing very well that it came down much further to the south.

I omit here an examination of the particular Greenland names on the map of Zeno, as not being of much interest for our subject, but refer the reader to the essay of Lelewel.*

I come now to those smaller portions of country set down in the south-west corner of the Zeni's map, to which the names "Iearia," "Estotiland," and "Droceo" are given, and which, for us here, have the greatest interest.

Antonio Zeno, in the report on his and his brother's voyages, relates, that, according to the assertions of their Frisland friends, a fishing vessel from "Frisland,"—the Farøe, being driven by a storm far out to the west, arrived at a country named "Estotiland," the inhabitants of which had commerce with "Engroenelandt" (Greenland). This country, Estotiland, was very fertile, and had high mountains in the interior. The king of the country had in his possession some books written in Latin, which, however, he did not understand. The language which he and his subjects spoke had no similarity whatever to the Norse.

The king of Estotiland, seeing that his guests sailed in much safety with the assistance of an instrument (the compass), persuaded them to make a maritime expedition to another country situated to the south of Estotiland, and called "Drogeo," or "Droceo." There they had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a most barbarous tribe. They were all killed except one, who was made a slave, and who, after a long time and after many adventures, at last found his way back to Greenland and to the Farøe. He related, that the country, "Drogeo," stretched far to the south, and was a very large country, like another world, and that it was all full of savage tribes, who covered themselves with skins and lived by hunting. They had no other weapons than bows and arrows, and lived among each other in an eternal warfare.

* Lelewel, l. c. p. 98.

But far off to the south-west were some more civilized nations, which knew the use of the precious metals, and built towns and temples; it was, however, their custom to kill their prisoners and offer them to their gods.

This appears to have been for the time, 1400, a pretty good description of the state of things in America as far down as Mexico. And if it does not seem possible that all this information could be brought together by that one Scandinavian slave, or traveler, among the Indians of "Drogeo," it may, perhaps, be taken as a resumé of all the knowledge acquired by the Northmen on their expeditions to the west and south-west. This traveler may have heard these tales on his return to Greenland or Iceland, and may have brought this tradition to the Faröe, and to the ears of the Zeni.

The name "Estotiland" appears to be of German origin, and has been explained as "East-outland," or the land lying far out toward the east. Because Newfoundland stretches out more toward the east than any other part of America on the south of Greenland, some have thought that "Estotiland" might be a Northman name for that island. Others have applied the name to our present Labrador. And others, again, seeing that Antonio Zeno puts on his map to the north-east of Estotiland, but south of Greenland, another pretty large island with the name of "Icaria," have thought that this "Icaria" (which Antonio Zeno asserts that he had visited with his friend Zichmni, after having received the favorable report of the country, "Drogeo"), might be Newfoundland, and that Estotiland on the south-west, our Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. "Drogeo," of which Zeno gives on his map only a small part, would then be our New England. According to this view we would have, as in the old Icelandic reports, three countries to the south of Greenland:

1. Icaria (Hellnland, Newfoundland). 2. Estotiland (Markland, Nova Scotia). 3. Drogeo (Vinland, New England).*

The subsequent geographers and map-makers (after 1558), Mercator, Ortelius, etc., did not interpret the Zeni's map as we have done. They adopted everything contained in this map, also the south-western countries, Icaria, Estotiland, and Drogeo; but they made them swim like additional separate islands in the midst of the ocean, putting to the west of them the countries, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New England, which they represented in the manner and shape given to them by the navigators and explorers of the sixteenth century.

It will probably be impossible to make the history and geography of Icaria, Estotiland, and Drogeo quite clear. But from their position to the south-west of Greenland it appears to be certain, that some sections of the north-east of America are indicated by them. And so, at all events, to our map of 1400 must be ascribed the particular distinction and merit, *that it is the first and oldest map known to us, on which some sections of the continent of America have been laid down.*

* Lelewel on his map puts "Drogeo" exactly in the locality of the territory of the State of Maine.

Nº II.



The North = Atlantic, by the Jeelander Sigurd Stephanius in the year 1570.

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER II.

CHARTS OF THE NORTHMEN.

1. ON THE MAP No. 2 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN, DRAWN BY THE ICELANDER, SIGURDUS STEPHANIUS, IN 1570.

THE Scandinavian historian, Thormodus Torfaeus, gives in his work "Gronlandia Antiqua" (Ancient Greenland), Havniæ, 1706, engravings of several old and very curious charts of the North Atlantic. As authors of these charts he mentions some learned Scandinavian draughtsmen from Iceland.

All these draughts in Torfaeus have in common the following features : they place Iceland about the center of the picture, somewhat in the same manner as old European maps placed the holy city, Jerusalem, in the midst of their pictures of the world. To the north of this their home, from which the Northmen, on their excursions in all directions, went to discover the circumjacent countries, they put Greenland ; to the east, Norway and Russia ; to the south, Great Britain and France ; and to the west, parts of America and also Greenland.

Greenland, for the Icelanders so important a region, is depicted as an extremely large country. So also are the neighboring islands, the "Farøe," and "Hetland" (our Shetland). Great Britain and France, like countries seen from a distance, are of a rather small size.

Between Greenland and Russia ("Bjarmaland," the present "Perm"), the ocean contracts to a narrow channel, named on some of the maps "Dumbshaf." On the greater part of the maps, the ocean between southern Europe and America is also very narrow ; so that the whole North Atlantic appears to be an inland sea, with four narrow outlets ; one in the south, one in the north (the Dumbshaf), one in the east, looking to the Baltic ; and one in the west, conducting to the arctic waters, our Davis' Strait, with the old Norman name "Ginnungagap."

I give here two of the Icelandic maps contained in Torfaeus (Nos. 2 and 3). Our present map, No. 2, according to Torfaeus,—or more particularly according to "Magister Theodorus Torlacius," whom Tor-

faeus quotes in the notes to the map, and who was himself a historian of Iceland,—was made in the year 1570, by Sigurdus Stephanius, an Icelander. Torlæius calls him a “learned man, once the most worthy rector of the school in Skalhott, a well-known place in Iceland, who published also a description of Iceland.” “He appears” says Torlæius, “to have taken this his picture from the Icelandic antiquities” (“Delineationem hanc suam ex antiquitatibus Islandicis desumpsisse videtur”). Perhaps among those Icelandic antiquities were not only reports, but also some draughts and charts; though Rafn, in his “Antiquitates Americane,” does not state that he found charts among the Icelandic manuscripts seen by him.

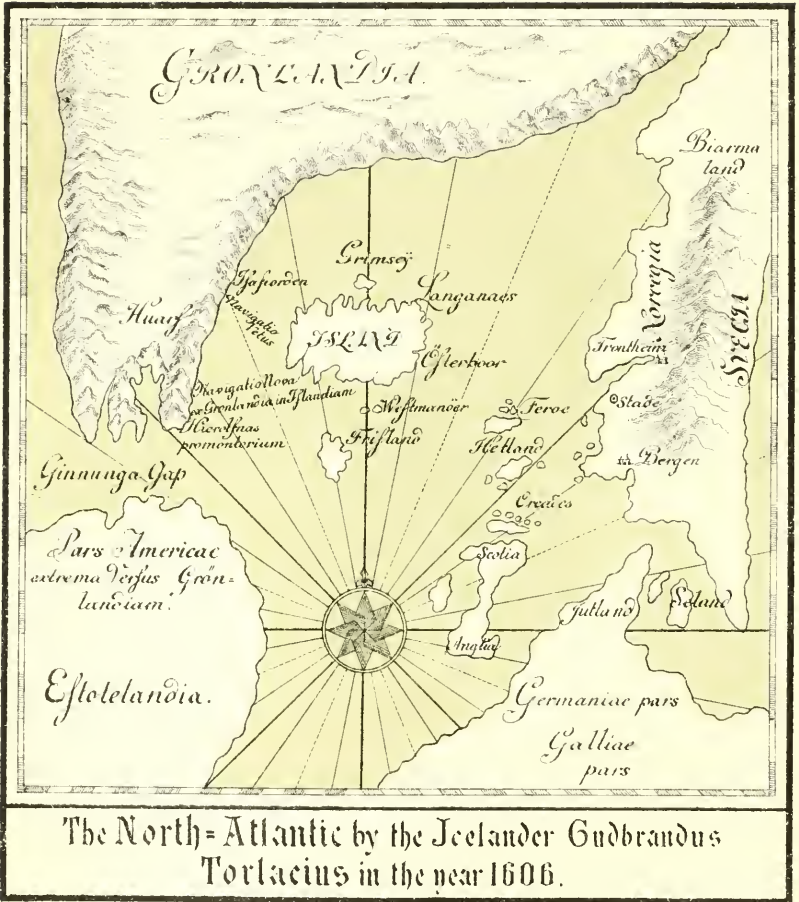
Iceland has, on our map, too low a latitude. It is too near the southern point of Heriolfssnaes (Cape Farewell). The whole southern section of “Groenlandia” (Greenland) is extended too far to the east.

To the south-west we meet “Helluland” (Newfoundland). Between the two countries is a gulf, the ancient “Ginnungagap” of the Northmen (Davis’ Strait). “Helluland” (Newfoundland) is represented as a peninsula, projecting eastward.

To the south of “Helluland” comes a gulf, the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and then another peninsula similar to the former, called “Markland” (Nova Scotia). The little gulf to the south of “Markland” is the entrance to our Bay of Fundy.

After this little inlet there opens to the south a large gulf, resembling, in size and form, the Gulf of Maine, sometimes called by the Northmen, “Vinlands-Haf.” The gulf ends in the south, with a pointed *cul de sac*, formed by a very conspicuous headland, which is called “Promontorium Vinlandiæ” (the Cape of Vinland). This *cul de sac* has a striking similarity to our Cape Cod Bay. And the cape which is called “Promontorium Vinlandiæ,” has about the form of a hook, or a ship’s nose. I think it cannot be doubted, that we have here a picture of the old and famous Cape “Kialarnes” (Ship-nose) of the Northmen. That this cape should be called “the Promontory of Vinland,” is very natural; because it really is the most conspicuous headland of all that tract of country, which, among the Northmen, was designated as “Vinland.”

All these countries, “Helluland,” “Markland,” and “Vinland” have the same relative position to Greenland; and follow in the same series in which they are given in the old reports on the discoveries of the Northmen. That they have a much higher latitude than is at present given to them,—for instance, Helluland, the latitude of southern Norway; Vinland, the latitude of southern England,—ought not to astonish us; because Stephanius, the author of the map, could not gain much



The North-Atlantic by the Icelder Gudbrandus
Torlacius in the near 1606.

light on the latitudes from the old Icelandic reports. On some of the old Icelandic maps, "Terra Florida" has the latitude of northern France. Nor should the colossal dimensions, given on our map to the point "Promontorium Vinlandiæ," deceive us. The Cape of Vinland, the Cape Kialarnes, is so often mentioned in the reports of the Northmen, and takes such a prominent place in the history of their discoveries, that, according to its great fame and name, it must have stood before the mind of an Icelandic draughtsman, as something very grand.

That the Iclander, Stephanus, in constructing his map, used European originals, is evident from his fabulous island of "Frisland," to the south of Iceland. That this island, in the place assigned to it, did not exist, must have been pretty well known in Iceland itself. It could only be found in Italian, German, or other European maps. Therefore Theodorus, in his notes, adds the remark: "What island this is, I do not know, if, perhaps, it be not that country which a Venetian (Nicolo Zeno) discovered, and which the Germans call Friesland."

For his figure of Great Britain and Ireland, he may also have used foreign maps. But for the coast of America ("Helluland," "Markland," "Promontorium Vinlandiæ"), he could not find upon the European maps of 1570 anything like what he has drawn. This part he must have taken from Icelandic originals.

From all this I conclude, that we have here in the "Promontorium Vinlandiæ" a good type of our Cape Cod *after old Northman originals*, and in the gulf and coast between this and "Markland," *an indication of the Gulf of Maine*, with the coast of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine.

2. ON THE MAP No. 3 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN, DRAWN BY GUDBRANDUS TORLACIUS IN 1606.

For the sake of comparison and to illustrate further the geography of the old Northmen of Iceland, we have added, in No. 3, a copy of another map, contained in Torfaeus, and made about forty years later than the former.

This map, according to the notes added to it by Theodorus Torlacius, was delineated by Gudbrandus Torlacius, "a most learned man, who was fifty-six years bishop in Iceland, and a reformer of the churches and schools of the country."

Which of these originals this bishop used for the construction of his map, we do not learn. The narrow form given to the North Atlantic,

with Iceland in the center, as usual on Icelandic maps, presents a view of the whole field of the Northman discoveries.

To the east coast of North America the bishop has not paid much attention. He calls it "Estotilandia," a name not invented in Iceland, but introduced into geography by the Zeni.

The principal feature of the map is the very correct configuration of Greenland, which here is much better depicted than on the former map. It would have been an improvement of many European maps of the year 1606, if this Icelandic representation of Greenland had become known in Europe. The Icelanders spoiled their maps by introducing "Frisland," "Estotiland," and other imaginary countries, which then retained a place in the geography of Europeans, who took no notice of these old Icelandic maps.

Some modern geographers (for instance Malte Brun)* mention a manuscript map, made by Gudbrand Torlakson, as being preserved in the royal library of Kopenhagen. I have not had the good fortune to see this map, but it probably contains the same things, which we find depicted on our No. 3, "made by Gudbrandus Torlacius."

* See Malte Brun, *Geschichte der Erdkunde* Herausgegeben von E. A. W. von Zimmernann, vol. 2, p. 183. Leipzig, 1812.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH TRADING EXPEDITIONS FROM BRISTOL AND OTHER ENGLISH PORTS TOWARD THE NORTH-WEST, PRINCIPALLY TO ICELAND, DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.—JOHN, OF KOLNO.—COLUMBUS.

THOUGH Iceland, after the loss of her colonies in Greenland and America, and after she had become a dependent province of Denmark in 1380, was not so powerful as before, yet she remained, in the fourteenth century, an important province, and the country was pretty well peopled. There were always two bishops on the island, and a number of influential and wealthy families and chieftains, having many wants, which their northern country was unable to supply, and which could be supplied only from the south. She therefore remained during the fifteenth century the object of a lively commerce. The inhabitants received their southern necessities partly from Norway through Bergen, where the Hanseatic towns had their great emporium and factory for the whole North; but principally, perhaps, from that neighboring southern country, from which Iceland had, in former times, received her first Christian settlers, the "Papas," prior to the Northmen, and with which the connection and intercourse had probably never ceased.*

* See upon this, Finn Magnusen, "Om de Engelskes Handel paa Island i det 15 de Aarhundrede in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed," 2 Bind, p. 164. Kiobenhavn, 1833.

The navigation from the ports of Great Britain to Iceland appears to have been particularly flourishing during the time above indicated. Several British ports were used in this trade. Hull, London, and Bristol are mentioned as such; and Scotch and Irish vessels are said to have gone over at times, for fishing and commercial purposes. But the principal seat and centre of all these commercial expeditions to Iceland was Bristol, the same port from which, afterwards, the Cabots set out for their famous north-western discoveries. The goods which the English carried to Iceland were manifold: cloth, and other manufactures; corn, wheat, and other breadstuffs; wine, beer, and other liquors.* They received in exchange for these commodities fish, principally stockfish. Iceland and its waters were, together with the coast of Norway, the great fishing-ground for cod; and we may call it, in this respect, the forerunner of the Newfoundland Banks, the great outpost for European fishermen in later times.† Sometimes also learned men, or at least priests, appear to have gone out with those English fishermen and merchants to the north-west. At least, a certain Nicolas, of Linne, is mentioned, as having made a voyage to the north-west from the English port of "Linne," now Kingslynn, in Norfolk, and as having arrived in Iceland with favorable winds in a fortnight.‡

How brisk this commerce in some years must have been, is clear from the fact mentioned by Norwegian authors, that in the month of April, 1419, a heavy snow-storm in a short

* See them mentioned in Finn Magnusen, l. c. p. 147.

† An old English poem of the fifteenth century, quoted by Hakluyt, begins with these words:

"Of Iceland to write is litle nede
Save of Stockfish," etc.

‡ See on this, C. C. Zartmann, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 48, 1836.

time destroyed not less than twenty-five English vessels, the cargoes and wrecks of which were scattered on the coasts of Iceland and circumjacent islands, whilst the crews were swallowed by the sea.* The English, thinking that so great disasters could not have happened without the assistance and ill-will of the Icelanders, went over to Iceland with an armed force to take revenge for the robberies of which they accused them. English men-of-war, or "pirates," as the Icelanders called them, during the course of the century, went repeatedly over to Iceland to seek satisfaction for some supposed insult. They made war in the island, settled and fortified themselves there, and seemed as if they had the intention of conquering the whole country. Now and then, also, they quarreled with the merchants and mariners from the Hanseatic ports, in many respects their rivals in the commerce of Northern Europe; who, likewise, as I have mentioned above, often sailed to Iceland; and with whom the English, from time to time, had conflicts in those northern seas.

It is not my intention to give a complete history of the commerce from England, and particularly from Bristol to Iceland; but it is interesting and important to show the English posted on that great northern oceanic high-road, which had conducted the Europeans repeatedly to discovery in north-eastern America, and to see them in the Icelandic waters, on the threshold of America, occupied with fishing, and military, piratical, and commercial expeditions. Under these circumstances, it may not be unreasonable to suppose, that English vessels may have been driven by storms to Greenland, Labrador, Vinland, and so to the coast of Maine; as the old Northmen and the Zeni were driven to "Frisland." Though the vessels of the fifteenth century

* See on this, Finn Magnussen, l. c. 115.

had the advantage of the compass, which the old Northmen had not, still if one storm alone, that of 1419, could disperse and destroy twenty-five English vessels, there may have been many chances for widely ranging oceanic adventures in those seas. We have, however, no reports of any such event, as in previous times is said to have happened to Prince Madoc, to Naddod, Biarne, and the subjects of king Zichmni. The only exception to this appears to be the report, that pirates at that time had their lurking-places on the coast of Greenland.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, in the year 1476, the king of Denmark, Christian I, is said to have sent out, under the command of a certain John Scolnus, more correctly called John of Kolno, a native of Poland, an exploring expedition on the same old northern route toward the West. The first author who very briefly mentions this Polish adventure, is the Spanish historian Gomara, in the year 1553, without, however, stating from whom he had it. The Dutch cosmographer, Cornelius Wytfliet, more fully speaks of him in his well-known work, "*Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum. Lovanii, 1597.*" On folio 102 of this work, after having related the voyage of the Zeni, he says, that, in the year 1476, the said John Scolnus, sailing beyond Norway, Frisland (Iceland?), and Greenland, entered the Arctic Strait (*Boreale fretum ingressus, sub ipso arctico circulo*); and came to Labrador and Estotiland. Neither does Wytfliet say, from what source he had this report. But after his time it was a current opinion among geographers and historians, that Kolno, in the year 1476, had discovered, under the direction and order of Christian I., the strait called Anian,—a north-western passage through Hudson's Strait. Many have repeated this report without finding any other authority for it than Gomara and Wytfliet.

But the Danish and Norwegian writers upon this subject consider that voyage as altogether apocryphal, and say, that their old northern historians and documents do not contain the slightest mention of such an expedition. Moreover, they think that if it was made at all, it could have been nothing more than an attempt to find out again the lost old Greenland, and not to make new discoveries in the distant west.* The learned Polish geographer, Lelewel, though inclined, from a patriotic motive, to make a great deal of the undertaking ascribed to his countrymen, has found no Polish authority whatever. We therefore dismiss this somewhat celebrated voyage with the simple statement, that it probably never took place, or that, at all events, it had nothing to do with Vinland and Maine, as, indeed, Lelewel explicitly alleges.

It is curious, however, that in the very next year after that ascribed to the pretended voyage of this Pole, namely, in the year 1477, another great navigator, the greatest and most famed of all, Christopher Columbus himself, went out to explore and reconnoiter on the very same old northern route toward the west. And if, as Lelewel says, the voyage of Scolnus at once became known in Portugal and Spain, he might as well have added the supposition, that perhaps also Columbus heard of it, and that he might have been attracted to the north by the reports of this expedition of Christian I. Columbus, having his mind full of speculations and ideas about the possibility of a circumnavigation of the globe, and about the short distance between Europe and the eastern end of Asia, made several trials and performed several voyages preparatory, so to say, to his grand undertaking. He went in a southern direction to Madeira, Porto-Santo, the Canary Islands, nay, to the coast of Guinea. He made himself

* See for this the work, Grönland's Historiske Miudesmaerker. Tredie Bind, p. 630. Kiöbenhavn, 1845.

acquainted with all the routes of the Portuguese, and also with the extreme *ne plus ultra* of their discoveries in a western direction, toward the Azores or Western Islands. Humboldt thinks it probable, that he himself made an excursion to this western out-post of Portuguese discovery.* Columbus tried also, in the year 1477, the northern route, sailing (probably with an English merchantman from Bristol) toward Iceland, and even some distance beyond it. What induced him to undertake this voyage, he has not told us. But very probably it was the fame of the Ultima Thule, that attracted him. He had read, probably, about it in his old books, in which it was described as the most remote country discovered by the Romans. And he might have inquired, "Are there not still other countries beyond it, and, perhaps, some parts of Asia quite near to it?" The distinguished French geographer, Malte Brun, has supposed, that Columbus, while yet in Italy, had heard something of the early discoveries of the Northmen beyond Thule.† And this is not at all unlikely. In Rome, the center of the world, where they had always an eye upon all countries, both heathen and Christian, they certainly knew something of Greenland; and in Venice, the voyages of the Zeni, though they were not printed as yet, may have been known to some persons. A Danish author thinks it also possible, that Columbus, who made research in all books, printed and manuscript, about his supposed countries in the west, had become acquainted with some copy of the work of the well-known old historian, Adam of Bremen, who clearly mentioned the discovery of Vinland.‡

By such hints Columbus may have been induced to make

* Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, p. 231. Berlin, 1852.

† See upon this, Malte Brun, *Histoire de la Géographie*, ed. 2, pp. 395, 499.

‡ See Finn Maguusen, l. c. p. 165, note 1.

his voyage to Iceland, "and a hundred leagues beyond it." This must have brought him nearly in sight of Greenland, and, at all events, for the first time, *into American waters*.

We have, unhappily, only a very short notice* of this, to us, particularly interesting voyage, which evidently was a pioneering or exploring expedition in the direction toward the north-east parts of America. But so much seems certain, that he did not merely *sail along* Iceland (Thule), but stayed some time in the country, and conversed with the inhabitants. If so, this great inquirer must have asked questions enough about countries lying to the west; and he may have heard much about Greenland, Markland, and Vinland. There must have been in the year 1477, in Iceland, many people who well recollected these countries. The last ship from Markland (Nova Scotia) and its vicinity, had returned to Iceland, as I have stated, only about a hundred years before the visit of Columbus. It was only sixty-seven years before, that the last Icelandic ship had arrived from Greenland (1410). And even in the year 1445, an Icelander, Björn Thorleifson and his wife are *said* to have gone to Greenland, and to have stayed there a winter. Many persons in Iceland may have well recollected all this in the year 1477; and, moreover, the old writings about the expeditions of the Northmen toward the west, were then very well known and read by many persons in Iceland. Rafn and Finn Magnusen think it possible, that Columbus, having landed in Hoalfjardareyri, at that time the principal port of Iceland, saw and spoke there with the learned Icelandic bishop, Magnus Eyolfson, of Skalholt, who is known to have been at that place in 1477.†

* See this in Fernando Colombo, *Vita dell' ammiraglio Christophoro Colombo*, etc., cap. 4. Venetia, 1571.

† See upon this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanæ*. Introduction, p. xxiv, note 1. A learned friend of mine, M. Sigurdson, Royal Archivist in Kopen-

At all events there were sources enough, both books and persons, from which Columbus might, in the year 1477, have learned something about countries lying not very far to the west and south-west from Iceland; and we may well be allowed to think, that by this information he was confirmed in his belief, of an easy and comparatively short navigation to the east of Asia. Baron Humboldt, who also believed that the exploring expedition of Columbus to Iceland had been proved,* thinks, notwithstanding, that it had little to do with the plans of the great navigator. He says that "Columbus might have known of the expeditions of the Northmen to Vinland or Drogeo quite well. All this information might not have appeared to him to be connected with his intentions. He searched the route to India and to the country of the spices."† I think the great German *savant* is not quite right in this. If his suggestion be true, we might well ask, why Columbus should have given himself the trouble of making an excursion to Ultima Thule. I think Columbus wished to know, whether our globe was really as large, and the ocean as broad, as cosmographers at this time made it; or if there were not some countries in the back-ground of the ocean very near, and accessible by an easy navigation; and, on this subject, the reports of the Icelanders might well have given him some light. If he only knew, and was able to prove to others, that the globe was small, the ocean not very broad, and that countries not far distant had been reported

hagen, who has favored my researches in a most kind and generous manner in many ways, and by the most acceptable services, has proved to me, in a letter, or essay on the visit of Columbus to Iceland, that in Kopenhagen, among the learned of Denmark, nothing new has become known on this point, and that all the questions connected with it, rest, as before on mere probability.

* He adopts the opinion of Finn Magnusen. See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, p. 155.

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, p. 370.

or indicated from the Canaries, from the Azores, from Ireland and from Iceland, then he might make his choice among the different routes, and explore that region and latitude, to which he thought his land of the spices to be nearest.

I think it, therefore, more correct to subscribe to the opinion of Finn Magnusen on this subject, who says: "If Columbus had been informed of the most important discoveries of the Northmen, it is much easier to understand his firm belief in the possibility of the rediscovery of a western country, and his great zeal in carrying it out; and we may conceive his subsequent discovery of America partly as a continuation and consequence of the transactions and achievements of the old Scandinavians." This Danish historian adds this philosophical remark: "Long ago we have known, that the fate of mankind often hangs on the finest threads, the direction of which the historian scarcely can follow and exhibit; but it is seldom that these threads, as in our case, can be observed after the lapse of three centuries."*

The results of this chapter for our particular object may be summed up thus:

1. The lively commerce and navigation between England and Iceland during the course of the fifteenth century, make it appear possible, that some English vessel may have been driven to the coasts of New England.

2. The pretended expedition of the Polish navigator, John Scolnus, in the year 1476, if it was ever made, did not approach the coast of New England.

3. Columbus may perhaps have received in Iceland information respecting the Northman expeditions to the south-west, and more particularly respecting those to Vinland and Dro-

* See Finn Magnusen, *Om de Engelskes Handel paa Island, in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*, 2 Bind, p. 166. Kiöbenhavn, 1833.

geo, under which names the territory of the State of Maine was included ; and, accordingly, the fame of these countries may have contributed something to the furtherance of the greatest event of modern times, the discovery of America by Columbus.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITIONS OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT TO NORTH- EASTERN AMERICA IN THE YEARS 1497, 1498.

1. VOYAGE OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT IN THE YEAR 1497.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS may be said to have given directly, as well as indirectly, an impulse to western discovery in all the nations and to all the sovereigns of Western Europe. In Italy, in Portugal, and in Spain, he agitated personally for his scheme of an expedition to the west, and made it known in those countries. To France and England he had sent his brother Bartholomew, who, in the year 1488, laid before Henry VII., of England, his brother's plan; made for the king a map of the world, to show which way his brother Christopher intended to sail;* and in this manner, for the first time, drew his attention to the distant parts of the western ocean. Cautious Henry, however, did not at once profit by the occasion then offered.

When Columbus, with the assistance of Ferdinand and Isabella, had succeeded in his enterprise, Henry no doubt felt regret, and might now have become eager to avail himself of any opportunity to partake of the profits, which Spain expected to derive from western discoveries. "At Henry's court," as we are informed by good authority, "there was great talke of the undertaking of Columbus,

* See on this map Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 2, p. 275. Berlin, 1852.

which was affirmed to be a thing more divine than humane; and this fame and report increased in the hearts of some of the king's subjects a great flame of desire to attempt something alike notable."*

The king's subjects, particularly the mariners and merchants of Bristol, had been long used to sail, as I have before related, to the north-west of the Atlantic, toward Iceland and its vicinity. It appears probable, as I have already remarked, that these Bristol men, on their expeditions to the north-west, yearly repeated, should have obtained information about other countries lying to the west and south-west of Iceland. We unhappily know nearly nothing of the old traditions of the merchants and seafaring men of Bristol. This much, however, is certain, that there were in this port persons interested in such voyages, mariners accustomed to perform them, and vessels fitted for the service. It was, therefore, quite natural, that expeditions to the north-west should have originated in that place, and have found persons there ready to promote and aid them.

Bristol, like other ports in the north of Europe had, among its inhabitants, Italian families; and they, particularly those from Venice, being the most enlightened and experienced merchants of the time, were the leading men of this, as of other commercial communities; and, like the old Venetian Zeni, of whom I have spoken above, put themselves at the head of all new maritime undertakings.

Among those Venetians at Bristol was a certain Giovanni Caboto (or Cabota), a merchant, who, with his three sons, we do not know exactly at what time, but probably before

* See Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. 1, fol. 374, *Valentia*, 1613, where Sebastian Cabot is introduced as relating this in a conversation with a gentleman of note (Galeazzo Bottrigari), the Pope's envoy in Spain.

1490, had migrated from Italy to England.* The said Caboto may have been among the first, "in whose hearts the fame and report of the successful undertaking of the Genoese Columbus increased a great flame of desire to undertake something alike notable." The Venetians and Genoese, from time immemorial, had been rivals; and a Genoese success would always create a Venetian jealousy; as, in the same manner at a later time, a French undertaking was always followed or accompanied by a similar English enterprise.

Among the three sons of John Cabot, the most prominent and talented was Sebastian, the second in age. From his early childhood this young man, like Columbus, had paid attention to the study of geography and navigation; and had, at an early age, already acquired "*some knowledge of the sphere*. He understood, by reason of the sphere, that if one should sail by way of the north-west, he would by a shorter track come to India, than that by which Columbus had sailed." † In short, Sebastian Cabot had a pretty good idea of the usefulness of what we, at present, call great circle-sailing. His father, John Cabot, had probably the same idea; nay, in this respect he may have been the instructor of his son. Probably both father and son, each talented and well instructed, worked out together their plan for a north-west passage, and for a route from England in the most direct line to "Kathay" and the oriental world.

The section of the great circle, or the most direct line from

* If it is true, as Eden says, that Sebastian Cabot, according to his own statement, was born in Bristol, his father must have been settled there before the year 1477, the probable time of his son's birth. [But Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at the Court of Charles V., says, that Sebastian Cabot told him that he was born in Venice; which other circumstances confirm.—ED.]

† This he is reported to have stated himself in the conversation mentioned in Ramusio, l. c.

England to China and Japan, the countries for which the Cabots planned their expedition,* would pass to the north of Norway, along the northern shore of Siberia, and through Behring's Strait into the Pacific Ocean. And so it appears, that the Cabots, if they had "understood the sphere" *quite* right, ought to have planned an expedition for a north-east, instead of a north-west passage, as they actually did. But we must here bear in mind, that the Cabots, like all their contemporaries, believed Asia to stretch much further toward the east than it really does. Even if they did not agree with Columbus in the belief, that "Española" (St. Domingo) was Japan, which may be doubted; still they must have hoped, that they might hit upon Kathay, at least not *very* far from the longitude of the islands discovered by Columbus, where Martin Behaim, on his globe, and probably also Bartholomew Columbus on his "map of the world, presented to King Henry," had laid them down, in about a central line of what we now call the Pacific Ocean. And to this region "a great circle," or the shortest route, conducts from England a little to the west of the North Pole; and a voyage to Iceland, and further in that direction, would not fall far out of their way. It was not until a long time after, about the middle of the sixteenth century, when it had been generally recognized and acknowledged, that China and the east of Asia lay much further south-west, that Sebastian Cabot proposed and tried a north-eastern passage, very reasonably thinking, that Kathay might be much sooner reached by the Siberian route.

If the Cabots, through their Icelandic connections, had heard any thing of countries lying to the south-west of Iceland, this may have attracted them still more to the north-

* That, from the beginning of their expedition, they had Kathay (Northern China) in view, is said by Sebastian Cabot himself in Ramusio, l. c.

west. For, either they must have believed that these countries, once known to the Northmen, were already a part of the Indies and Kathay; or, at least, that being islands, they might serve as intermediate stations on the route to those countries, according to the views which had induced Toscanelli to point out to Columbus the islands of "Antilia," "St. Brendan," and others, and to recommend them to him as stations for reposing and refitting on his long voyage to the Indies.

Before laying their scheme of a north-western voyage to Kathay before Henry VII., the Cabots appear to have induced their Bristol friends to make some preliminary voyages to the west, or some attempts to find out new countries in that direction. "The people of Bristol have for the last seven years," says Don Pedro de Ayala, a Spanish envoy in England, in a letter to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, dated July 25, 1498, "sent out every year two, three, or four light ships (*caravelas*) in search of the islands of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of that Italian (John Cabot)."* The "seven years," literally taken, would carry us back beyond the time of the first voyage of Columbus in 1492. But the Spanish envoy probably did not intend to fix his date very accurately, and we may, therefore, suppose, that he only meant to say "a number of years ago." The islands of the Seven Cities and of Brazil were probably depicted on the map which Bartholomew Columbus presented to Henry in 1488, in the same manner that they had been *before* on the map of Toscanelli, and *afterwards* on the map of Behaim. They may, therefore, after 1488, have been a subject of conversation in England; and it is not improbable,

* See this recently discovered letter, deciphered and translated by G. A. Bergenroth, printed in his *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. 1, p. 177, and copied in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Oct. 21, 1865, p. 25. Cambridge, 1866.

that John Cabot may have induced the Bristol men to make a search after them; as the Portuguese, after having heard the views of Columbus, made an unsuccessful search in a western direction.

Some learned geographers have even thought, that the Cabots themselves made such a preliminary voyage to the new world as early as in the year 1494; and that, on this voyage, and not as is usually supposed on that of 1497, they first discovered the shores of the North American continent. They were induced to think so, principally, by a certain map of the world, which has been ascribed to Sebastian Cabot; which has been recently found in Germany; and which gives the above-mentioned year as the date of the great discovery.

This map of the world, according to an inscription contained on it, was engraved in the year 1544. It is a compilation of all the discoveries made up to that year, and of the then current geography of the entire world. It contains very few hints on the original discoveries of the Cabots. I shall treat of this map and examine it, after having spoken of the subsequent discoveries in the first half of the sixteenth century. I will then state the reasons why I do not think very highly of this document, and bring forward all my doubts about this so-called discovery of the continent of America, in the year 1494.* I will only state now that I have not been able to convince myself of the reality of such a voyage, and that I omit it altogether.

It was in the year 1495, that the Cabots laid their great scheme of a north-western expedition to Kathay before King Henry, who readily gave his assent to their plan, and, in their favor, issued a patent and commission dated March 5, 1496.

This patent gave permission to John Cabot and his three

* See Appendage 4 to Chapter IX. of this volume.

sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, to sail with five ships, "under the royal banners and ensigns to all parts, countries, and seas of the east, of the west, and of the north, and to seek out and discover whatsoever isles, countries, regions, and provinces, in what part of the world soever they might be, which before this time had been unknown to Christians." The king gave them further license "to set up the royal banners and ensigns in the countries, places, or mainland newly found by them, and to conquer, occupy, and possess them, as his vassals and lieutenants."*

This patent, of the contents of which we give here only what may be called the naval instructions with respect to the route and aim of the voyage, is drawn in the most vague and general terms. We find in it no allusion whatever to *Kathay* or a north-west passage. Of all the regions of the world to which the voyage might be directed, the south only is excluded; probably because it was considered as belonging already to Spain and Portugal, and therefore closed by them to English discoverers. The north, west, and east are mentioned. That the north and west were particularly intended, we learn from the statements of Sebastian Cabot himself, that a voyage to *Kathay* by a northern route, was his and his father's, and probably also the king's intention.

According to this patent, the patentees had to arm and furnish their vessels, to buy victuals, and to provide all other things necessary for the expedition at their own cost. Henry granted them nothing but his royal authority and protection, and a passport to foreign powers.

This was probably the reason that they were not able to make use of the royal permission of March, 1496, until the

* See this patent in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, edited by the Hakluyt Society, p. 19. London, 1860. [It is in Latin, and is also copied by Hazard, "Historical Collections," vol. 1, p. 9.—ED.]

year 1497. To raise the necessary funds, to fit out their vessels, to procure the goods which would be suitable for the market in Kathay, with which country they hoped to commence a profitable traffic, detained them for more than a year.

At last they sailed from Bristol in the spring of 1497. And as all the best authorities on this voyage say that they were only a little more than three months absent, and make them return in the beginning of August, their departure must have taken place in the early part of May.

It is said by some authorities, that *at the outset* they had four vessels, and that one of them was called the "Matthew," being the Admiral's ship, having the commander on board. How many of these ships accompanied the expedition *to the end*, is not clear; at any rate, the "Matthew" was the vessel which first touched our American shores, and the only one, as far as is known, which returned in safety to Bristol.

There can be no doubt that the commander of the expedition was John Cabot, the father; and that, consequently, to him is due the discovery of the continent of North America effected on this voyage. In the grant from the king above quoted, John Cabot is the principal patentee; the sons are mentioned only collectively, and as subordinate companions of the father. Another patent was granted by the king in the year following the voyage of 1497, and is exclusively directed to John Cabot. It asserts quite clearly, "that he, by the commandment of the king, had found the new-discovered lands." Notwithstanding this direct evidence, a modern writer, Mr. Biddle (in a work very ingenious, but somewhat too subtle and acute, where he makes the son Sebastian his favorite and hero), for certain reasons has tried to render it doubtful, whether John Cabot commanded this expedition, or even accompanied it. In this he has followed the authority of some early writers, and has given the command, with the

whole success and honor of the undertaking, to the young son, Sebastian.* That John Cabot had come to England "to follow the trade of merchandise," can be no decisive objection against his venturing to conduct a naval expedition in person, and of course with the assistance of expert pilots and mariners. We know very little of John Cabot's former life. He may have been a merchant, and yet an expert navigator. At all times, particularly in that of the Cabots, both occupations were followed by the same individuals. Before the sixteenth century, it was usual for merchants to accompany or conduct their own commercial expeditions. Amerigo Vespucci was a clerk in a mercantile house, and also a great traveler, and a cosmographer and astronomer. In Spain and Portugal, merchants, licentiates, graduates of the Universities, and doctors, became not only sailors and discoverers, but also military and naval commanders and conquerors.

Sebastian Cabot, the son, whom this author has endeavored to substitute in the place of the father, was, at the beginning of the year 1497, when the expedition sailed, perhaps only nineteen, or at most, twenty years old, having been born, according to Humboldt, in the year 1477.† At this period of his life he may have been an "enthusiastic geographer," but certainly he cannot have been an experienced and "accomplished"‡ navigator, fit for the command of a fleet. There is probably no case on record, of a young man of nineteen or twenty years having been put at once at the head of an important expedition of discovery to unknown and far distant regions, particularly by a king like Henry VII, who was no enthusiast, and who is described as having been "of a wary, cautious, most circumspective, and quiete disposition."

* See Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 42 seq. London, 1832.

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 2, p. 445.

‡ So he is called at this period of his life by Biddle, l. c. p. 51.

That in later times, several Spanish and other authors should sometimes have overlooked the father, John, and that all merit should have been given to the son, Sebastian, is easily accounted for. The father disappeared—probably died—soon after his return from this expedition. But the son lived for more than sixty years afterwards, became a celebrated navigator and cosmographer, and altogether an important person, employed in the service of the kings of England and Spain. His fame in this manner eclipsed that of his father, and the results and merits of the whole expedition were, by several old historians, attributed wholly to him, whilst the father, John, was forgotten, particularly in Spain, where he never had been present.*

* [The following extract from the Sforza archives of Milan, under date of 1487, confirms Dr. Kohl's view on this subject. "News received this morning from England by letters dated the 24th of August." . . . "Also some months ago, his Majesty sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner (John Cabot), and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands; having, likewise, discovered the Seven Cities, four hundred leagues from England, on the western passage."

The letter of Pasqualigo, found in the archives of Venice, dated August 23, 1497, also furnishes direct evidence of this fact; after speaking of his return from the great discovery, he says: "The king has given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then" (the next spring), "and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also Venetian, and with his sons; his name is Zuan Cabot, who is styled the Great Admiral," etc. This letter is dated London, 23d August, 1497, and is written in Italian. These documents would seem to put at rest the questions both of the *command* and the *time* of this first expedition of discovery. Yet it is surprising, that Hakluyt, who was almost a contemporary of Sebastian Cabot, having been born five or six years before Cabot's death, and who was familiar with the leading adventurers and discoverers of the day, and probably better acquainted with the various voyages which had been undertaken than any other man of his time, should have persisted to the last in asserting, that the first Cabot voyage was performed in 1496, and by Sebastian Cabot. In his recently discovered and unpublished treatise of 1584, in which he vehemently appeals to the English government to engage in colonization, he

Of the other persons, pilots, masters of vessels, and other members of this expedition, we hear scarcely anything with certainty, though we might gather some names as probably belonging to persons who went with the Cabots. Among them there may have been many Bristol mariners, acquainted with the navigation of the Northern Ocean, at least as far as the seas of Iceland. The Cabots would probably have tried to attract into their service also, some Portuguese and Spanish sailors, accustomed to the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean.

Relative to the course which the Cabots followed on this voyage we have no definite information. Sebastian Cabot appears to have written the events of this voyage, as well as of the other voyages performed during his long life; but unhappily these precious writings are lost to us. How they disappeared is uncertain.* With respect to all the particulars of the voyages of the Cabots we are, therefore, left to probabilities and to a few scattered hints and notices.

From the intention which the Cabots had to follow as near as possible the shortest line from England to Cathay, that is to say, a line which passed near the North Pole, we should think, that, in starting from England, they would have sailed in nearly a northern direction. If they knew nothing of

more than once affirms, that the first discovery was made in 1496, and by *Sebastian Cabot*. He says, "A great part of the continent, as well as of the islands, was first discovered for the King of England, by *Sebastian Gabote*, an Englishman, born in Bristow, son of *John Gabote*, in 1496." Again he says, "Nay, more, *Gabote* discovered this large tract of firme land two years before *Columbus* ever saw any part of the continent. . . . *Columbus* first saw the firme land August 1, 1498, but *Gabote* made his great discovery in 1496." The very interesting and instructive Ms. of *Hakluyt*, above referred to, which was brought to light early in 1868, through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Woods, a member of the Maine Historical Society, then making researches in Europe, will be printed, for the first time, in a volume of this Society's Transactions, next succeeding the present, within a few months.—Ed.]

* See upon this point, *Biddle's Memoir*, p. 221.

Greenland and of the great ice-barrier along the "Mare congelatum," we should expect to find them on the old beaten track of the Bristol men to Iceland, or even on a direct line to the Pole. But, probably, the Bristol men, and also the Cabots who had conversed with them, were sufficiently acquainted with the dangers of the ice surrounding Iceland and the Pole. It is not less probable, that, from their long intercourse with the Northmen and Icelanders, they knew something of that great ice-locked east coast of Greenland, which, as a long barrier, lies stretched out to the north-west and south-west of Iceland; and that it would be useless to try that way for a passage to Asia. The Icelanders may have acquainted them with their old "Gunningagap," that broad passage at the south and west of Greenland, which we call Davis' Strait. It is for these reasons, no doubt, that we do not find the Cabots exactly on the shortest northern route to Cathay, but much to the west of it, on the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador; for it was on the coast of one of these countries, certainly, that their first landfall was made.

In former times it was usually supposed, that the Cabots made their landfall near some cape of the island of Newfoundland. But nearly the whole of Newfoundland is in a much more southern latitude than Bristol. And if their landfall had been made there, they either could not have taken from Bristol a north-western route, as it was their intention to do, or they must have been driven from this route by northerly winds, very much to the south. This is one of the reasons which should induce us to expect a more northern point for the first landfall of the Cabots.

In the examination of this question, Mr. Biddle* has come to the conclusion, that this landfall of the Cabots on the coast of the North American continent, or what they called their

* See Biddle's Memoir, p. 52 seq.

“Prima vista” (the first country seen), must be found on the coast of Labrador in 56° or 58° north latitude. In this latitude he thinks the Cabots for the first time came in sight of the continent of North America, on the 24th of June, 1497. And after him, Baron Humboldt and several other distinguished authors have adopted this latitude for Cabot’s landfall.

In an inscription contained on an old map of the world, engraved in the year 1549, the authorship of which is ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, the country surrounding this landfall is described as being very sterile, but full of wild animals, and particularly having an abundance of white bears.* These white bears of the country, as Sebastian Cabot himself once told his Spanish friend, Peter Martyr, used to catch with their paws the fish, which were their favorite food.† The white bears, consequently, were quite at home in the country which the Cabots saw on the 24th of June, 1497. This agrees much better with the coast of Labrador than with that of Newfoundland, to which the white bears very seldom, if ever, come down.

Just as unfavorable a description of the country of their landfall is given in the above-quoted letter of the Venetian Pasqualigo, where it is said, that the Cabots did not meet any human being in the country which they discovered in 1497. This could certainly happen only on the coast of Labrador, thinly inhabited by Esquimaux, and not in any of the more southern countries.

Moreover, the author of the above-quoted map of the world, supposed to have been Sebastian Cabot, says in an inscription, that he and his father found an island opposite the

* See this inscription, amongst others, printed in *Nathanis Chytraei Variorum Itinerum Deliciæ*, p. 787. Herbornæ, 1594.

† See Peter Martyr, *De orbe Novo*, p. 533. Parisiis, 1587.

country of their landfall, to which they gave the name St. John, in consideration of the name of the saint, on whose day it was discovered. We find on several old maps, for instance, on that of the famous Belgian geographer, Ortelius, of the year 1570, depicted in this latitude an island called "St. John's" (or S. Juan). Ortelius says, that he had seen an engraved map of the world, made by Cabot, and he may have taken that island from this map.

All these considerations incline us to believe, that Biddle and Humboldt and their followers were right in putting down the first landfall of the Cabots, and their "prima vista" on the coast of Labrador in the high latitude of about 56° or 58° N.

Against this view has been brought forward, as a decisive testimony, that map of the world, engraved in the year 1544, ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, which was lately discovered in Germany, of which I have already stated, that it contained, instead of the year 1497, the year 1494, as the date of the first discovery. This map gives for the landfall, instead of the coast of Labrador, a much more southern country, namely, the coast of Cape Breton Island; and, moreover, makes Cabot's "Island St. John" to be our present Prince Edward Island. I shall examine this point and the other contents of that map after I have spoken of the subsequent discoveries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. I will only state here, that I am not satisfied with the correctness of the position given on this map to the "Prima Vista." With respect to my reasons for this view, I refer the reader to my essay on this map, which he will find in Appendage No. 4 to Chapter IX., of this volume.

Whether the Cabots, from their landfall on the coast of Labrador in 1497, sailed still further north, and how far, we do not know. We are also uncertain on the question, how

far from their landfall they went to the south. We hear only, that they sailed along the coast about three hundred leagues.* As they had intended to sail to the north-west, and had turned their backs on the south, we should be inclined to measure these "three hundred leagues," for the greater part at least, along the coast of Labrador north of their landfall. Some part of it, however, may be located to the south of their landfall, along the southern coast of Labrador and Newfoundland, in sight of which they may have come on their homeward route, after having been baffled by ice in the north. It appears to me probable, however, that the principal discovery of the island of Newfoundland by the Cabots was *not* made on this first voyage, but on the second expedition, in 1498, hereafter considered.

Having come in sight of land in the far west, which they believed to be a part of Eastern Asia, having seen more water in the north, and having ascertained, at least for some distance, the trending of the coast, they were eager to bring this interesting news, as quickly as possible, home to England. The little vessel, the "Matthew," arrived in Bristol on some day in the early part of August, 1497.†

2. VOYAGE OF SEBASTIAN CABOT IN 1498.

John Cabot, on his return in the month of August, 1497, was received in England with great joy, because he was said to have discovered "the island of the Seven Cities," and

* This is said in the letter of L. Pasqualigo, l. c.

† This becomes pretty certain, at first, from an entry in the privy-purse accounts of Henry VII, which is dated "August 10, 1497," and in which the king says, "that he has given a reward of ten pounds to hym, that found the new Isle;" and, secondly, from the above-quoted letter of the Venetian Lorenzo Pasqualigo, who, under the date, "London, 23d August, 1497," announces to his brothers in Venice the return of John Cabot from his voyage of discovery.

“the country of the Great Chan” (the emperor of China), or, at least, a part of it; and this was probably, also, the opinion of the Cabots themselves.*

Henry himself was also filled with hope and confidence; and issued, in favor of John Cabot, another patent or license, dated February 3, 1498, in which he gave him permission to take, at his pleasure, in the king's name, six English vessels, in any port of the realm of England, “and them convey and lead to the land and iles, of late found by the said John in our name and by our commandment; paying for them and every of them, as and if we should, in our own cause pay, and none otherwise.”† The son of John Cabot, Sebastian, is not mentioned in this patent, as he had been in that of 1496. Yet he alone profited by it. For the father is not again mentioned in connection with the voyage; for what reason, is not disclosed. It is supposed that he died soon after the grant was made.

Sebastian was now, if Humboldt's supposition is true that he was born in 1477, a young man of about twenty or twenty-one years of age. And as he had become proficient in astronomy and mathematics, and had gained naval experience in the voyage he had made in company with his father; and as he knew better than any one else his father's views, and also the position of the newly discovered regions, he may now have well appeared to Henry, as a fit person for the command of another expedition to the north-west.

Two ships, manned with three hundred mariners and volunteers, were ready for him early in the spring of 1498; and he sailed with them from Bristol, probably in the beginning of the month of May.

* See this described in the above-quoted letter of Lorenzo Pasqualigo, l. c. p. 20.

† See the patent in Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 76.

We have no certain information regarding his route. But he appears to have directed his course again to the country which he had seen the year before on the voyage with his father, our present Labrador.* He sailed along the coast of this country so far north, that, even in the month of July, he encountered much ice. Observing, at the same time, to his great displeasure, that the coast was trending to the east,† he resolved to give up a further advance to the north, and returned in a southern direction.

The northern latitude which Cabot had now reached, has been put down variously in the different notices of this voyage. In Ramusio, *the latitude 56° north* is given. But this cannot be true, because it is said in the same passage of Ramusio which mentions this latitude, that Cabot, finding in the highest latitude reached by him the coast turning to the east, in despair changed his course to the south; and because we now know, that in the said latitude of 56° N., the coast of Labrador does not turn toward the east.

The Spanish historian, Gomara, a contemporary of Cabot, and living with him in Spain, and who, consequently, may have known him personally, says that the ice encountered by Cabot in the month of July, and which hindered him from sailing further north, occurred in 58° north latitude. "Cabot himself," adds Gomara, "says that it was much more."‡

As "Cabot himself" is a much better authority on the point in question, than the incredulous Gomara, we must

* See the report which Sebastian Cabot himself communicated in a conversation with Peter Martyr, *De Orbe novo*, p. 232. Parisii, 1587. See also Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, tom. 1, fol. 374. Venetiis, 1613.

† This turning of the coast to the east, is mentioned in Ramusio, vol. 1, fol. 374, as having been observed on Cabot's expedition in the year 1498.

‡ See Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, fol. 20, l. c. Saragossa, 1553.

think that he reached a higher latitude than 58° N., even according to Gomara's own statement.

The Portuguese Galvano, also one of the original and contemporary authorities on Cabot's voyage of 1498, says, that having reached 60° north latitude, he and his men found the air very cold, and great islands of ice, and from thence putting about and finding the land to turn eastward, they trended along by it, to see if it passed on the other side. Then they sailed back again to the south.* From this report of Galvano it appears, that he believed that Cabot sailed much beyond 60° north latitude, and also along a tract of country toward the east.

As Cabot in 1498, without doubt, sailed along the coast of Labrador and the western shores of Davis' Strait, and as we have there no other long turn-off coast to the east beyond 60° north latitude, but the great peninsula of Cumberland, it becomes very probable, from Galvano, that he reached the shores of this peninsula in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude, and that, despairing of finding a passage, he there turned to the south. In adopting this opinion, which was also that of Humboldt,† we suppose that Cabot must have overlooked the comparatively narrow entrance of Hudson's Strait, or that he found it obstructed by ice.

In his encounter and struggle with the ice in this high latitude he probably lost a great part of his men;‡ and his crew may have been opposed to a further advance toward the north, though the young commander himself appears to have

* See this in Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World*, edited by the Hakluyt Society, p. 88. London, 1601.

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 2, page 447. Berlin, 1852

‡ See upon this point D'Avezac in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Août et Septembre, 1857, p. 276.

been disposed to continue still further the search in that direction.*

From this northern terminus Cabot retraced his course southerly along the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland. At Newfoundland, he probably came to anchor in some port, and refreshed his men, and refitted his vessels after their arctic hardships. The harbors of Newfoundland have always been stations of refuge and for the refitting of vessels coming from the north. Perhaps Cabot had seen, on the voyage with his father, the abundance of fish on these coasts, which was so great, that the ships were said to have been stopped by their numberless swarms. He probably was the first fisherman on the banks or shores of Newfoundland, which through him became famous in Europe.

Sailing from Newfoundland south-west, he kept the coast in view as much as possible, on his right side, "always with the intent to find a passage and open water to India."†

The more he proceeded to the south, the more he deviated from his "shortest way" along the North Pole. But, having been baffled in the north, he probably thought, that even a longer way to the Indies would be better than no way at all. It is not likely, that, having failed to find this passage in the high north, he would have returned at once, in despair, to England. According to his notions of the configuration of the shores and countries in the western recesses of the ocean, he was, no doubt, convinced, that sailing south he would very

* See upon this Ramusio in his preface to the third volume of his great work (Edit. Venetia, 1556), fol. 4, where he appears to me to speak of this voyage made at the command of Henry VII, in 1498, though others have believed, that he speaks of some other voyage.

† Ramusio, vol. 1, fol. 374, Venetia, 1613, where Cabot himself is made to say, "me ne tornai à dietro à riconoscere anchora à la detta costa dalla parte verso l' equinottiale, sempre con intentione di trovar passaggio alle Indie."

soon find water broadly opening toward China. Such open waters were depicted on all the globes and maps which Cabot would have consulted, on the maps of Toscanelli, Bartholomew Columbus, Behaim, and other geographers. Neither Cabot nor any one else, at that time, had the slightest expectation of meeting, on a western route, an immense continent other than that of Asia. He expected, at every stage, to see the end of Newfoundland, and to find, not merely a narrow strait, but the vast Western Ocean itself. This, perhaps, was the reason, that, on this coasting voyage, he appears not to have taken notice of the comparatively narrow entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. If he observed something of it, he may not have thought it worth his while to explore it, expecting to find a more open passage further south.

After having sailed along the south-east of Newfoundland, and passed the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he must have come in sight of the coast of Nova Scotia. At the south-eastern end of this peninsula he would see the coast abruptly falling off to the west and north-west; and, of course, must have followed this trending of the shore-line in the direction of his intended route. It is, therefore, very probable, that he entered with good hope the broad Gulf of Maine, and came to and sailed along its coast.

The entire elevated coast of Maine is seen at a great distance from the ocean. This view, no doubt, convinced him, that there could be no broad water in that direction. He therefore passed speedily on, losing no time in minute exploration. We must always keep in mind, that a detailed examination could not have entered into the designs of Cabot. In his expectation of finding a broad ocean to the west, such as was portrayed on the maps of his time, he, of course, must have been disposed to neglect narrower inlets, and even such as were only moderately broad. As long as he saw the con-

tinuous line of coast, he went onward further to the southwest, quite sure that the great ocean, presented on the maps as lying eastward of China, must soon make its appearance.

It is, however, probable, that, in the southern parts of the Gulf of Maine, he approached the coast somewhat nearer, because they are there lower, and, from a distance, not so easily recognized as being land-locked. Thus he may have been caught in this *cul de sac* of Cape Cod Bay, entering it for the purpose of looking for a passage. But he was beaten back by the shores, turning round to the east, and was forced to circumnavigate the long hook of the cape. The hopes, with which he had been filled at the south-eastern extremity of Nova Scotia (Cape Sable), were now lowered again, and that disagreeable hook of Cape Cod, of so unusual a shape, must have impressed itself on his memory, and been delineated on his chart. In the Appendage to this chapter, where I shall give what has come down to us of Cabot's chart, and examine it, I shall have occasion to point out upon it certain coast-lines which appear to me to represent Cape Cod and the Gulf of Maine, and, consequently, to support the view, that Cabot visited both these objects of the coast and reconnoitered them; an opinion which I think I have made somewhat probable.

After having rounded Cape Cod, he must have felt fresh hope. He saw a coast running to the west and open water before him in that direction. It is therefore nearly certain, that he entered somewhat that broad gulf, in the interior corner of which lies the harbor of New York. I say "somewhat;" for it is not at all necessary to suppose, that Cabot made a thorough search of this gulf, to convince himself of its being land-locked. The soundings were sufficient to make this known to him. The soundings in that gulf and along the whole coast to the south of New York, are very low. At

a distance of a hundred miles from the coast, they begin to decrease from sixty fathoms to twenty and ten, and still less. Cabot, of course, was constantly sounding; the sounding-lead at that time being one of the principal instruments for detecting the approach to land. They would enter this gulf only so far as it was necessary for them to be convinced, that the coast was near. The question, therefore, which has been raised, whether Cabot saw any thing of New York harbor,* cannot be answered with any degree of certainty.

From a statement contained in the work of Peter Martyr it appears, however, certain, that Cabot landed on some places of the coast along which he sailed. This author, relating a conversation which he had with his friend Cabot, on the subject of his voyage of 1498, says, that Cabot told him "he had found, on most of the places, copper or brass among the aborigines" (*orichalcum in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas prædicat*).† From another authority we learn, that he captured some of these aborigines and brought them to England, where they lived and were seen a few years after his return, by the English chronicler, Robert Fabyan.‡ It is not stated at what place he captured those Indians; but it was not customary with the navigators of that time to take on board the Indians, until near the time of their leaving the country. Cabot's Indians, therefore, were probably captured on some shore south of New York harbor. At all events, from both the statements alluded to, it becomes highly probable, that this great discoverer put his feet on the shores of the present United States, which, in several respects, it is not uninteresting to know.

* For instance, by Rev. Mr. Miller in his discourse on the discovery of New York harbor in *New York Historical Collections*, vol. 1, p. 23.

† Peter Martyr, *De orbe Novo*, Dec. 3, cap. 6.

‡ See the quotation from Fabyan's chronicle in Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 31, Ed. London, 1810.

When beyond the vicinity of New York Cabot saw the coast taking a more southern turn, and holding on in this direction, his hopes for a large and distant run to the west, must have entirely vanished; and his provisions also falling short, and apprehending that he was approaching the Spanish possessions, he now entered on his homeward voyage.

The southern terminus of his voyage is pretty well ascertained. He himself informed his friend, Peter Martyr, that he went as far south as about the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar,* that is to say, about 36° north latitude, which is near that of Cape Hatteras.

Peter Martyr adds the following: "He sailed so far to the west, that he had the island of Cuba on his left hand, nearly in the same degree of longitude." This additional remark, some authors have interpreted as if he had intended to correct himself, and to add, that Cabot had sailed along the entire coast of the United States down to Cape Florida; where, at last, he had the island of Cuba quite near to his larboard side. But it is evident, that neither Peter Martyr nor Cabot intended by this statement to determine anything about his latitude. That was fixed at the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar. Cuba was mentioned only to determine the longitude. The east coast of North America, in 36° north latitude, is in about the longitude of the eastern part of the island of Cuba; and a navigator, who sails along that coast with the idea of penetrating to the west, may well say, that he had the island of Cuba on the left,—but, of course, at a great distance.

At the time Cabot made the above statement to Peter Martyr, which was before the year 1515,† the island of Cuba

* See Peter Martyr, l. c.

† Peter Martyr's record of his conversation with Cabot was written in 1515; but the conversation itself must have taken place before, between 1512 and 1515.

was the only place north of Hispaniola (St. Domingo) and the other West Indian islands, of which the position was known with certainty. It was therefore natural for Cabot, to use this island in order to make his longitude intelligible. It was the more natural, because Cabot, in the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar, must have thought himself much nearer to the island of Cuba than he really was. At the time of his voyage—and even much later—that island was laid down on the charts several degrees too far north.

From this I consider it clear, that Cabot saw nothing of our coast to the south of Cape Hatteras.

On the direction of his homeward track from the shores of the United States to England, the short original reports of his voyage state nothing. The nearest route to England was running on the same track on which he had come out, that is to say, back along the coasts of New York, New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. And, according to what we have stated above on his knowledge of the globe, and the shortest route by great circle-sailing, we should be inclined to think, that he returned by this route, and came again in sight of the New England coast. It is however possible, that, like the greater part of the navigators of his time, he may have followed a more southern track by the Azores.

On their return from their first voyage of 1497, the Cabots believed, that they had discovered portions of Asia, and so proclaimed it. But the more extensive discoveries of the second voyage corrected the views of Sebastian, and revealed to him nothing but a wild and barbarous coast stretching through thirty degrees of latitude, from $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to 36° . The discovery of this impassable barrier across his passage to Cathay, as he often complained, was a sore displeasure to him. Instead of the rich possessions of China, which he hoped to reach, he was arrested by a New found land, savage and

uncultivated. A spirited German author, Dr. G. M. Asher, in his life of Henry Hudson, published in London in 1860, observes: "The displeasure of Cabot involves the scientific discovery of a new world. He was the first to recognize, that a new and unknown continent was lying, as one vast barrier, between Western Europe and Eastern Asia."

Still, a long time after Cabot, geographers represented on their maps Newfoundland, Labrador, and the neighboring territory, as parts of Northern Asia. But Cabot, on the first chart of his discoveries, which has been preserved to us by a Spanish cosmographer, represented the entire eastern coast of North America as a separate and independent continent, entirely distinct from Asia.

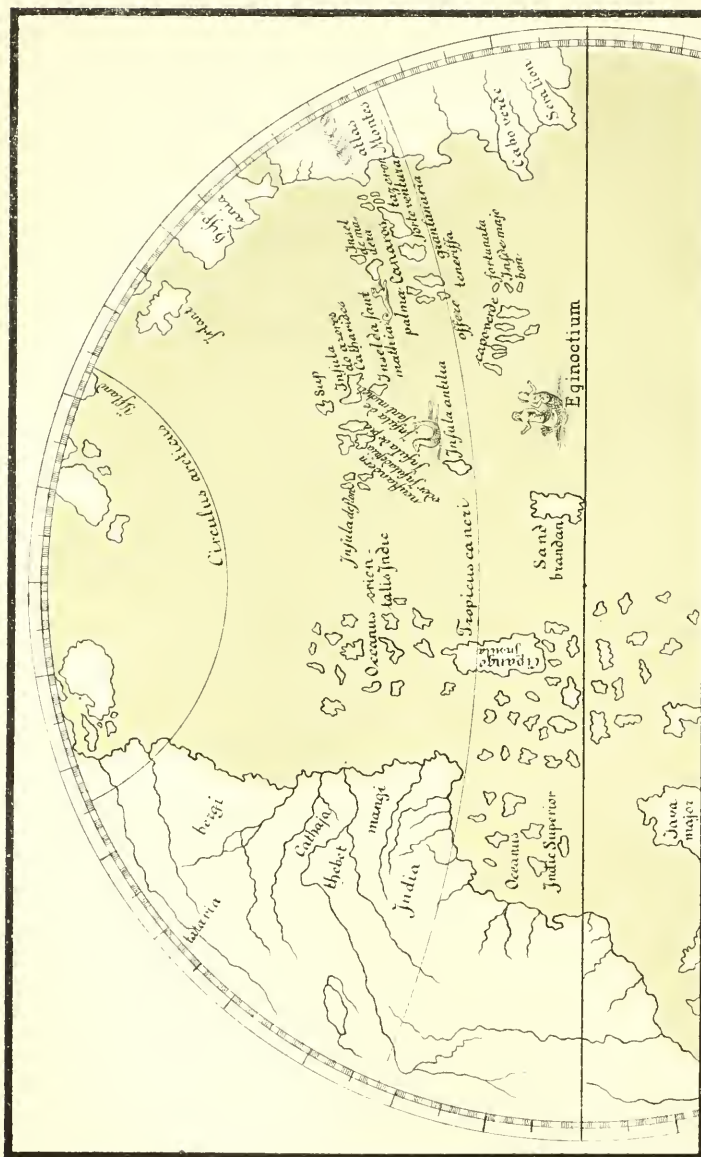
The scientific results of Cabot's voyage consequently were very great, though they could not be appreciated at once by all his contemporaries.

The more practical, pecuniary, and commercial gains of the expedition were not so attractive as the merchants of Bristol and the covetous Henry had expected: it was probably for this reason, principally, that when Cabot made proposals in the following year, 1499, for another expedition to the same regions, he was supported neither by the king nor the merchants.* For several years the scheme for the discovery of a north-western route to Cathay, was not much favored in England.

Nevertheless, the voyage of this gifted and enterprising youth along the entire coast of the present United States, nay, along the whole extent of that great continent, in which now the English race and language prevail and flourish, has

* Nevertheless, some authors believe that he made in that year another voyage of discovery, which, however, is said to have been directed to the tropical regions. The scattered hints which we have on this expedition of 1499, have been collected in Biddle's Memoir, p. 91 seq.

always been considered as the true beginning, the foundation and corner-stone of all the English claims and possessions in the northern half of America. English flags were the first which were planted along those shores, and English men were the first of modern Europeans, who with their own eyes surveyed the border of that great assemblage of countries, in which they were destined to become so prominent; and were also the first to put their feet upon it. The history of each one of that chain of States, stretching along the western shores of the Atlantic, begins with Sebastian Cabot, and his expedition of 1498. And this is especially true of the State of Maine, and the other States of New England; whose remarkable coasts were particularly observed by him, and clearly delineated on his chart, as I shall endeavor to show in my examination of Cosa's map.



The Ocean and Islands between Western Europe and Eastern Asia from the Globus of Martin Behaim 1492.

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER IV.

1. ON THE MAP, No. 4, OF THE OCEAN AND ISLANDS BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND EASTERN ASIA, FROM THE GLOBE OF MARTIN BEHAIM, 1492.*

MARTIN BEHAIM, a well-known German astronomer and cosmographer, was born in Nuremburg in the year 1459, and in 1479 went from there to Lisbon, where several of his countrymen were settled. Being a scholar of the celebrated German astronomer and mathematician, Regiomontanus, he soon made himself known among the Portuguese for his cosmographical and mathematical knowledge, and was made, by John II, of Portugal, a member of a commission for improving marine instruments. In the year 1483, he constructed upon the principle of his master, Regiomontanus, a new astrolabium, which was adopted by this commission and introduced into the Portuguese navy. The Portuguese navigators were enabled, by this instrument, to find their latitude with much more accuracy than before.

Behaim himself, in company with the Portuguese discoverers, made extensive voyages along the coast of Africa and to the Azores, where he married a Portuguese lady of Flemish extraction. In all these and other respects his life was similar to that of Columbus, with whom he became personally acquainted in Lisbon. He shared the views of Columbus on the feasibility of a passage from Portugal to India on a western route, and on the short distance between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. He did not, however, make this voyage; but in the glorious year 1492, the German cosmographer, being on a visit to his friends in Nuremburg, constructed the celebrated globe, on which he clearly proved, that it was *possible* to do, what the more enterprising Italian meanwhile *did*.

* See upon this globe and upon Behaim, the work: F. W. Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*. Nurnberg, 1853.

This globe, on which the entire world and all its then known parts and islands were depicted, is highly interesting to us, because we see represented upon it the views and ideas of Behaim, which were also more or less those of Toscanelli, Columbus, Cabot, and all their intelligent and well-informed contemporaries.

In map No. 4, I have given from that globe only the portion which most interests us here; namely, the western coasts of Europe and Northern Africa, the eastern coast of Asia, and the ocean and islands between them. With respect to the configuration of these coasts and islands, and the distances between them, our copy is a reduced facsimile, from the copy of the globe in the above-quoted work of Ghillany, though not in the handwriting, names, and inscriptions. The original has many names in Asia and Africa, which I have left out as not connected with our subject. I have retained nearly all those of the islands as important; but have omitted the long German inscriptions or legends added to them, of which I shall speak, however, as occasion may require.

In the north-east of our representation appears "Island" (Iceland), under the arctic circle. To the south of it, in the same meridian, "Ir-lant" (Ireland) and "Hispania" (Spain). In Africa I have preserved only the names "Atlas Montes" (Mount Atlas), "Cabo verde" (Cape Verde), and "Sera lion" (Sierra Leone).

From the coasts of Africa and Spain to the west, stretch out several chains and groups of islands, as the Canaries, the Cape Verde, and the Azores, which had long been known to European navigators, and the greater number of which have the names inscribed, by which they are known to-day. The Azores stand out far to the west,—the last of them, "Insula de flores," nearly midway between Europe and Asia.

At the south-west of the Azores, we find the two famous and often mentioned islands, which, after the fourteenth century, were supposed to exist in the most western parts of the ocean, one called "Antilia," and the other "Saint Brandan."*

Of the first island Behaim says: "In the year 734, after the conquest of Spain by the Mahometans, this island, Antilia, was discovered and settled by an archbishop from Oporto in Portugal, who fled to it in ships with six other bishops and other Christian men and women. They built there seven towns, from which circumstance it has also been called 'septemcitade' (the island of the seven cities). In the year 1414, a Spanish vessel came very near to it."

* The French geographer, M. D'Avezac, has written an excellent article "on the fabulous islands of the Atlantic Ocean in the middle ages." See his "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, tom. 1, 2. 1845.

Regarding the second island, Behaim adds the following: "After the birth of our Saviour, in the year 565, Saint Brandan, an Irish bishop, arrived with his vessel on this island; saw there most wonderful things, and returned afterwards to his country."

It is well known that these and similar stories of voyages and emigrations, made to distant islands in the far west of the ocean, were often told in the middle ages. All these stories came from Portugal, Spain, Ireland, and Great Britain,—the European nations which were afterwards so prominent and active in the discovery and settlement of America. The islands of St. Brandan and Antilia were also depicted on charts of the fourteenth century. Some time after the discovery of the West India Islands by Columbus, the old name "Antilia," which according to Humboldt is of Arabic origin, was applied to them. The island of St. Brandan was believed to exist a long time after the discovery of America by Columbus, and many expeditions were made even in the seventeenth century, from the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands, for the purpose of finding it.

Some hundred leagues to the west of St. Brandan's Island, Behaim puts down the large island of "Cipangu," or Japan, of which Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, had spoken, as being rich, and as lying not far from China to the east. Behaim gives to it about the latitude of Cuba and Hispaniola. Columbus, therefore, when he arrived at this latter island, thought it to be Japan.

Cipangu, or Japan, is surrounded by an ocean full of innumerable islands. The Arabs, probably ever since the time of Sindbad the Navigator, were somewhat acquainted with the innumerable islands of the Indian Archipelago and of the western half of the Pacific; and these Arabian traditions may have been depicted and alluded to here.*

The eastern coast of Asia is drawn on our map in the same manner, as we see it on many previous maps, according to the notions and reports of Marco Polo. It is the coast along which Columbus, and after him John and Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1497, and many other navigators thought they were sailing, whilst they were really sailing along the coast of America.

We find here indicated the great rivers of China, and the names, "India," "mangi," "Cathaia," "thebet," "tataria," "bergi."

The name "India" was at once applied to the American discoveries, believed to be a part of the continent of Asia; and the name is still

* On Sindbad, the Arabian navigator, and on the notions and information of the Arabs about the islands and waters at the east of Asia, a treatise has been written by Baron Walckenaer in *Nouvelles Annales des voyages*, tom. 1, p. 14 seq. 1832.

given to the central region, called the *West Indies*; and the aborigines are still called *Indians*.

"Mangi" is the name of a Chinese province spoken of by Marco Polo, and looked for by Columbus, when he was sailing along the coasts of Honduras and Central America.

"Cathai" is the old name of Northern China, which for a long period was the object of very many expeditions for the discovery of a so-called North-western Passage.

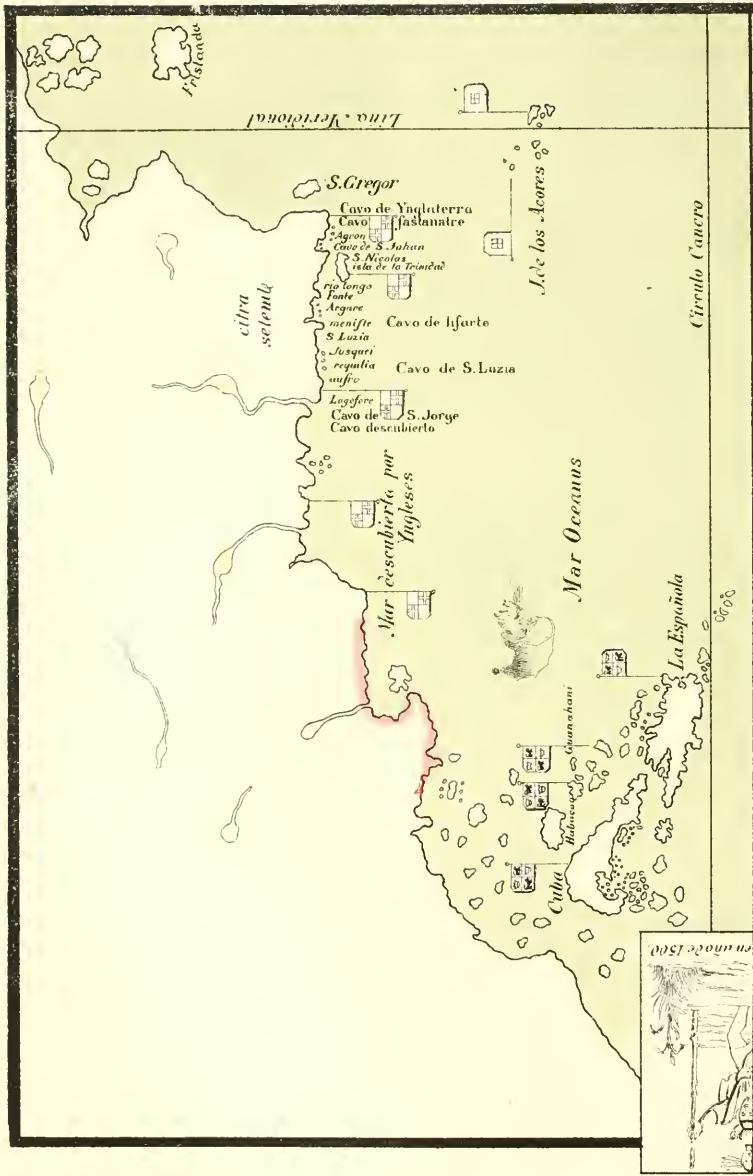
The name "tataria," also placed on our map, often finds a place in the subsequent explorations of America. So long as America was thought to be a part of Asia, or connected with it, the North American Indians were thought to be Tartars.

Besides the names which I have put down on our copy, Behaim in his original had many others: and also many decorative inscriptions and legends, nearly all of which were taken from the work of Marco Polo.

Already, in the year 1474, the distinguished and learned Italian astronomer, Toscanelli, had sent to Columbus a map of the world constructed by him, and a letter explaining this map. That interesting map has not been preserved; but we have the letter.* From the description of the map contained in this letter, it appears that it was very similar to the globe of Behaim; having the same islands, the same configuration of the coasts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and about the same dimensions and proportions of the ocean. It is said that Columbus, on his first voyage, had Toscanelli's map on board, and sailed by it. He, probably, on one or more of the numerous maps which he composed, had followed the same principles and represented similar things. Of these maps of Columbus not a single one has been preserved. The globe which Behaim composed in Nuremberg is the only original map which has come down to us, giving us the notions of Toscanelli, of Christopher Columbus, of his brother, Bartholomew Columbus, and their fellow voyagers on the ocean between Europe and Asia.† The Cabots very probably had a similar map on board, when in 1497 they sailed to find the shortest course to Cathay. A copy of it should be added to every work treating on the discovery of America. I have, therefore, given it a place at the end of my chapter on the first voyage of the Cabots.

* See it in Navarette, *Collecion de los viages y descubrimientos*, etc., tom. 2, p. 1. Madrid, 1823. Compare what Humboldt says on the map of Toscanelli in his *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 1, pp. 206-208.

† M. D'Avezac calls this globe "une copie ou une reminiscence de la carte de Toscanelli" (a copy or reminiscence of the chart of Toscanelli). See D'Avezac, l. c. p. 52.



The East-Coast of North-America by Juan de la Cosa in the year 1500.

2. ON THE MAP, No. 5, OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,
BY JUAN DE LA COSA, IN THE YEAR 1500.*

Juan de la Cosa was a celebrated Spanish navigator, and one of the first discoverers of the West Indies. He accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to the west, in the years 1493-1496. He afterwards commanded several exploring expeditions to America, and took his share in the discovery and conquest of the northern coast of South America, Venezuela and New Granada. He had so much experience of the west and of the ocean, that he boasted "that he knew more of them than the Admiral (Columbus) himself." The early historians of America speak of him with high esteem.

Cosa, like other explorers, probably drew several charts of the new countries he visited, which, like many other drafts, are lost to us. In the year 1500, he compiled a large map of the entire world, on which he laid down all that he knew of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the new world. This map, of which probably several copies were made, appears, like its author, to have been highly esteemed by the Spaniards. One of these copies was hung up in the study of the then minister of Marine, Juan de Fonseca. It was afterwards, like most of the old maps, neglected and forgotten.

In the year 1832, the great German scholar, Humboldt, being occupied with his researches on the history and geography of America, during the time of the cholera in Paris, found, in the excellent library of his friend, Baron Walckenaer, a large map of the world, which the learned owner thought to be an old Portuguese production. Humboldt, however, discovered on it the inscription, "Juan de la Cosa la fixo en el Puerto de Sta Maria en año de 1500" (Juan de la Cosa made it in the port of Saint Mary in the year 1500). There was no doubt, that the very first map, on which a great part of the western continent was depicted, had now been brought to light.†

The whole map, as well as parts of it, have been repeatedly copied and published. Lelewel gave a reduced copy in his Atlas, No. 41. Sagra, in his work on Cuba, and Humboldt, in his "Examen Critique," gave sections of it. He communicated also a reduced copy to Dr. Ghillany, who embodied it in his work on Martin Behaim. The map was

* See on this map, 1. J. Lelewel, *Geographie du moyen age*, tom. 2, p. 109 seq. Bruxelles, 1852. 2. A. Von Humboldt, in the work, "F. W. Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Martin Behaim*," p. 1 seq. Nurnberg, 1853, and the work there quoted on Cuba by Sagra.

† See Humboldt's introductory remarks to Ghillany's work on Behaim, p. 1 seq.

again copied by the great French geographer, M. Jomard, who published a perfect fac-simile of it in his "Monuments de Géographie." So the map has now become well known, and is generally acknowledged to be one of the most interesting and important documents for the geographical history of America.

Our reduced copy of that part of Cosa's map which represents the northern half of the new world, was principally made after Humboldt's copy. I have, however, added a few names which Humboldt omitted, and which I find in Jomard's fac-simile."

The map has no indication of the degrees of latitude. It has, however, the equator and the "circulo canero" (the tropic of cancer $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.), which enables us to recognize the latitudes of the several objects represented on the map.

Cosa draws the entire east coast of North America, from the neighborhood of Cuba to the high northern regions, in about 70° N., with a continuous line, uninterrupted by water. He appears to have thought, that there was a large continental part of the world, back of the West India Islands discovered by Columbus and his contemporaries.

Before the year 1500, no Spanish navigator had been along that coast. The only exploring expeditions made to it, were those of the English under John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497 and 1498; and Cosa must have had his information for this part of his map from English originals. He indicates this himself by the broad inscription running along the coast: "Mar descubierto por Ingleses" (Sea discovered by the English).

The true general trending of the east coast of North America, from Florida to Newfoundland, is from south-east to north-west. Cosa, on his map, makes it *nearly* in the same direction; but he extends it more east and west, which is a consequence of the projection of his map being a plane chart, having the degrees of longitude uniform throughout.

Cosa's coast-line in the higher latitudes, opposite "Frislanda" (Iceland), has some similarity with the coast-line on the recently discovered map (see map No. 20), said to have been made by Sebastian Cabot in the year 1544. This is a remarkable circumstance. For it would seem to prove, that Sebastian Cabot had seen those arctic regions in 1498, and not at a later date, in 1517, as Mr. Biddle and some others have supposed. The easternmost point and peninsula of Newfoundland is easily recognized on Cosa's map, and agrees with the true configuration of this coast-line. He has also given a pretty long list of names upon the southern coast of the island.

These circumstances convince me, that Cosa made his chart of our

east coast, not in a fanciful and rough manner from general reports of sailors or the companions of the Cabots, as they may have been current in the harbors of Spain, after Cabot's voyage; but that in drawing his line, he must have had before him some copy of the chart, made by the Cabots themselves.*

There is no difficulty in supposing, that a copy of the chart of Cabot may have been seen by Cosa in 1500. Some of the companions of the Cabots may have been Spaniards, and have returned before 1500, to the ports of their native country, carrying with them, not only reports, but also charts of the voyage. The Spanish Envoy then at the English court, Don Pedro de Ayala, in a letter to his king, dated July 25, 1498, also tells us, that he saw the chart, made by Juan Cabot on his first voyage, and that he intended to send a copy of it to his Spanish Majesty.†

This Spanish envoy may also have been careful to send to Spain afterwards, a copy of the chart of the second Cabotian expedition, on which the southern section of our east coast was discovered; and this copy may have been used by Cosa for his map.

This proves that the headlands, bays, peninsulas, and other objects represented on the map, are not made at random, but are sketches of such projections of the coast as the Cabots supposed themselves to have seen, and attempted to delineate, and are therefore worthy of a critical examination.

The best starting-point is given at the eastern cape of the coast, called "Cavo de Ynglaterra" (Cape of England), in about 50° N. Though this is not exactly the latitude of Cape Race, which stands in about $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., still there can be scarcely a doubt, that this cape is meant. The latitudes on our map, including those of the West India Islands, are much too high.

The configuration given to "the Cape of England" and its vicinity, has a striking resemblance to the configuration of Cape Race and the entire south-eastern section, or triangle, of Newfoundland; and I may add, that on all subsequent maps, this region has always been represented in great harmony with nature. Newfoundland, and more especially Cape Race, which was usually the first point of America seen by the early European navigators, and the part best known to them, and

* See Lelewel, l. c., tom. 2, p. 110, who says with respect to this map: "One sees from Cosa's map, that he was not a mere copyist, but a compositor, and a distinguished compositor and draftsman, who worked with *great exactness*."

† See this letter printed in the "Calendar of the Spanish Archives," edited by Bergenroth, vol. 1, p. 177; and also in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the annual meeting held in Worcester, Oct. 21, 1865, p. 25.

whose light-house is still the first object sighted by our steamers as they approach the coast, is also, as it were, the regulating light for the examination of all old maps of the east coast.

From this map it appears probable, that the Cabots, on their discoveries, gave to this remarkable point the name of "the Cape of England;" and they probably did this from the circumstance, that it is the nearest point of America toward England. For a similar reason, we may suppose, that on subsequent maps of the Portuguese, probably drawn by the Cortereals, it is named "the Cape of Portugal," as being the nearest point to that country.

From "Cavo de Ynglaterra" (Cape Race), the map represents the coast-line as running for a long way east and west, which I consider to be the south coast of Newfoundland, which runs in the same direction.* Here the map is embellished with several English flags, and has names, which Cosa probably found on his English copy, and which he translated into Spanish, as "Cavo de lisarte" (Cape Lizard), "Cavo de S. Johann" (Cape St. John), etc. Some of these names are found on subsequent maps; but, as they relate to Newfoundland, do not require particular examination here.

The list of names ends in the west with a flag-staff, and near to it "Cavo de S. Jorge" (S. George's Cape), and "Cavo descubierta" (the discovered cape). To the west of "Cavo descubierta" comes a broad gulf, though, instead of such a gulf, we should expect to find the far projecting peninsula of Nova Scotia. For several hundred miles to the west, the coast-line of Cosa's map offers no resemblance whatever to the coast-line of our present maps.

But soon after the inscription, "Mar descubierta por Yngleses," and to the west of it, Cosa draws a bay, which looks very much like the Gulf of Maine. It has about the same size and semicircular shape, and is surrounded in the south by a projecting promontory, offering the form of a horn, by which, I think, Cape Cod is intended, for the following reasons:

* Baron Humboldt (in Gillany's work on Behaim, p. 2) thinks, to my great astonishment, that here, the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is meant, and that "the Cape of England," consequently, is not Cape Race, but some headland near the Strait of Belle Isle. The small island, called on our map (after Jomard's copy) "S. Gregor," to which Humboldt gives the name "Isla verde," he thinks is Newfoundland. This view is too much in opposition to all that I have stated above. And, moreover, I have never found one of the names given on our map, on any of the old maps of the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while several of them, for instance that of "St. John," occur again on many maps of the south coast of Newfoundland.

Cape Cod is the most prominent and characteristic point on the entire east coast, from Nova Scotia to Florida. Between Cape Race and Florida it has nearly a central position. It has the longitude of St. Domingo ("La Española"), and the latitude of about 42° N. It has a horn-like shape, and makes the figure of a ship's nose, and was therefore called, by the Northmen, "Kialarnes" (Cape Ship-nose). This description applies as well to the nameless cape, which we are here considering; and in which, I think, I have discovered the first indication, ever given on a modern map, of the Gulf of Maine, of Cape Cod, and the peninsula of New England.

Cape Cod could hardly have escaped the observation of Sebastian Cabot, during his sail along our coast in 1498. His only predecessors here were the Northmen in former centuries, who, like Cabot, sailing along the coast into the Gulf of Maine from the north-east, by Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, to their Vinland, were also arrested by this conspicuous cape.

That the distance from Cape Race to the supposed Cape Cod, on our map, appears much longer than the distance from this to Cuba, is easily explained by two circumstances:

1. Cabot, in 1498, did not come very much to the south of Cape Cod. If he was not stopped by this cape altogether, and turned away by Nantucket Shoals and the Gulf-stream, he did not, at all events, pass beyond the latitude of 36° or 38° N. There, he thought himself to be very near the Spanish possessions. The distance which he actually traversed may have appeared to him greater than the rest of the coast, from a constant expectation of finding an end to it. The remainder of the continental coast on the north and west of Cuba not having been actually surveyed by Cabot, its representation on the map may have been put down by Cabot or Cosa on conjecture.

2. From the fact, that the chart of Cosa is a plane chart, with an old-fashioned projection, according to which the coasts in northern latitudes are drawn out much more from west to east, it becomes evident, that on our map the more northern half of the east coast, from Cape Cod to Cape Race, must appear much larger and longer than the southern half, from Cape Cod to the West India Islands. The island seen on our map off the horn-like cape, may be Nantucket Island, though this lies a little more to the south of Cape Cod.

3. CHART, No. 6, OF THE NEW WORLD, BY JOHANN RUYSCH, 1508.

The map, of which we here give that portion relating to the present work, was composed by a distinguished German traveler and geographer "Johann Ruysch."* It was published in the edition of Ptolemy's geography, printed at Rome in 1508. The text and explanatory notes, added to this map in that work, were composed by Marco Beneventura, an Italian monk.

It is the first *engraved* map on which any parts of the new world, particularly of North America, were depicted. The supposed latitudes and longitudes from Ferro are accurately expressed.

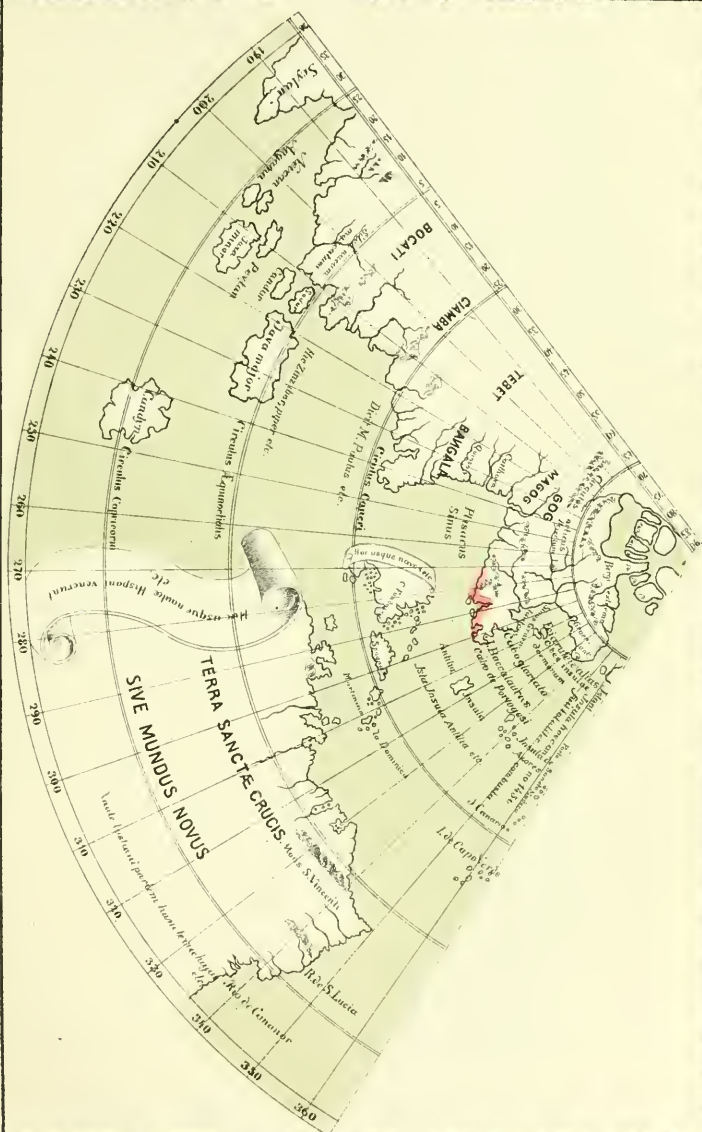
The map represents parts of Asia, North America, the West India Islands, and South America; all scattered around the ocean in large and small insular or peninsular tracts of country. In accordance with the views prevailing soon after the discovery by Columbus, several parts of North America (of which the magnitude was as yet generally unknown, although it had been exhibited by Cabot and Cosa) are here represented as sections of Eastern Asia.

South America, whose broad extent was first recognized, is here treated by itself, as a large independent continent. It is called "Terra Sanctæ Crucis, sive mundus novus" (the country of the Holy Cross; † or, the New World).

I omit here what the author, Ruysch, observes on this new world (South America). He gives its northern coast as far as the Isthmus of Panama, and from there he has open water. Of the west coast of this same "country of the Holy Cross," he confesses, in his inscription, that he knows nothing: "Huc usque nautæ Hispani venerunt," etc. (so far came the Spanish navigators). On the north of South America, some of the West India Islands are laid down, and, more particularly, "Spagnola" (S. Domingo). It is well known that Columbus, when he discovered this large and beautiful island, thought it to be the far-famed Zipangu (Japan), mentioned and highly praised by the Venetian, Marco Polo. On this point, the author of our map has a long Latin inscription on the coast of China, beginning with: "Dicit Marcus Paulus;" namely, Marco Polo states, that "here should be placed the island of 'Zipangu' (Japan); but that he (Ruysch) omitted it, because he

* He is called by a contemporary, "Geographorum peritissimus ac in pingendo orbi diligentissimus" (the most expert geographer and very skillful in depicting the globe). Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 137, says, that he accompanied some exploring expeditions undertaken from England to the North.

† A name given by Cabral, 1499, to the coast of Brazil.



A Chart of the New World by Johann Ruysch. 1508.



thought the island of Spañola (S. Domingo), discovered by the Spaniards, was the old 'Zipangu.'

The island of Cuba, west of Spañola, is the part of our map the most misrepresented. It is not described as an island, but as a peninsula projecting from a larger country, apparently North America. It is well known that Columbus, in 1494, sailed along the southern coast of Cuba; but before reaching its western end, became discouraged and retraced his course, affirming that Cuba was *not* an island, but a part of a larger country. And, though others were of a different opinion, and though Juan de la Cosa, in 1500, had already depicted Cuba as an island, yet our author, Ruysch, adhered to the view of Columbus; and represents Cuba, like Florida, as a part of a large northern country; which, however, he thinks to be near to China. The west of this country, he says, was unknown to the Spaniards, as was the west of South America. He states this in an inscription, beginning with "Huc usque naves," etc. (so far the vessels).

On the west of Cuba a large gulf is depicted, extending to the north of Asia, and named "Plisacus Sinus;" of which I do not know what to think.

In the high north, we find Greenlandt (Greenland), and at the southern end of it, Cape Farewell, under its true latitude, 60° N. The configuration of Greenland, as a long, broad, triangular peninsula, is also well represented. Greenland and Cape Farewell are, as I have already noticed, on all the former maps among the best-defined localities. The old northern descriptions and maps of this country had been, since the middle ages, in the hands of many geographers; and though it was sometimes attached to Europe, and sometimes, as on our map, to Asia, we consider it as the first, and best known, and best drawn section of America.

Near Greenland, on the north-east, we find on the original of our map the following most remarkable inscription: "Here the compass of the ships does not hold, and the ships which contain iron cannot return."* This, as Humboldt observes,† is a proof that the old navigators (Cabot, Cortereal), before the year 1508, had made some observations on the action of the magnetic needle in these parts, and had some notion of the vicinity of the magnetic pole; the position of which has been better defined in modern times.

"Island" (Iceland) appears in its true position, at the east of Greenland. At the south-west of Greenland, the configuration and outlines

* On our copy I have not repeated this inscription.

† See Humboldt in Ghillany, *Geschichte des Martin Behaim*, p. 4.

of Newfoundland are easily recognized. Newfoundland, on all of the old maps is, after Greenland, the best-defined part of North America. Copies of the charts of Cabot, or the Cortereals, or of the Frenchman, Jean Denys de Honfleur, who is said to have made, in 1506, an excellent map of Newfoundland, may have been brought to Rome, and been used by the author of our map.

Newfoundland is called "Terra nova." We find on its eastern coast the names of places often repeated; as "Cabo Glaciato," the little island of Bacallaos, called on our map, "Baccalauras, and Cape Race, to which is affixed the name of "C. de Portugesi" (Cape of the Portuguese).

Between the shores of Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, is a great gulf, called "Sinus Gruenlanticus" (the Gulf of Greenland), evidently an indication of the entrance of Davis' Strait.

The south coast of Terra nova, which, like Cape Race, has its true latitude about 46° N., runs for some distance east and west. Then comes a pretty broad and long inlet, probably the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and at the west of this, a square-shaped headland, or peninsula, by which Cape Breton and Nova Scotia may have been intended.

All these, Greenland, Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, are attached on the map to Asia, as sections and projections of the old world.

4. ON A MAP, No. 7, OF NORTH AMERICA FROM THE GLOBE OF JOHANN SCHONER, 1520.

Johann Schoner* was one of the learned German mathematicians and astronomers of the school of the famous Regiomontanus, who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, assembled in Nuremberg, and there exercised by their writings, maps, and globes a great influence on American discovery and geography.

Schoner was professor of mathematics in the gymnasium at Nuremberg, and wrote several geographical and astronomical works, often quoted by Humboldt in his "Critical Researches." In the year 1520, upon the invitation and at the expense of a wealthy friend, Johann Seyler, he constructed a large globe, on which he carefully laid down the configuration of the several parts of the world, according to his conceptions. This globe is still preserved in the city of Nuremberg. It was for the first time copied, printed, and published in a planisphere by Dr. F. W. Ghillany, State librarian of Nuremberg, in 1853, in his ex-

* Sometimes erroneously written "Schoener."



North-America from the Globe of Johann Schoner 1520.

cellent work on Martin Behaim. It was accompanied by introductory remarks by Humboldt; who has also incidentally treated of this globe in several places of his great work, "Critical Researches." After this the globe of Schoner was repeatedly copied in other works; for instance, in Lelewel's History of the Geography of the Middle Ages, and thus became better known.

I give here, after Ghillany's fac-simile, a reduced copy of the section of this globe, relating to North America. I have, however, left out several names and inscriptions contained in the original; and only retained those which have appeared to me as having an interest for the subject of our work.

There are in Germany several other globes, which depict the world nearly in the same manner as this. One is preserved in the city of Frankfort on the Main, with the same date, 1520, which has been reproduced in a fac-simile copy by M. Jomard, in his "Monuments de la Géographie." Another is preserved in the collection of the grand duke of Weimar. All these globes give to North and South America the same configuration and position, as they have on the map of Schoner. Baron Humboldt thinks, that they all have a common origin, and that they are, with respect to America, copies of an older chart, "hidden perhaps in the Archives of Italy or Spain."*

I cannot exhibit here the whole contents of this interesting map; but I will examine the principal points which relate to our main subject. In comparing this draft with Behaim's map (see map No. 4), I may call attention to the manner, in which some of the discoverers and cosmographers of the age of Columbus endeavored to combine the new discoveries in this hitherto unknown world, with the notions which had previously prevailed of the space intervening between Europe and Africa on one side, and the eastern ends of Asia on the other. They had filled this great interval with innumerable islands, of which some had long been known, as the Canaries, Azores, and Cape Verde; others had been mentioned by Marco Polo and his successors, as Zipangu (Japan); and others were more or less imaginary or mythical, as "Antilia" and "St. Brandan." After the first discovery of America by Columbus, they conceived of all the new countries as belonging to some of those groups, lying in the waters of Asia; and so they gave to these sections of America, seen by Columbus, Cabral, Cortereal, and others, as diminutive a figure as possible, to make them appear as islands. Therefore, in their historical and geographical reports and treatises on America, they gave to them the names of "the new isl-

* See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, p. 307.

ands," "the new-discovered islands," and the like. And on their maps they crowded these "new islands" into the groups of the old ones, which they did not like to leave off their charts.

Some, however, took a different view, and represented these regions as peninsulas and headlands of Asia, as was shown on the map of Ruysch (No. 6). As further light broke in, some cosmographers changed their opinions, as did Schoner, who having represented North America on the globe of 1520, as a large and independent island, makes it, in a later work, a peninsula of Asia, as did Ruysch.

On the globe we are now examining, Schoner breaks up America into as many islands as possible. At first he puts down the Antilles, circumnavigated as they had already been, by Columbus and his successors. Then he represents South America as a very large island, to which he applies several names: as "Terra nova" (the new country) and "America vel Brasilia sive Papagalli terra" (America or Brazil or the Parrots' country). The name "America" was applied by Schoner, as by nearly all his contemporaries, only to *South* America, the great theatre of the voyages and explorations of *Amerigo* Vespucci. North America was not comprised under the name until a later date.

"Terra nova," or South America, is separated from the northern island by a broad strait; the one for which Columbus, in his later voyages, made search. And notwithstanding the successors of Columbus had, prior to 1520, proved the Caribbean Sea to be shut in on the west, and the southern and northern countries to be connected by an isthmus; still Schoner and his Nuremburg contemporaries either did not know of the results of those explorations, or did not believe in them, and preferred to cherish the opinion, that there was still some passage here which had been overlooked. We have maps of a later date than 1520, on which ships are represented sailing through this Isthmus of Panama from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean.

The idea of Columbus, still retained on the map of Ruysch (No. 6), that Zipangu was nothing but the island "Española," was given up by Schoner. He has restored Japan to its proper place on the east of China, and has given to "Española" a separate existence and a more eastern position. Still he does not venture to make the distance between Japan and the newly discovered islands *very* great. He makes the "Eastern Ocean"* (the Pacific) very narrow, and puts Japan, as it was done for a long time after him, very near to North America.

He depicts North America as an island, not very broad, its greatest length extending from south to north. In its southern part he has the

* So called in respect to Asia.

name "Paria," which is here widely misplaced. To the northern part, he has given the name "Terra de Cuba" (the country of Cuba), which is apparently intended to be the general name of the whole region. It is well known that Columbus, hearing for the first time the name of "Cuba," believed that a very large country was meant by it, and that the land which he called "Isabella" (our present Cuba) was continental with it. He did not believe in the existence of the Bahama channel; and when, some time after (1508), this channel and the insularity of "Isabella" were clearly proved, some cosmographers, and Schoner among them, transferred the name of Cuba to the great country in the north.

Schoner, or his Spanish original, must have known something of the expeditions of Ponce de Leon to Florida in 1513, and of the first exploring voyages to the Gulf of Mexico; for he plainly depicts both the gulf and peninsula of Florida. To Española he gives nearly the true latitude. But he, as well as Cosa (No. 5), places "Isabella," our Cuba, several degrees too far north. The southern end of Florida is not far enough south, though the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico has its true latitude about 30° N.

The entire west coast of "Terra de Cuba" (North America) is drawn with uncertain lines as unknown, and is expressly so designated in the inscription upon it,—"*Ultra nondum illustratum*" (beyond this not yet explored). Our east coast, on the contrary, is depicted as high up as about 50° N., as already known and explored. Several capes, harbors, and gulfs are depicted on it, to which names are given. Beyond 50° N., the country is said not to be known, "*Uterius incognitum.*"

The names written upon our east coast appear to be of Spanish origin, though they are sometimes *Italianized*, or otherwise corrupted. The voyages, which were made between the time of Columbus and 1520 along our east coast, and upon which we are more or less informed, are those of Cabot, in 1498; of Ponce de Leon, not higher north than about 30° N., in 1513; of Antonio de Alaminos, sailing with the Gulf-stream along the coast of Florida, in 1519; and of Ayllon, as high as about 34° N., in 1520. In none of these expeditions, and the writings and charts belonging to them, do we find any of the names mentioned on our globe, or on the map of Cosa, or the other maps of America known to us before the year 1520. Nor do any of these names occur on subsequent maps of America, for instance, that of Ribero of 1529. They are all new and original. We can account for the use of these names only by supposing that they were the invention of the map-makers, or were given by some explorer whose chart is now unknown. That Schoner, the very learned professor of astronomy, who prepared his

globe for a wealthy and learned friend, and not for the market, invented such fantastic names, is quite out of the question. He, no doubt, as Humboldt suggests, copied from some original which he believed to be authentic and correct. The author of this Spanish original, whom we do not know, may have invented the names. And though some of them look like *corruptions*, still the greater part do not look like inventions. On the contrary, they appear to be such as a navigator might well have distributed on an unknown coast discovered by him. Such, for instance, are the following:

“Capo del gato” (the cape of the cat), “Cabo sancto” (the holy cape), “las cabras” (the goats), “Costa alta” (the high coast), etc. In one name a certain “Diego” is mentioned. “Rio de Don Diego” (the river of Don Diego). These do not seem fanciful. I do not believe that the Spanish, Italian, and German map-makers of the time of Columbus and soon after him, were in the habit of inventing new names. They gave them as they found them. A little later, when elegant maps were much sought after and became fashionable, and when great numbers were fabricated in Italy and elsewhere, unknown countries may sometimes have been embellished with merely fanciful names. It is probable that they were the work of some Spanish navigator, perhaps a private adventurer, whose name has not reached us: for, as Gomara says, “Of many discoverers and explorers of the Western Indies we have no memorial, particularly of those who sailed to the northern parts.”*

The names run up as high as 50° N., which must probably be reckoned a few degrees lower; and where the names “Cosen d’mar,” “Cabo delli contis,” “C. bona ventura” occur, the neighborhood of New England would seem to be indicated.

Newfoundland, and probably also a part of Labrador appear upon our map as a large island, floating forsaken in the midst of the great northern ocean, under the name of “Terra Corterealis” (Cortereal’s land), and separated from the rest of America by a very broad strait—an exaggeration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is represented in the same manner on many early maps.

Schoner’s globe thus truly indicates two great series of North American voyages and discoveries; of which, one was directed to the northwest, and, commencing with the Cabots, Cortereals, and their predecessors at Newfoundland and Labrador, by degrees came down to Canada and Nova Scotia; while the other series, commencing with Columbus, Ponce de Leon, Alaminos, Ayllon, and their successors in the

* Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, fol. 20. Madrid, 1553.

south, advanced from the West India Islands by degrees toward the north, to Virginia and New England. Between these extreme points, there remained a more or less unknown region, which, on our globe, has been indicated by open water.

In depicting the east coast of Asia and the many islands there, including Japan and "Java major," our author follows Martin Behaim's globe which existed then as now, in Nuremburg. In fact, Schoner's globe may be considered as a new edition of Behaim, with the addition of the newly discovered islands. (See map No. 4.)

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITIONS OF GASPAR AND MIGUEL DE CORTEREAL TO THE NORTH-EASTERN COAST OF AMERICA IN THE YEARS 1500-1503.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

SOON after the exploring expeditions of the Cabots, the flag of another nation of Western Europe appeared in our waters. The Portuguese, in the year 1500, entered the field of western discovery, and exercised an important influence on American history and geography, which continued a long time, and is still visible in several names given by them to certain localities on our coast, which have generally been adopted by subsequent voyagers and geographers.

The young king of Portugal, Emanuel, called the Great, or the Fortunate, after the death of his cousin, John I, had come to the throne in 1495. He was a talented, enterprising, and highly educated sovereign, in whose reign commerce, science, and the arts flourished in Portugal. Under him Portugal became the most powerful nation on the ocean, and the commercial center of Europe.

In 1497, he had sent out Vasco de Gama to circumnavigate Africa, and to reach the East Indies on that route. And, in the beginning of 1500, he had sent Pedro Alvarez Cabral on a similar expedition; who, on his way, touched the eastern parts of South America, discovered the coast of Brazil, and gained there for Portugal an extensive empire.

The Portuguese, having declined the proposal of Columbus in 1484, for a western voyage, were grievously disappointed

when the news arrived, that in 1493, sailing under the auspices of Spain, he had reached *Japan*, as he supposed he had, when he arrived at Hispaniola. Cut off from the east in that direction by the Spaniards; and aroused by the fear that some shorter way still might be found, by which he might be invaded in the new dominion, conquered for him in the east by Vasco de Gama in 1497; and, at the same time, inspired by the hope that he might himself succeed in his wish to find that shorter route, in the direction in which, as he well knew, it had been sought by the Cabots without success,—the new king Emanuel resolved, near the close of 1499, to send an expedition to the north-west. He therefore ordered two ships to be fitted out, and appointed Gaspar Cortereal, one of his able and accomplished officers, to the command. Cortereal's confidence of success was so great, that he offered to pay a part of the expenses; in consideration of which, the king offered him certain rights and privileges, and to make him governor of the countries he should discover.

The Cortereals were of a noble Portuguese family, of considerable influence. The father of Gaspar, John Vaz Cortereal, had, in 1464, been made hereditary governor of Terceira, as successor of the Flemish governor, Jacob of Bruges. Thus stationed in the midst of the ocean, on the largest of "the Western Islands," the family of the Cortereals became familiar with sea-voyages and oceanic enterprises. Some historians have even asserted, that the father, Vaz Cortereal, had himself made an expedition to the far west, and discovered, before Columbus, an island or country called Terra de Baccalhaos (the land of cod-fish). But for this claim there is no reliable evidence.* The Spanish historian Herrera, calls him "the discoverer of Terceira," which is

* See Biddle's Memoir, p. 286 seq.

not strictly true. Vaz Cortereal may have done much for the better exploration and settlement of the Azores, but they had been discovered before his time. Yet he may have been a great navigator, and his sons may have inherited from him, not only the government of Terceira, but also his taste for maritime enterprise.

2. FIRST VOYAGE OF GASPAR CORTEREAL IN THE YEAR 1500.

Gaspar Cortereal sailed from Lisbon in 1500; probably in the spring of that year. We have no authentic information in regard to the preliminary circumstances of this voyage, the causes which led to it, nor indeed of its plan, or of the royal instructions prescribed for it. But although the scattered reports concerning the expedition are silent as to its object, we cannot doubt that it was similar to that of the Cabots,—a discovery of the long-coveted passage to Cathay. Nothing else could have induced the Portuguese to go to the arctic regions. Nor have we any official report or journal of the voyage, or any chart prepared by the commander, although some charts remain, which are probably copies of one or more made by Cortereal.

He sailed from Lisbon on a western course to the Azores, where his elder brother, Vasqueanes, was governor, as successor to his father, and where he could easily make his final arrangements and complete his outfit for the voyage.*

By what chart he was guided we have no information; but it is presumed, that he must have had or seen a sketch of Cabot's map, as it had reached Spain in 1499; and by this, he must have been attracted to the headland of "Cabo de Ynglatierra" (Cape Race) stretching far to the east. On one side of this conspicuous promontory, he could see the

* Galvano, in "Discoveries of the World." Hakluyt, first ed., p. 97, says, "that he touched at Terceira."

coast, running first westerly, then southerly; and, on the other side, it was represented as running north toward unknown regions. Having such a map, or, at all events, having some similar information about the latitudes and longitudes of the countries seen by the Cabots, and their configuration, Cortereal would naturally steer for that prominent cape; and, avoiding the continuous and hopeless coast to the south, make directly for the coast to the north of "Cabo de Ynglatierra," which lay in his track and which he hoped might conduct to open water in the north: in this manner, he would arrive somewhere on the east coast of Newfoundland.

That his land-fall was *not* to the south of Cape Race and the St. Lawrence, on the coasts of Nova Scotia or New England, as Mr. Biddle has supposed,* is still more probable from the general direction of the winds and currents in the ocean he was crossing on his north-western course from the Azores. He passed through the broad eastern prolongation of the Gulf-stream, and through that part of the temperate zone in which westerly winds prevail. These westerly winds and currents would have the tendency to set him to

*[The subject of the land-fall of this voyage, and its general features, have received a very ample and critical discussion in the able and rare work of Richard Biddle, "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," published anonymously in London and Philadelphia in 1831-32. This "Review of Maritime Discovery" did not receive the attention from the public it deserved. It came unheralded upon the world, at a time when general attention had not been turned to these inquiries. Mr. Biddle was born in Philadelphia in 1796, a brother of Nicholas Biddle, the famed President of the United States Bank in its contest with General Jackson. Mr. Biddle was eminent as an author and a jurist. His memoir of Cabot was the result of careful and laborious examination of original documents and the accounts of the early voyages, and freed from obscurity a subject which had been overshadowed by misapprehension and numerous errors. The work is now very rare, and has justly taken its place among the most valued authorities on the matters of which it treats. Mr. Biddle died in 1847.—Ed.]

the east, and carry him away from the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England, even if he may, at first, have taken a more westerly course, which I think is improbable.

The exact latitude of Cortereal's land-fall is nowhere given. Some authors think, that it was at Conception Bay, and that he gave to it this name. Conception Bay is not far north of Cape Race, and from what has been said, may very probably have been the place which he first touched.

From his land-fall he sailed toward the north; how far, we do not know; and then discovered a country, which he is said to have indicated under the name of "Terra verde" (Greenland); probably the same country which has borne that name ever since the time of the Northmen.*

He came to a river, called by him "Rio nevado" (the snow river), which has been put on later maps, by different authors, as near the latitude of Hudson's Strait. Here he is represented to have been stopped by ice, and returned directly to Lisbon, after having revisited a harbor on the east coast of Newfoundland, to repair his ships and refresh his crew after their northern hardships. He arrived at Lisbon in the autumn of 1500,† the precise date we do not know; nor do we hear that on this first voyage he brought home Indians, or any products of the countries which he saw. He must, however, have judged the prospect favorable and promising; for he at once made arrangements for a second voyage to the same regions.

* This is made more probable from an inspection of the charts relating to Cortereal's voyage, Nos. 8, 9, 10 in the Appendix.

† I follow here, with respect to Cortereal's first voyage, in most points, the results of the research of Kunstmann, who has examined the Portuguese archives, and brought to light several new facts. See Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 57. München, 1859.

3. GASPAR CORTEREAL'S SECOND VOYAGE IN THE YEAR 1501.

On the 15th of May, 1501, Gaspar Cortereal left Lisbon again with two* ships, and sailed "in a west-north-west direction."† In this direction, "at a distance of about two thousand Italian miles" from Lisbon, he discovered land; and this, his second land-fall, must also have been on some part of the east coast of Newfoundland, north of Cape Race, to which a west-north-west course, at a distance of two thousand Italian miles, would conduct him. It could not, therefore, have been on the coasts of New England; for, being in the same latitude as Portugal, they could not be reached by a west-north-west course; and they are nearly three thousand miles, instead of two thousand, distant from Lisbon.

From this point Cortereal sailed along the coast, probably in a north-west direction, six or seven hundred Italian miles, without coming to the end of it. Nor was he able to reach again the northern country which he had seen the year before, and which he had called "Terra verde;" because the sea was more filled with ice than the year before. He, therefore, again turned to the south. On his return, he seized fifty-seven of the aborigines, men and boys, fifty of whom he took on board his own vessel, and seven he put in his consort.

These aborigines, captured according to the custom of the explorers of that day, are described, by an eye-witness who

* Kunstmann (l. c. p. 58) speaks of three vessels. I can find only two. So also, Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 331 seq.

† "Tra maestro e pouenti," says Pietro Pasqualigo, the Venitian envoy at the court of Portugal, who received his information from Cortereal's companions, and wrote to his family in Venice what he heard about the undertaking. See this letter, printed in Biddle's *Memoir*, p. 237 seq.

saw them in Lisbon, as tall, well built, and admirably fit for labor.* We infer from this statement, that they were not Esquimaux from the coast of Labrador, but Indians of the Micmac tribe, inhabitants of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The name of Labrador, though afterwards confined to a more northerly region inhabited by the Esquimaux, here includes a territory lying south of it.

One of the two ships of this expedition arrived at Lisbon, October 8, 1501; the other, with Cortereal himself and fifty of the captured natives, never returned.

What became of this gallant adventurer, and his large crew, is wholly unknown; no trace of them anywhere remains.

The commander and sailors of the second vessel reported, that they had seen, in the country which they had visited, abundant forests, well adapted for ship-building, large rivers, and the sea-coast well stocked with fish of various kinds, especially the cod-fish.

They brought home "a piece of a gilded sword, of Italian workmanship," and two silver ear-rings, which they had found in the possession of the aborigines. There can be scarcely a doubt, that these interesting objects had been left there by the Cabots, who, some years before, had visited the same region.

[NOTE.—We are indebted to Dr. Kohl for this new light from the Portuguese archives relative to the Cortereal voyages. Neither Mr. Biddle, Mr. Bancroft, nor subsequent writers on our country, nor even Humboldt, who have treated of the early voyages, have made the distinction here noted in the voyages of Gaspar Cortereal. They have spoken but of one voyage,

* The letter of the Venitian Pasqualigo. [Pasqualigo says, "They are of like color, stature, and aspect, and bear the greatest resemblance to the Gypsies." And again he says, "His serene Majesty contemplates deriving great advantage from the country, not only on account of the timber of which he has occasion, but of the inhabitants who are admirably calculated for labor, and are the best slaves I have ever seen."—ED.]

and derived their evidence from the letter of Pasqualigo, the Venitian ambassador at Lisbon. This letter, which appeared first in a collection of voyages published at Vicenza, in Italy, in 1507, entitled "Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo," etc. (the country newly discovered and called the New World), is dated *October 19, 1501*, and says, "*On the 8th of the present month*, one of the two caravels, which his most serene majesty despatched last year, on a voyage of discovery to the north, under command of Gaspar Corterat, arrived, and reports the finding of a country distant hence, west and north-west, two thousand miles, heretofore quite unknown." He then speaks of his bringing fifty-seven native inhabitants of the country. This letter is written certainly more than a year after the sailing of the first expedition, which, in all probability, must have returned within the year, and did not bring the natives, as reported by Pasqualigo. We therefore infer that the voyage above reported from the Portuguese records, must have been prior to the one mentioned by the ambassador, which had arrived but eleven days before the date of his letter. It is contrary to all experience, for those early voyages, to occupy the length of time required by Pasqualigo's statement. Neither of Cabot's voyages much exceeded three months. The first voyage of the Cortereals was commenced in 1500; the second, in May, 1501.—ED.]

4. THE VOYAGE OF MIGUEL CORTEREAL TO THE NORTH-WEST, IN THE YEAR 1502, IN SEARCH OF HIS BROTHER.

Miguel Cortereal, a younger brother of Gaspar, had taken a great interest in his brother's enterprise. He had contributed to the cost of his outfit, and had prepared a vessel of his own to accompany him on his second expedition, but had been prevented from so doing, by several circumstances.* After waiting in vain for the return of his brother, he obtained from the king a commission for a searching expedition, and, at the same time, an extension to himself of the privileges and donations granted to his brother.

He sailed from Lisbon with two vessels, on the 10th of May, 1502, on a search for his brother; but never returned, and was never heard from afterwards.

Notwithstanding these disasters, the noble Emanuel, moved

* See Kuustmann, l. c. p. 58.

with sympathy for his gallant subjects, fitted out a new expedition in 1503, to ascertain the fate of the adventurers. The expedition consisted of two vessels, which, after an unsuccessful cruise, returned without tidings or trace of the lost brothers and their crews.*

Then the eldest of the three brothers, Vasqueanes Cortereal, who had become governor of Terceira, as successor to his father, offered to embark for a further search. But to this proposal, Emanuel refused to give his consent; being unwilling to risk further the lives of his subjects.

I believe it has been pretty clearly shown, that Gaspar Cortereal did not touch the coast of Maine on his expedition in 1500. And there is no evidence, that either he or his brother Miguel, in their subsequent voyages of 1501 and 1502, visited that coast, although it is by no means improbable: but in regard to the time, the place, and other circumstances of the unhappy fate of those enterprising adventurers, we are left without the slightest evidence or suggestion. We may conjecture, with some degree of probability, that their sad fate was a retribution, and not an unjust one, by the native inhabitants of the country, for the cruel abduction of a portion of their people. And that the act took place at least south of the Esquimaux country, perhaps in Maine, we may infer, from the description given of the captured natives.

Such searching expeditions generally take a wide range, because of the uncertainty of the region in which the persons missing are lost. We shall see hereafter, that, at a later time, a Spanish expedition of this kind, in seeking one of their famous captains, lost in the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico,—Fernando De Soto, the discoverer of the Missis-

* See, upon this expedition, Kunstmann, *loc. cit.* p. 58, and Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 334. Stuttgart, 1858.

sippi,—proceeded for this purpose as far north as New England and Newfoundland. It is therefore *possible*, that the two searching vessels of Emanuel looked also into the southern harbors of Nova Scotia, or New England, to find the adventurous Cortereals, who had been lost.

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER V.

1. ON A PORTUGUESE CHART, No. 8, OF THE COASTS OF NEW-FOUNDLAND, LABRADOR, AND GREENLAND, ABOUT THE YEAR 1504.

No. 8 is the copy of part of a Portuguese chart found in the collection of old sea-charts in the archives of the Bavarian Army at Munich; and is a most interesting and precious document for the illustration of the Cortereal voyages.

The author of the map is not mentioned. That it was made in Portugal is evident from the circumstance, that nothing but Portuguese discoveries and names are inscribed upon it. Besides the northern section, which we give here, the original map contains also a part of Eastern Africa, the Madeira and Cape Verde Islands, and that part of the coast of Brazil, along which Cabral sailed in the year 1500. The map contains nothing of the West Indies, and has not the slightest trace of the Spanish discoveries in the new world. Between Brazil and the northern parts of America is a broad open space occupied by water. Both of these sections of America, which the Portuguese discovered, lie in the ocean as large islands, well defined in the east, but with uncertain boundaries toward the west.

The year in which the map was made is not indicated. But from internal evidence it is nearly certain, that it was drawn very soon after the expeditions and discoveries of Cabral in 1500, and of the Cortereals, which came to an end in 1503. The map was probably made for Emanuel, to combine on one sheet all the discoveries made by his captains on the western side of the ocean. We may, therefore, fix its date in the year 1504 or 1505.*

In the east, the section of the map which we present, shows some of the countries of the old world, as a part of Ireland and "Island" (Iceland). The latter has its latitude between about 63° and 67° N.,

* Nearly of the same opinion is Peschel, who ascribes its date to "the year 1502 or 1503." See his work, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 331.

which is nearly correct, and proves that the author of the map was well informed on the subject. Among the names contained in Iceland I mention only "hollensis," which is also found on the map of the Zeni; and which indicates the famous old Icelandic residence of the "Episcopus Holaris" (Bishop Holar).

To the west of Iceland appears a large country, which evidently is the southern part of Greenland; and though this name is not given, it has exactly the configuration of that country. It is placed at about the same distance from Iceland as our Greenland, and it ends like that in the south, about 60° N.* We are at a loss to say where and from what source the Portuguese map-maker, in the year 1504, could have found an original for so good a representation of Greenland, if not from charts brought home by Gaspar Cortereal, after his first expedition in 1500. I think our chart renders it probable that Cortereal, on this voyage, saw and explored Greenland.† The names "C. de S. Paulo," and some others, on the east coast of Greenland, I cannot explain. They may be names placed by Cortereal on his chart. They also appear on other Portuguese maps.

To the west of Greenland we meet another large tract of country called "Terra de cortte Real" (the country of Cortereal); this is Cortereal's principal discovery, and the one granted to him by Emanuel as his province. The configuration of the coasts, and the names written upon them prove, that parts of Newfoundland and of our present Labrador are the regions intended.

The "Cabo de Concepcion" (Cape of Conception), on the southern point of the country, is near Cape Race, and was probably the land-fall of Cortereal. We still have "Conception Bay," in which I think Cortereal had his first anchorage.

The name, "Baya de S. Cyria," long kept its ground on many old maps, and has been often repeated. Our map proves, that it was given by Cortereal. It appears to be the present Trinity Bay. "Cabo de San Antonio" is our Cape Bona Vista; and "Rio de Rosa" would seem to have been a river emptying into this bay.

The "Ilha de frey Luis" (the island of brother Louis) was probably named in honor of brother Louis, who may have been a priest on board the fleet. It is one of the large islands not far from the present "Cape Freels," which is an English corruption and contraction of the Portuguese "Ilha de frey Luis," and from which no doubt it derived

* Peschel (l. c. p. 331) also thinks that it is Greenland, "and that it is represented on our map with nearly modern accuracy."

† Peschel (l. c. p. 330) is also of this opinion.

its name; so that the memory of this good brother still lives in our "Cape Freels."

To the north of Cape Freels, between it and the modern Cape Bauld, the east coast of Newfoundland forms a large, deep gulf, which is indicated on this map, by a bay entering deeply into the country.* In comparing Cortereal's chart with our present map of Newfoundland, we must come to the conclusion that Cortereal entered and explored nearly every bay and gulf of the east coast of Newfoundland; for he has noted them all on his chart, although he has given them too high a latitude.

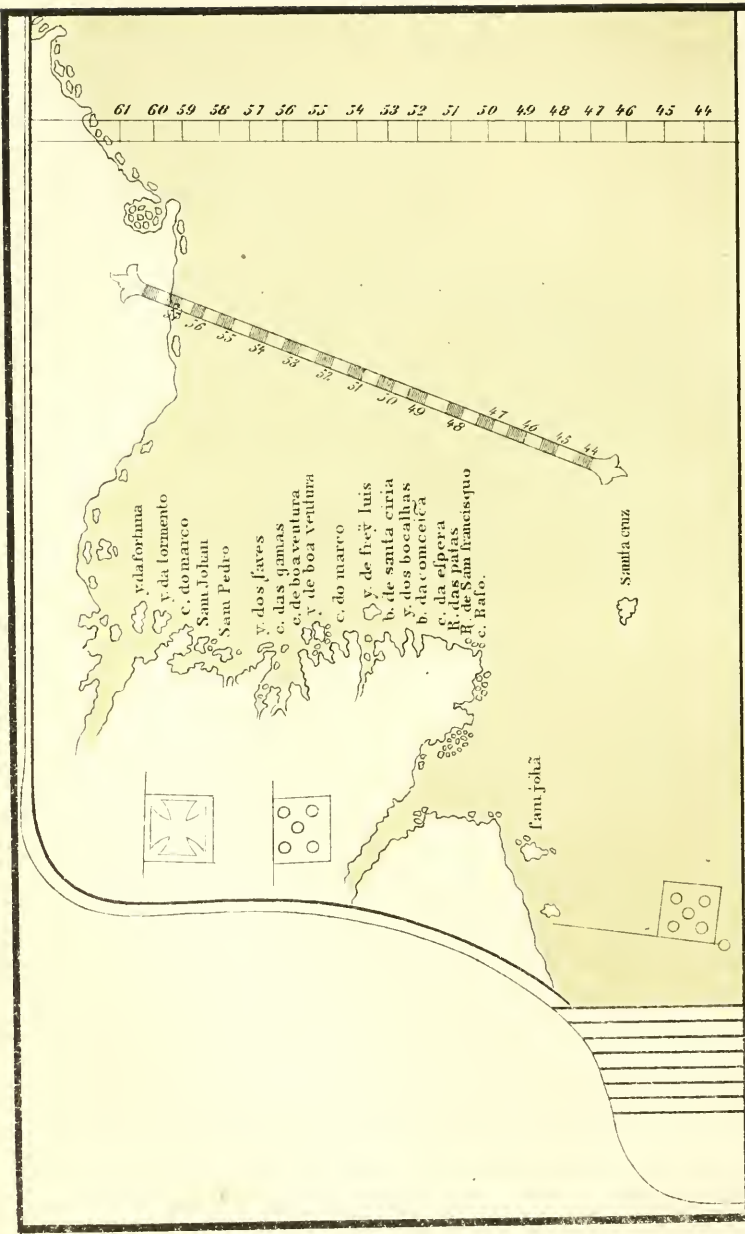
The entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle is not indicated on our map. In 55° N. we find the name "Baxos do medo" (?) Soon after the coast turns to the north-west, and runs in this direction a long way. At the point "Baxos do medo" we are in the neighborhood of the northern end of Newfoundland and of the south-eastern capes of Labrador. It is nearly impossible to indicate the trending of the north-eastern coast of Labrador more exactly, than it has been done on this chart. Unhappily the chart ends in 62° N., at about the entrance of Hudson's Strait. Thus far to the north-west it is probable that Cortereal went in 1500; and there was stopped by the ice.

Like the coast of Labrador and Greenland, the southern part or entrance of Davis' Strait is much better given on our chart, than on any other before this time, or on any other map for a long time after Cortereal.

In about the latitude of the arctic circle, a dotted line is made on this map, which cuts through the northern parts of Iceland, Greenland, and Davis' Strait. All the water north of this line has, on the original, a dark blue color, which we could not reproduce on our copy. The map-maker intended, perhaps, to express by this line the arctic circle, and the southern boundary of the "Mare congelatum," where Cortereal's progress ended.

To the south of "Cabo de Concepcion" (near Cape Race), the coast of Newfoundland turns to the west, and runs east and west a long distance. The coast of Newfoundland has really this direction, and Cortereal may have looked westward of Cape Race, though he does not appear to have followed this route for any considerable distance. There are no names placed along this coast. Cortereal may have copied this part of his chart from Cabot's, of which he probably had a sketch on

* How Kuntsmann (*Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 128) could think that this is the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence, and the outlet of Lake Ontario, is inconceivable to me. The entire explanation which this estimable scholar gives of Cortereal's chart, is evidently erroneous.



Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador by Pedro Reinel made in about 1505.

board, such as Cosa, in 1500, had made. On Cosa's (Cabot's) chart, the south coast of Newfoundland and its continuation follow exactly the same line, and have about the same configuration. Cortereal probably thought this region hopeless for his purpose of finding a shorter north-western route to Eastern Asia.

It does not appear by this chart that Cortereal, in 1500, saw the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or discovered that Newfoundland was an island. "He thought it to be one great mainland." This, or something like this, is expressly said in the first and most authentic report we have on Cortereal's expeditions;* and it is so represented on our chart.

The length of the southern coast of this continent from east to west is about three times the length of the east coast of Newfoundland; from which we conclude, that the western end of the coast-line, given on our chart, reaches the coast of Maine.

At Cape Race, the maker of this map began to sketch a coast-line, which he has left unfinished, running into the water. What he meant by it I cannot tell. He has drawn with great accuracy all the Azores, the principal starting-point of the Cortereals.

If subsequent map-makers had known and copied this original map of Cortereal, particularly that part which relates to Labrador, Davis' Strait, and Greenland, they would have avoided much misrepresentation, and rendered a useful service to science.

2. ON A CHART, No. 9, OF NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND, AND GREENLAND, BY PEDRO REINEL, MADE IN ABOUT 1505.

Number 9 is a copy of that section of North America which appears on a chart of the Atlantic Ocean preserved in the Royal Library at Munich. A fac-simile of this chart was published by the Royal Academy of Bavaria in the "Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte America's (Atlas for the history of discovery of America. Munich, 1859).

On another part of this map an inscription is written in great letters, which runs thus: "Pedro Reinel a fez" (Pedro Reinel made it). According to the Spanish historian Herrera,† Reinel was a Portuguese pilot of great fame (Piloto Portuguez de mucha fama); who, like many Portuguese, entered the Spanish service some time after 1522. The language of the map is Portuguese. It presents only Portuguese discoveries; and shows the arms and flags of Portugal, but not of Spain. From these circumstances it is probable, that the map was made by

* See the letter of the Venitian ambassador, Pasqualigo.

† Herrera, Hist. gen. de las Indias, Dec. III, cap. 13.

Reinel in Portugal before he entered the service of Spain, and probably soon after the voyage of the Cortereals and Cabral. We may, therefore, assign it to the year 1505.*

There is one indication of latitude along a perpendicular line, running across the entire sheet of the chart; and another indication along an oblique or transverse line, which is shorter, and runs only along the shores of Northern America. Along the perpendicular line, *Cavo Raso* (Cape Race) has the latitude of $50\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. Along the oblique line it has the latitude of 47° N. This latter line is nearer the truth; and perhaps was added to the map by a later hand.

The south-eastern part of Newfoundland is here easily recognized, as is the case on all the old charts. The cape which was called on former maps the Cape of England, or the Cape of the Portuguese, is here for the first time named, "*Cavo Raso*" (the flat cape), a name which is of Portuguese origin, and which may have been introduced by the Cortereals, or by the first Portuguese fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland. The name contains a good description of the natural features of that cape, which is represented by Blunt "as a table-land moderately high."† The English, who did not understand the meaning of the Portuguese word, afterwards changed it to "Cape Race," which has no meaning in this connection.

Our chart shows, in the high north, a nameless country which ends toward the south, in about 60° N. There can be no doubt, that Greenland is meant. Cape Farewell, the southern end of Greenland, has the latitude of 60° N., and is one of those points which, like Cape Race, generally has nearly its true position on all the old charts.

To the west of this nameless country, Greenland, is a broad gulf, and a strait running from it in a north-western direction in about 60° N., clearly indicating the entrance of Davis' and Hudson's Straits.

To the south of Hudson's Strait, follow the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland from "*Isla da Fortuna*" (our present Resolution Island (?)) to "*Cavo Raso*." The entrance to the strait of Belle Isle is perhaps indicated by the great bay near "*C. de Boa Ventura*," but not as an open strait. The entire coast is covered with many Portuguese names, which probably date from the voyage of the Cortereals. I cannot enter here upon a detailed examination of these names, but only observe that many of them reappear on subsequent charts, and some of them have been retained even down to our time; for instance, that of "*Y. dos Bocallas*" (Island of the Cod-fish). We still have an

* Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 332, puts it in the year 1504.

† See Blunt, *American Coast Pilot*, p. 13. New York, 1857.

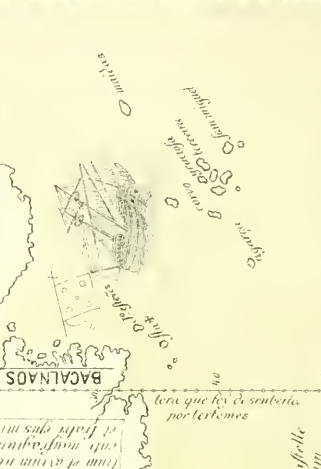
POLUS ARCTICUS.

Præm istam regionem certè Regibus portugalcensibus
primo inventè et hactenq. possedit hæc filii regis et
ipses alios. In eis maxima multitudo anna-
lium et agrum hereditariè possedit qui annuè fere
centi manerium portus sinus nunquam erit sic
et hactenq. qus mactatè cum sequenti contigit.

terram istam portugalcenses viderunt
atamca non intraverunt

DO LAVRADOR

ISLANDA



TERA BIMINI



Terram antioposiam Regis Castellæ
inventam per Napolitanum Columbus
genavensem.

Illa espanhola.

OCCIANO.

Parts of North America from a Portuguese map in about the year 1520.

"Island of Baccalhao" on the coast of Newfoundland. Some of these old Portuguese names have been changed by subsequent English map-makers and mariners. I have already mentioned the name, "Isla de frey Luis" (the island of brother Louis) changed to Cape Freels. Another instance is "Cavo da Espera" (Cape of Hope) changed to Cape Speer. In this modern form, we find these ancient names still on our present maps of Newfoundland.

To the west of C. Raso we have on our chart the south coast of Newfoundland and the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, clearly indicated; and further to the west, the rectangular or square form of a nameless peninsula in about 45° N., which is, no doubt, the square-shaped end of the peninsula of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. As upon Newfoundland and Labrador, so also on this peninsula, a flag-staff, with the Portuguese arms, is planted, which shows that Nova Scotia and its neighborhood were once claimed by that nation. I have found no map on which the flag-staff of Portugal has been erected so near the State of Maine.

The island of "Saneta Cruz," south of Cape Race, may be intended for the dangerous Sable island, and has its true position. We are informed by early writers, that Sable Island was known to the Portuguese.*

3. ON A PORTUGUESE CHART, No. 10, OF FLORIDA, NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND, LABRADOR, AND GREENLAND, MADE ABOUT 1520.

Though Sebastian Cabot, in 1498, had surveyed nearly the entire east coast of North America, and pronounced it continental; and though Juan de la Cosa, in 1500, following the reports and charts of Cabot, had so depicted it on his map; yet it was a long time before this representation was adopted by the map-makers and geographers of the different European nations. Cabot published no report of his voyages; and the maps of Cosa were hung up in the office of the Spanish ministers of marine, but were not generally known or acknowledged. We have, therefore, many charts and maps in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, on which the lands discovered by the English and Portuguese in the higher latitudes of the new world, and by the Spaniards in the vicinity of the West India islands, are represented as separate coun-

* Compare on this chart, also, "J. A. Schmeller, Ueber einige ältere handschriftliche Seekarten," in the "Abhandlungen der I. Cl. d. Ak. der Wissenschaften, IV. Band. Abth. 1, page 247 seq. And Kunstmann, Die Entdeckung America's, p. 125 seq. München, 1859.

tries. On these maps North America is broken up into large islands, separated from each other by broad gulfs or straits, and the coasts of New England entirely disappear.

Map No. 10 is a part of one of these representations. The original was discovered in the royal collections of the king of Bavaria at Munich, and a fac-simile of it has been given by the Royal Academy in the work before cited: "Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte America's" (An Atlas of the history of discovery in America). From this we have taken our copy.

The map is evidently of Portuguese origin. The names of places, and some of the inscriptions, are in the Portuguese language. The longer inscriptions are in Latin. The author of it is unknown, as is also the precise time of its composition.*

From the circumstance, however, that Yucatan, which was discovered in the year 1517, is indicated on the map, and nothing of the discovery and conquest by Cortes in 1519, everything on the map west of Yucatan being designated as unknown; we infer that the map was made between 1518 and 1520.

The whole of North America is given in three or four large islands. First, we have Yucatan and its vicinity. The Gulf of Mexico is open toward the west. Then comes "Tera Bimini" (the country of Bimini), our present Florida and the vicinity. The east coast of Florida and the neighboring southern States, runs first toward the north and then to the north-east, and ends on the shores of our present States of Georgia and Carolina, though the latitudes for these regions are too high. Spanish ships under Ponce de Leon, in 1513; Alaminos, in 1519; and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, in 1520, had sailed along these coasts. The coast-line appears to end in the vicinity of Cape Hatteras, and this territory is called "Tera Bimini," a name which was introduced by the expedition of Ponce de Leon in search of the mythical country and fabulous fountain of Bimini, in 1513.†

After this is a great gulf or open space, represented as water. Further east, in about the longitude of Brazil, the discoveries of the Cortereals are depicted in nearly the same manner as on the map of Reinel (No. 9). The coast of Nova Scotia, on our map, is a little further prolonged to the west. The part where New England should be, appears as water.

* See Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 129 seq. Munich, 1859.

† [This country is represented by some to have been an island belonging to the Bahama group, but lying far out in the ocean. The fountain was supposed to possess the power of restoring youth. It was an object of eager search by early adventurers. —ED.]

Newfoundland and Labrador are named "Bacalnaos," under which name Nova Scotia is also included. Greenland, as usual, is called Labrador.

The Portuguese inscription, added to Nova Scotia and the island of Cape Breton, describes it as "a country discovered by Bretons."

The inscription written upon Labrador literally translated is this: "The Portuguese saw this country, but did not enter it."

The long Latin inscription, which seems to be intended for all these regions, may be thus translated: "This country was first discovered by Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, and he brought from there wild and barbarous men and white bears. There are to be found in it plenty of animals, birds, and fish. In the following year he was shipwrecked and did not return; the same happened to his brother Michael in the next year."

Iceland (Islanda) has its true position and latitude on the east of Greenland. A perpendicular line, on which the degrees of latitude are indicated, runs through the whole map. It is the famous "line of demarcation," by which, at the treaty of Tordesilas (June 7, 1494), the world was divided between Spain and Portugal. The line sets off to Portugal, 1. The greater section of Brazil, which we have not reproduced on our map. 2. Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, which we have retained in our copy. The Portuguese flag covers all these regions. The Spanish flag is planted "in Tera Bimini."

The latitude and longitude, given on our map to the Portuguese discoveries, are much more correct, than those given to the Spanish dominions; which fact proves, that the Portuguese map-maker had not very good authority for his Spanish insertions. The group of the Azores, however, is placed too near the northern part of the continent. That they always are laid down in connection with Greenland and Newfoundland, is explained from the circumstance, that those islands were the starting-points of the Cortereals for their excursions to the north. Several of the Cortereals being governors of the Azores, they considered the northern part of America, "Bacallaos" and the vicinity, as a part of their hereditary government.

In the central parts of America near St. Domingo, our map has a Latin inscription, of which a literal translation is as follows: "The country of the Antipodes, of the king of Castile, discovered by Christopher Columbus, the Genoese." This name, "The country of the Antipodes," appears to be the name adopted by our map-maker for all the surrounding islands and countries, or for the whole of America.

The results of the examination of these maps, for the early history of Maine, may be summed up thus :

1. No coast of New England whatever is here indicated. A void space appears where it ought to be.

2. New England, like the rest of America, is comprised under the name of "The country of the Antipodes."

3. The flags and frontiers of the Portuguese dominions come very near to Maine.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLISH, SPANISH, AND FRENCH VOYAGES, DESIGNED OR ACCOMPLISHED, SUBSEQUENT TO THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CABOTS AND THE CORTEREALS.

1. TWO PATENTS OF HENRY VII, OF ENGLAND, TO NAVIGATORS IN 1501 AND 1502.—ENGLISH VOYAGES TO NEW-FOUNDLAND IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WHETHER Sebastian Cabot made a voyage to the new world in 1499 is uncertain ; and we have no authentic information as to his employment after his return in 1498, for several years. No early writer speaks of him until the year 1512, when, according to Herrera, he accepted from Ferdinand an invitation to Spain. His fame, as the projector of great circle-sailing, as the earnest advocate of a north-western passage to India, and as the discoverer of a new region, was widely spread.

The knowledge of his discovery and adventures must early have reached Spain and Portugal, and inspired the sovereigns of those countries with desire to engage in further explorations in the north-west. The expedition of Dornelos in Spain, and of the Cortereals in Portugal, may have been the direct results of the voyages of 1497 and 1498.

We seek in vain for the cause why Cabot himself did not continue the work so successfully commenced by him, and why he left its accomplishment to others. Had he despaired,

after all his arctic trials, of finding an open route to the Molluccas? Or was he discouraged by not finding, on his long exploring voyage from Labrador to Florida, a single attractive section of the coast, worthy of further examination?*

However this may have been, there is nothing to show that Sebastian Cabot entered on a new enterprise for a long time; whilst others, stimulated by the fame of his discoveries, followed his track.

As in Portugal and Spain, so also in England, we recognize some traces of the "quickenings impulse of his, in some respects, successful enterprise." In 1501, and again in 1502, Henry VII. issued patents for discoveries in foreign lands.

The first of these, dated March 19, 1501, is alluded to by Lord Bacon in his history of Henry VII.† But more recently, Mr. Biddle has discovered the original document in the Rolls Chapel, in London; and has, for the first time, published it in his memoir of Cabot.‡ Its contents are similar to those of the first patent given to John Cabot in 1496, which seems itself to have been copied from the commissions given by the Spanish kings to their adventurers.

The second patent bears date December 9, 1502, and is granted to a portion of the same patentees; namely, Thomas Ashehurst, John and Francis Fernandus, and John Gunsolus, Portuguese, named in the first patent, together with Hugh Elliott; and conveys similar, but even more extensive privileges.

These patents gave a roving commission to the parties to

* [See on this, Ramusio, ". . . di ritornarmene in Inghilterra: dove giunto trovai grandissimi tumulti di popoli sollevati, e della guerra in Scotia: ne piu era in consideratione alcuna il navigare a queste parti, per ilche me ne venni in Spagna al Re Catholico," vol. 1, fol. 374. 1563.—ED.]

† See Bacon's History of King Henry VII, p. 189. London, 1629.

‡ See this work, p. 312. London, 1832.

explore, at their own expense, all islands and regions "in the eastern, western, southern, and northern seas heretofore unknown to Christians."

What was done under these broad commissions, is nowhere reported, so far as we know. It is supposed that one voyage was made, but no particulars of it exist.

That explorations in Newfoundland and its neighborhood were intended, and that a connection existed between the English expedition and the Portuguese undertaking of the Cortereals, appears probable from the circumstance, that among the principal patentees were the three above-named "Portuguese Squeryes from the Isles of Surrys" (Azores), where one of the Cortereals was then governor, and where, the year before, 1500, Gaspar de Cortereal had touched on his expedition to the north-west.

Mr. Biddle thinks that *one* voyage at least, in the year 1501, was made. He infers this, *first*, from the improbability of the three Portuguese "Squeryes" remaining idle in England for nearly two years; *secondly*, from the probability that the patentees, by an experimental voyage, may have turned to account the first patent, and therefore called for a second; and *thirdly*, from the fact, that the English chronicler, Stow, states in his Annals, that three Indians, "taken in the New-found Isles" were presented, in 1502, to Henry VII.*

Another circumstance, not mentioned by Mr. Biddle, appears to me to sustain his supposition. Hakluyt, in his great work,† gives "a brief extract concerning the discovery of

* See Biddle, Memoir, p. 228 seq. He also quotes (p. 226, Amer. edit.) from entries in the account of the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII, this entry: "7 January, 1502, To men of Bristol that found Th' Isle, £5; 30 September, 1502, To the Merchants of Bristol that have been in the Newe founde Launde, £20." [Other items from the Privy Purse account are afterwards quoted by our Author.—ED.]

† Hakluyt, Voyages, etc, vol. 3, p. 10. 1600.

Newfoundland, taken out of the book of Mr. Robert Thorne to Doctor Leigh," in which Thorne mentions "that his father had been one of the discoverers of Newfoundland, in company with another merchant of Bristol, named Hugh Elliot." Elliot was one of the patentees named in the grant of December, 1502.* He and his associates would scarcely have been called by Thorne "*discoverers* of Newfoundland," if they had not made a voyage thither.

From certain entries in the account of the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII, it appears, that after the voyages of the Cabots, an intercourse was kept up for several years between England and the newly discovered regions. These entries are too remarkable not to be mentioned here.

On Nov. 17, 1503, the king paid one pound to "a man that brought hawkes from the Newfound island;" on April 8, 1504, two pounds to a priest, "who was going to that island;" and on Aug. 25, 1505, a small sum to a man who brought "wylde cats and popyngays of the Newfound island to Richmond."

The king had before made similar small presents to persons who had been out with the Cabots, namely: "On Aug. 10, 1497, 10 pounds to him that found the new isle." Some have supposed that John Cabot was rewarded in this manner; others, with more probability, that this small royal present was given only to the man on board the *Matthew*, who first discovered land. "On March 24, 1498, To Lanslot Thirkill, of London, upon a prest for his ship going toward the New Islande, 20 pounds; on April 1, 1498, to Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkill, going to the New Isle, 30 pounds."†

These memoranda, which have been brought to light by Mr. Biddle,‡ seem pretty clearly to prove the continuation

* See Biddle, l. c. p. 225.

† See Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, vol. 1, p. 8.

‡ See Biddle, Memoir, p. 234.

of voyages between England and Newfoundland in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It is a very curious circumstance, that the country in which the Cabots started their idea for a navigation to the north-west, and in which they at first proclaimed their discovery of the rich fishing-banks near their New-found-Isles, did not at once profit by it so much as their neighbors, the French and the Portuguese, as we shall hereafter relate. During the first half of the sixteenth century we hear little of *English* fishing and commercial expeditions to the great banks; although they had a branch of commerce and fishery with Iceland. Perhaps, having the fish-market of this northern country at their disposal, for some time they did not seek *new* fishing-grounds. "It was not until the year 1548, that the English government passed the first act for the encouragement of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, after which they became active competitors in this profitable occupation."*

2. PORTUGUESE FISHERMEN ON THE NEWFOUNDLAND BANKS.

Gaspar Cortereal undertook his enterprise with the lofty intention of finding the rich countries of the east. "But," says the Spanish historian, Gomara, "he found no passage."

King Emanuel, having heard of the high trees growing in the northern countries, and having seen the aborigines who appeared so well qualified for labor, thought he had found a new slave-coast like that which he owned in Africa; and dreamed of the tall masts which he would cut, and the men-of-war which he would build, from the forests of the country of the Cortereals. But if he had made an experiment with his

* Memorial volume of the Popham Celebration, Aug. 29, 1862, p. 38. Portland, 1863.

American Indians, he would soon have known, that, as laborers, they were not to be compared with the negroes from Africa. And as to the masts for his men-of-war, he would also have found, that he could procure them at a much cheaper rate from the Baltic, or some other European country in the neighborhood of Portugal, than from the distant land of the Cortereals, where no harbors, no anchoring stations, and no roads existed, and no saw-mills had been erected.

The great expectations raised by the Cortereals had no immediate results. But another discovery of Cortereal, as well as of Cabot, had revealed to the Portuguese the wealth to be derived from the fish, particularly cod-fish, which abounded on that coast. The fishermen of Portugal and of the Western Islands, when this news was spread among them, made preparations for profiting by it, and soon extended their fishing excursions to the other side of the ocean.

According to the statement of a Portuguese author, very soon after the discoveries by the Cortereals, a Portuguese Fishing Company was formed in the harbors of Vianna, Aveiro, and Terceira, for the purpose of colonizing Newfoundland and making establishments upon it.* Nay, already, in 1506, three years after the return of the last searching expedition for the Cortereals, Emanuel gave order, "that the fishermen of Portugal, at their return from Newfoundland, should pay a tenth part of their profits at his custom-houses." † It is certain, therefore, that the Portuguese fishermen must, previous to that time, have been engaged in a profitable business. And this is confirmed by the circumstance, that they originated the name of "tierra de Bacalhas" (the Stock-fish-country), and gave currency to it; though the word, like the

* See Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 334. Stuttgart, 1858.

† See Kunnstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, pp. 69 and 95.

cod-fishery itself, appears to be of Germanic origin.* The name may have been given by the Portuguese fishermen at first, to what the king of Portugal and his official map-makers called "terra de Cortereal" (Cortereal's land); that is to say, to our present Newfoundland; and then have been extended, with the progress of their discoveries, to the adjacent countries. The nations, who followed them in the fishing business, imitated their example, and adopted the name "country of the Bacalhas" (or, in the Spanish form, Baccallaos), though sometimes interchanging it with names of their own invention, as the "Newfoundland," "Terre neuve," etc.

Enterprises in such a new branch of activity, must, of course, have been attended with great difficulties; some preliminary explorations must have been necessary to find the best places for fishing, the most convenient harbors for refuge, the easiest coasts for watering, for repairs, and for drying the fish.

The Portuguese Fishing Company probably made these experiments; and their first fishing voyages were undoubt-

*The cod-fish was caught on the coasts of Europe from time immemorial, by the Scandinavians, Germans, Dutch, and English, in the northern waters of the continent, and toward Iceland. These Germanic nations had long called it by the name of "Cabliauwe," or "Kabeljouwe," and with some transposition of the letters, "Backljau." The name, in several forms, had been used long before the discoveries of the Cabots and Cortereals, in many Flemish and German books and documents. The root of the word appears to be the Germanic "bolch," meaning fish. The Portuguese, who had no cod-fish on their coasts in Europe, but who had probably known it before the Cortereals, by way of the Netherlands, adopted the Germanic name in the above-mentioned form "Bacalhao" (pronounced like the German Backljau); and then becoming the first and most active fishermen on the coasts of Newfoundland, communicated this form of the word to the rest of the world. That the name should have been introduced by the Cabots, is, for many reasons, most improbable; and that they should have heard and received the name from the Indians, is certainly not true; though both these facts are asserted by Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, Dec. III, cap. 6.

edly, at the same time, real exploring expeditions, continuing the work commenced by the Cortereals.

It is, therefore, matter of regret, that no journals of the voyages of these first Portuguese fishermen have come down to us, and that we know so very little of the beginning and progress of their fisheries. Were we better informed on those points we should probably find, now and then, exploring Portuguese merchants and fishermen on shores somewhat distant from Newfoundland, and perhaps also on the coasts of Nova Scotia and of the Gulf of Maine; and we might be able to show how some of the Portuguese geographical names, so widely scattered on all the old maps of the countries about the "Golfo Quadrado" (the Gulf of St. Lawrence), originated. Many of them probably were not given by the official expeditions of the Cortereals, but came gradually into use among the fishermen, and were afterwards adopted on the maps and in the books of geographers.

A Scandinavian author informs us, that sometimes in stormy seasons, during the sixteenth century, Portuguese fishermen were blown off from the Newfoundland Banks, and driven by westerly gales to the unfriendly shores of Greenland.* If such events happened with westerly storms on the coast of Greenland, they also *may* have happened with easterly gales on the coast of New England, although no report exists of such cases. The coast of the Gulf of Maine lies at about the same distance south-west of Newfoundland, as the coast of Greenland does to the north-east. The Portuguese fishermen may thus have often appeared on our coast, and become acquainted with it.

They continued their expeditions to Newfoundland and its neighborhood for a long time. They were often seen there by later English and other visitors during the course of the

* See Kunstmann, l. c. pp. 70 and 95.

sixteenth century; for instance, according to Herrera, in 1519;* again by the English in 1527;† and again by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583. This English navigator, or his historian, praises “the Portugal fishermen” he met there, for their kindness “above those of other nations,” and for the liberal assistance which they rendered him. “They presented him with wines, marmelades, most fine ruske and bisket, sweat oyles, and sundry dilicacies.”‡ He states also, that the Portuguese had made a very interesting settlement for shipwrecked seamen upon “Sable Island,” that dangerous spot in the vicinity of Nova Scotia, famous for shipwrecks and disasters. “Some Portugals,” he says, “above thirty year past,” consequently about the middle of the sixteenth century, “put into the same island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied.” Gilbert and his men thought it extremely convenient “to have such a store of cattle in an island, lying so near unto the maine which they intended to plant upon.”§

* See Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 3.

† See Purchas, Pilgrims, tom. 3, p. 809.

‡ See Hakluyt, “The Principal Navigations,” etc., p. 687. London, 1589 [The Portuguese engaged in this fishery as early as 1501, according to good authorities, and perhaps under the charter of Henry VII. In 1578, they had fifty ships employed in that trade, and England as many more, and France 150. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert found in the harbor of St. John, when he took possession of the island, twenty Portuguese and Spanish vessels, and sixteen of other nations. So important had the fisheries become to English commerce, that, in 1626, 150 ships were sent out from Devonshire alone. How singularly has the prophetic voice of the New England explorer, Capt. John Smith, been fulfilled, when, in his account of the country, he says, “Therefore honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meannesse of the word *fish*e distaste you; for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potassie, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility.”—ED.]

§ See Hakluyt, l. c. p. 691. French authors say, that this useful establishment on Sable Island was made by French fishermen, and not by Portuguese.

From all these reports it is clear, that the Portuguese, throughout the whole course of the century with the history of which we are occupied, were active on the banks and shores of Newfoundland, and found refuge in storms in its harbors, and even in those as far north as Greenland, and probably also as far south as Maine. They had thus made themselves prominent and useful in the progress of the exploration and discovery of this part of our coast. This may be considered as a continuation and consequence of the work commenced by King Emanuel, and the energetic though unfortunate brothers Cortereal, who are justly celebrated in the geographical history of the north-east of America.

The discoveries of the Portuguese fishermen have been delineated by some of their countrymen on charts and maps ; some of which, coming to our time, have given us a clearer knowledge of their acts. I shall reproduce, in subsequent pages, some of these charts, and examine their contents.

3. VOYAGES TO NEWFOUNDLAND, PROPOSED BY JUAN DORNELOS, JUAN DE AGRAMONTE, AND SEBASTIAN CABOT, IN 1500, 1511, AND 1515.

When Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain heard, in 1496, of the proposed voyage of Cabot, they ordered their ambassador in England, De Puebla, to notify and warn the king, that he could not engage in such an enterprise, without prejudice to the rights of Spain and Portugal. And when, in 1498, Cabot's discovery had been actually made, and possession of the country taken in the name of the king of England, the Spanish ambassador then in England, Don Pedro de Ayala, wrote to his sovereigns, that he had protested against such acts on the ground, that Newfoundland was already in possession of their Spanish majesties.

We may well suppose that the Spanish sovereigns would

not content themselves with a mere protestation against what they considered inroads upon their territorial rights. And indeed the Spanish archives furnish evidence, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain not only kept her eyes on the northern regions, but had planned, if not executed, voyages toward them.

In the year 1500, when the king of Portugal was fitting out Cortereal for his voyage of discovery, the king of Spain summoned to his court Juan Dornelos, a Spanish navigator, to plan an exploring expedition.

Navarrete, the Spanish historian, thinks that this voyage of Dornelos was projected for the purpose of reconnoitering the seas and countries discovered by the Cabots. It is uncertain whether the project was carried into effect.*

In the same year, the Spanish navigator, Hojeda, was instructed to follow the track of the English discoverers in the north; but whether he did this, or what were the results, we have no information.†

Joanna, of Castile, called the Insane, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon, gave a commission and letters patent, in 1511, to Juan de Agramonte, for an exploring expedition to the north-west; but whether it was undertaken and with what results, no memorials remain to show. The instructions given, and the preliminary proceedings are too interesting in this connection to be omitted. In these letters it is recited, that Agramonte had formerly made a proposition for a similar enterprise to her father, King Ferdinand, and received from him a commission for a voyage of discovery. The interesting points of this commission are as follows:

Agramonte was to go out with two ships, "to discover a

* See Navarrete, *Collecion de los viages y descubrimientos*, etc., tom. 3, pp. 41 and 77, Madrid, 1829; and Biddle, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 236.

† See upon this, Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 316, note 2. Stuttgart, 1858.

certain new land within the limits appertaining to the queen of Castile, and to know the secret of this country" ("a descubrir cierta tierra nueva en los limites que a nos pertenecen, para ir a saber el secreto de la tierra nueva").

He was to take on board his vessels only such mariners and seamen as were subjects of the queen, with the exception of two pilots, whom he might take from the mariners of Brittany in France, or any other nation well acquainted in those parts.

He had liberty of going to Brittany to engage these pilots; and might then bring from thence to Spain wine, meat, meal, and other provisions for his expedition, without paying any duty to the queen.

He was allowed to start for Newfoundland at any time convenient to himself, and might go to that part of it which pleased him best; but should take care not to invade any portion belonging to the king of Portugal, and should keep within the limits pointed out by the agreement between the kings of the two countries.

Agramonte was ordered to attempt a settlement (poblacion) in the new country in the name of the queen of Castile; and if he succeeded, he should be made hereditary chief justice of the colony for himself and his heirs, and should designate all the other officers of the new country.

If he brought good tidings from the new country, and if he found there signs of gold and other useful things, he should be declared a perpetual officer of the queen, and should have a good salary during his life. On his return to Spain, he was required to have all the gold and precious things which God's pleasure might allow him to bring from Newfoundland, accurately registered and numbered, and put on paper before a royal notary of the Spanish harbor in which he should happen to arrive.*

* See Navarrete, l. c. p. 122 seq.

We may add to these interesting details of the agreement between Agramonte and Ferdinand, confirmed by Queen Joanna in October, 1511, the following remarks:

We do not learn in what year Agramonte made his first proposition to Ferdinand, and obtained his first commission. It was probably some years before 1511; and this proves that Spain, after the time of Dornelos, had not lost sight of Newfoundland.

It is apparent from the details in regard to offices and other subjects in the commission, that the principal object of the voyage was to make a Spanish settlement in Newfoundland. This royal *Spanish* commission to Agramonte reminds us of another well known royal *English* commission, given at a later date, in 1583, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was also sent out to make a plantation in Newfoundland.

Newfoundland (la tierra nueva) was, at that time, understood in Spain to include not only the present island of Newfoundland, but other countries which had been seen, or might still be found to the north, west, and south of it. The royal commission gave warning to Agramonte to avoid carefully those parts of which the king of Portugal had taken possession, and to go only to those sections of "Tierra nueva," which fell within the limits of Spain. The Cortereals, having discovered for the king of Portugal the east coast of Newfoundland and the northern regions, those sections of country, according to the Spanish charts made at the time, were considered as under the dominion of the king of Portugal. If Agramonte was not to touch those parts, his expedition must have been destined to some more southern and western section of "Tierra nueva," which might then be seen delineated on the charts of Cosa (1500) and Reinel (1510); and it is, therefore, not improbable, that the expedi-

tion was really destined, either for the coasts of New England, or for some country nearer to them, than Newfoundland: for instance, to the "tierra de los Bretones" (the country of the Bretons). To this country, the pilots from Brittany, whom Agramonte was to take with him, probably would have conducted him first of all.

We may, therefore, with a certain degree of probability, regard this enterprise of Agramonte as an expedition destined to our regions, and an attempt to make a Spanish settlement somewhere along the coast of the Gulf of Maine, often included under the name of "tierra de los Bretones."

When I come to treat of the navigators of Brittany and Normandy, I will show that, in former times, they were in the habit of enlisting as pilots in Spanish and Portuguese expeditions to distant countries. It is curious to learn from our document, that, in 1511, they had become so expert in long voyages, at least in the direction of the north-east of North America, that the government of Spain deemed it best to recommend the employment of these pilots from Brittany. This circumstance proves, that as early as 1511, the Britons were best acquainted with the coasts comprised under the names of "Tierra nueva" and "Tierra de los Bretones."

From all these formal proceedings and preparations, it would be natural to conclude that Agramonte had really undertaken this grand voyage. "But unhappily," says Navarrete, "we are left uninformed respecting the results of this expedition. No Spanish historian speaks of them."* It may be, that, like so many other gallant adventurers to the new world, he perished in his enterprise, and never returned to Spain.

* Navarrete, l. c. p. 43.

But notwithstanding these numerous failures, Spain did not relinquish the idea of northern exploration.

Sebastian Cabot had been in the service of Spain since 1512, and we may suppose that he would favor undertakings to explore still further the field of his first discovery. And we learn from the first chronicler of the Spanish discoveries, Peter Martyr, that in the years following Agramonte, Spain continued to direct her attention to the north-western regions. Peter Martyr says, in a letter written in 1515, "Cabot is daily expecting that ships will be furnished to him, with which he at last may discover that hidden secret of nature" (the existence of a north-west passage); and he adds, "I think that he will start for his exploration in the month of March of the next year, 1516."*

But Ferdinand, the great patron of discovery and of Cabot, died on the 23d of January, 1516. This event seems to have put an end to this contemplated expedition of Cabot.

That the Bretons and Normans, in their fishing expeditions, visited countries distant from their fishing-grounds, and made discoveries there, appears by what Herrera occasionally relates. This Spanish historian, in his *Annals of the Spanish Navigations*, under the date of 1526, makes the following remarks :

"Nicolaus Don, a native of Brittany, wrote this year to the emperor, that in going with thirty mariners to the fisheries of Bacallaos he had met with stormy weather, and been driven to a country which belonged to the emperor's dominions; and that he had found the people of that country of good manners and fashion, and that they wore collars and other ornaments of gold." From this and other signs, which he had observed, he judged, that it was a rich country, and he proposed to the emperor to enter the Spanish service, and

* See the Latin extract of Peter Martyr, given in Biddle's *Memoir*, p. 101.

go to that country for traffic; giving to his majesty the fourth part of the profit of his first voyage, and then being allowed to trade there, as the emperor's vassal.

The emperor acknowledged the Frenchman's letter and thanked him for his good-will, "knowing very well, that if he should deny him the license, he, nevertheless, would make the trafficking voyage without license." He, therefore, answered said Don, that he approved his proposal; that he might come with his companions; and that he should have the despatches which he wished.*

The country to which Don was driven, and which he thought belonged to the king of Spain, could not have been on the coast of Newfoundland or north of it; because the Bretons must have known that these regions, since the time of the Cortereals, were considered as belonging to the dominions of Portugal. Neither could it have been directly west of Newfoundland, or around the Gulf of Canada, or in Nova Scotia (the so-called country of the Bretons); for here a Frenchman would have known himself to be in the dominions of his own country.

We should, therefore, look for this country somewhere south-west of Nova Scotia, toward Norumbega and Florida, the latter of which was decidedly under the Spanish rule. As a vessel from the great banks would not, probably, be driven very far to the south-west, we may justly conclude that the country which Don had found, was the coast of Maine, or some part of New England; and that the golden ornaments of which he spoke, existed only in his imagination.

At all events, this affair, incidentally mentioned by Herrera, proves that the Bretons, and other fishermen of the

* See Herrera, *Historia General*, etc., Dec. III, lib. 10, cap. 9. Madrid, 1601.

banks, were sometimes driven to distant countries; and that they trafficked with the aborigines. I say "sometimes," but we might say, "very often." For one such case, which came to the knowledge of Herrera, we may well suppose there were many which escaped the knowledge of himself and other historians.

4. FRENCH VOYAGES TO THE NORTH-EAST OF AMERICA, AFTER CABOT AND CORTEREAL.

Soon after the exploring expeditions of the Cabots and Cortereals, there appeared in our waters the ships and mariners of another nation, which, next to England, has been the most prominent actor in the discovery and colonization of the northern portion of America, and particularly of the State of Maine.

The inhabitants of the little harbors of Normandy and Brittany, the great peninsulas of France, stretching out, like Great Britain, toward the west, and washed by the waves of the Atlantic Ocean, have been fishermen and mariners from a remote time. The people of Brittany were a colony from Great Britain; and the French Normans had in their veins the blood of the Scandinavian Northmen, whose heroic spirit and love of the sea they inherited. No wonder, then, that they should follow the footsteps of their forefathers to the north-east of America. All that the French Normans accomplished there may be considered, in a certain degree, as a continuation of the enterprises of the old Northmen in these regions. And, to a certain degree also, this general remark may be applied to all that was afterwards accomplished for the discovery and settlement of North America by the English; who were in part descendants of the old Northmen. The entire activity of the nations of Northern Europe from the old Northmen down to the present settlers of English

blood in New England, is, in this respect, one and the same series of connected undertakings.

The names of the ports of Dieppe, Honfleur, St. Malo, Brest, La Rochelle, etc., were mentioned in the maritime history of France long before Columbus. From the very beginning of the modern age of discovery, many expeditions had been undertaken from several of these ports to the Canary Islands, and to southern points of Africa; in which direction the French, under the command of their captains, Béthencourt of Rochelle, Cousin of Dieppe, and Gonnevillle of Honfleur, became the rivals, and in some cases the leaders of the Portuguese and Spaniards.*

These inhabitants of the western coast of France were also among the first who profited by the discoveries of the Cabots and Cortereals, and who followed in the wake of the Portuguese fishermen toward the north-west cod-fish country.

The harbors of Brittany and Normandy were about midway between Bristol and Lisbon, and from both sides the news of the English and Portuguese expeditions, and the fame of "Bacallaos" and "Labrador," must soon have reached them. But they had no enterprising king at the head of their affairs, like Emanuel of Portugal, or even Henry VII, of England. Indeed, they had scarcely any king at all; for the kings of the interior of France had only just then begun to extend their dominion toward the coasts of the Atlantic.

The fishermen and merchants of Brittany and Normandy were obliged, therefore, to act for themselves. Their ports were almost independent communities in which everything was left to private enterprise. Great official expeditions, favored by a powerful government and royal favor, became

* See the work, L. Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs Normands*, p. 160. Paris, 1832.

possible in France only at a later date, when Francis I. had brought the whole kingdom under one government.

But instead of an enterprising king, those ports had their associations of fishermen and merchants, and other commercial institutions. In some of them, as in Dieppe in Normandy, hydrography and cosmography had been cultivated at an early date.* Dieppe also possessed, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, such intelligent and enterprising ship-owners and merchants as the celebrated Angos, father and son, who became widely known in the history of navigation and discovery.†

The first voyages of the Bretons of St. Malo, and the Normans of Dieppe to Newfoundland, are said to have occurred as early as 1504; only one year after the last Portuguese searching expedition for the Cortereals. The first French fishing voyages were, without doubt, real exploring expeditions. And as everything was then new to them, it is much to be regretted that no reports of their discoveries have been preserved. They probably visited places of which the Portuguese had not taken possession; and we therefore find them at the south of Newfoundland, and especially at the island of Cape Breton, to which they gave the name, still retained,—the oldest French name on the American north-east coast.

Two years later, in 1506, Jean Dénys of Honfleur, a very expert and able navigator, is mentioned “in very good old memoirs,”—so they are called by Charlevoix, the historian of Canada,‡—as having explored, in company with his pilot

* See M. L. Vitet, *Histoire des anciennes villes de France*, tom. 2, p. 51. Paris, 1833.

† [So powerful were these illustrious merchants, that when some of their ships were captured by the Portuguese, they, single handed, blockaded the mouth of the Tagus, made large reprisals, and compelled the king of Portugal to make reparation for their losses.—ED.]

‡ Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. 1, p. 4. Paris, 1744.

Camart, a native of Rouen, the "Golfo Quadrado" (Gulf of St. Lawrence).* He is also said to have made a chart of the gulf, and of the mouth of the great river of Canada. This is not altogether improbable; for the mariners of Honfleur and Dieppe were early accustomed to make charts and maps. "The very oldest charts, preserved in the Depot de la Marine at Paris, were traced by them;" † though in this great mass of interesting documents and maps, the map of Jean Dénys has not yet been discovered. On the charts of the first years of the sixteenth century we find no other trace of these French discoveries; unless it may be that occasionally the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is laid down, and also, quite regularly, a fair representation of Cape Breton, which may be ascribed to the French.

A man with the Portuguese or Spanish name, "Velasco," is said by French authors to have made a voyage to the St. Lawrence with some Frenchmen, at the same time that Dénys was in those regions.‡ This is not unlikely; for the chronicles of the French seaports assert, that from time immemorial, Spanish merchants were settled in these ports; and that it was the custom of the adventurers of St. Malo and Dieppe, in long voyages, to have on board an expert Spanish or Portuguese pilot, or at least "factor" and "interpreter."§ Velasco might have been such a pilot in the service of a Frenchman. Besides, we should be inclined to believe in reports of early French voyages to the St. Lawrence, even if they were not strictly proved by official and authentic docu-

* The same French captain, Jean Dénys, is also mentioned in the history of Brazil, as having made, in the year 1504, a voyage of discovery to that part of South America.

† See Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, p. 51. Paris, 1853.

‡ Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, p. 4. Paris, 1744.

§ See Vitet, l. c. p. 63.

ments ; because this basin must have attracted not only fishermen, but navigators, who were looking for a passage through to the Pacific Ocean. It would be inexplicable if this basin had really been as much neglected by the fishermen, as it appears to have been by the map-makers in nearly all the charts before Cartier, 1534. For this latter neglect we may, however, account by the loss of the original charts and authentic documents, which we have so much reason to lament.

The Italian historian, Ramusio, to whom we owe nearly all the few notices we have of the early undertakings of the Normans and Bretons, mentions still another navigator of Dieppe, whom he calls "Thomaso Aubert." According to him, this Aubert went out as commander of a ship, "La Pensée," belonging to Jean Ango, the merchant and ship-owner of Dieppe above-mentioned ; who was the father of the still more famous Ango, Viscount of Dieppe.

What parts of the north-east Anbert visited and explored, Ramusio does not state. But his voyage was remarkable for bringing to France the first aborigines from the country afterwards called Canada.* Some of these Canadian Indians were portrayed in Dieppe, and appear amongst other figures, in an old piece of masonry or bas-relief, still preserved in the church of St. James in Dieppe.†

Ten years after Aubert, in 1518, or perhaps a few years later, a similar voyage to the same regions was undertaken by the "Sieur Baron de Léry," an enterprising man, "who had directed his mind and courage to high things," and who desired to establish a French settlement on the other side of the ocean. He embarked many men and cattle on board of one or two vessels, and commenced his voyage. But having

* See Ramusio, l. c. tom. 3, fol. 423, F.

† See a description and copy of this bas-relief in Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, p. 112 seq.

encountered storms and unfavorable weather, he was diverted from his enterprise, and put into Sable Island, where he landed the cattle, and returned to France.*

We have no records by which to determine what names the French gave to the countries discovered or visited by them. That given by the patriotic Portuguese, "the country of Cortereal," would not be acceptable to them; and it is probable, that they adopted the less exclusive English name, introduced by Cabot, "*The new isle*," or, "*The new found land*," which they translated "*La terre neuve*." Perhaps, also, the name, "Bacallaos," derived from the most important product of the region, came into use among them, and was translated by them, "*La terre des molues*;" and because the Bretons from Brittany were, at first, the most prominent in this branch of trade, and were the principal explorers and visitors of the *southern* section of Cortereal's country, the name, "*Terre des Bretons*" (the land of the Bretons) came into general use among the French, as well as among other nations. On maps of the early part of the sixteenth century, we see this name extended over a large tract of country, including Nova Scotia and a large portion of New England.

According to the great French captain whom Ramusio quotes, and who wrote his discourse on the early French navigators in 1537, it appears that at this time, of all these names, the most common among the French was "*La Terre Neuve*." He says, that "*La Terre Neuve*" extends northward to 60° N., and southward to 40° N.; and adds, that many also called it, and particularly the southern section discovered by Verrazano, "*La Terre Francaise*" (the French country). This latter may have been an official name, whilst "*La Terre Neuve*" was probably the popular name among the fishermen and in the sea-ports. This French

* See D'Arvezac, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 83. 1864.

captain also mentions thus early the Indian name "No-rumbega;" to which he gives about the same extent of country as to "La Terre Francaise," consequently including under this term the State of Maine."*

The enterprise of the fishermen and merchants of Dieppe, Honfleur, St. Malo, Nantes, La Rochelle, etc., commencing about 1504, was the introduction of a long series of undertakings of great political and social importance. The Bretons and Normans of France went over from the banks to the continent, from fishing to planting. They carried the race, the language, the religion, the customs, and also the traditions and songs of Western France to North-eastern America, where, for a long time, they outstripped the English, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards, and became for many years more influential than all their rivals.

As we shall show hereafter, they exerted a very important influence on the discovery and settlement of the State of Maine; which, as adjoining to the French settlements, was for a long time the battle-ground for the conflicting claims of the English and French.

I may point again to the remarkable circumstance already alluded to, that the French Normans may be said to have followed on the same track, or oceanic high-road, on which their ancestors, the Scandinavian Northmen, had entered; and that they advanced their settlements, like them, from Helluland in the north, along the coast of Markland, until they had reached Vinland.

* Ramusio, tom. 3, fol. 423. Compare, also, the translation of this discourse in Estancelin, *Recherches des voyages des Normands*, pp. 219, 223, 224. Paris, 1832.

5. AN ENGLISH VOYAGE TO THE NORTH-WEST, SAID TO HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN UNDER THE COMMAND OF SEBASTIAN CABOT AND SIR THOMAS PERT, IN 1517.

Richard Eden, the first English collector of travels and voyages, published in 1553 a translation of the "Universal Cosmographie," written in Latin by the German, Sebastian Munster.

In the dedication of this translation, addressed to the Duke of Northumberland, once Lord High Admiral under Henry VIII, Eden incidentally observes, that "King Henry VIII, in the eighth year of his reign, furnished and set forth certain shippes under the governaunce of Sebastian Cabot, and one Sir Thomas Pert; but that the faint hart of this latter mentioned person was the cause, that that voyage toke none effect."

This incidental remark of Eden is all the original evidence we have on this so-called expedition of Cabot in 1517, by which great discoveries are said to have been made under Henry VIII.

No original author of the time of Henry VIII. has alluded to this enterprise. Stow, in his Chronicle of England, though he mentions the first expedition of the Cabots in 1497, and other English maritime undertakings, has nothing about an enterprise in 1517. Neither does Lord Herbert, in his elaborate life and reign of Henry VIII, mention such an expedition. Nor does the well-informed Portuguese author, Antonio Galvano, who wrote his history of the discoveries of the world in 1555, and who accurately enumerates all the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French expeditions up to that year, make any mention whatever of a voyage of Cabot in 1517.

Nevertheless, Hakluyt, Purchas, nay, nearly all the sub-

sequent authors down to the modern biographer of Cabot, Mr. Biddle, give credence to the statement of Eden, and have constructed upon his short and incidental remark a grand maritime undertaking, which they allege to have been executed by Cabot, though they greatly differ with respect to the region supposed to be visited.

Hakluyt connects the statement of Eden with an English voyage to the south,—the West India Islands and toward Brazil,*—mentioned by Herrera and Oviedo.

Herrera, under the date of 1519, relates that an English vessel appeared suddenly off Porto Rico, where her commander communicated with the Spaniards, and spoke to them about the route and object of his voyage.†

Oviedo, on the contrary, places this event off Porto Rico, in the year 1527.‡

Ramusio has given a translation of Oviedo, in which he erroneously puts the date of that event in 1517 instead of 1527, as it is given in all the original Spanish editions of Oviedo.

Hakluyt did not know of the statement of Herrera, and consulted only the translation of Ramusio, in which the date is erroneously given. Finding there 1517 mentioned as the year in which “the English ship was said to have appeared off Porto Rico,” and finding at the same time the above report of Eden about an expedition furnished by Henry VIII, Hakluyt thought that both expeditions were the same; and so he adopts and enters in his great work, “A voyage of Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, about the eighth year of King Henry VIII, to Brazil, St. Domingo, and San Juan de Porto Rico.”

* See Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 591. Ed. London, 1800.

† See Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 3.

‡ Oviedo, Hist. General, lib. 19, cap. 13.

That this construction was founded on erroneous premises has been clearly shown by Mr. Biddle in chapter 14th of his Memoir, entitled, "Hakluyt's error with regard to the voyage of 1517."* He proves there that Herrera, in his date of 1519, and Ramusio, in the date of 1517, were mistaken : and that the date of Oviedo of 1527 is the true one, and should be adopted ; and that, consequently, the appearance of an English vessel off Porto Rico in 1527 can have no connection with an English expedition said to have sailed in 1517.

Mr. Biddle proves further, that the report of the Spanish authors on the said English vessel, must be connected with a subsequent English expedition made in the year 1527, of which he speaks afterwards.

In destroying the theory of such an expedition of Cabot to Porto Rico and Brazil in 1517, adopted by many authors after Hakluyt, Mr. Biddle builds up his own theory of the voyage of 1517 mentioned by Eden, which has been adopted by many distinguished authors after him, as Humboldt, Tytler, and Asher. He thinks it certain, that an expedition in the year 1517 was made from England, and also that it was commanded by Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot. But he is convinced that it went to the north-west ; and he adopts the opinion, that it was in *this* expedition that Sebastian Cabot reached the latitude of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and explored Hudson's Bay, and not in the expedition of 1498. To render this theory plausible, he constructs, in a most ingenious and inventive manner, a chain of hypotheses, which appear to me to have but slender support.

And first, it seems to me that Eden does not distinctly state that an expedition actually *sailed* from England. He says, that Henry VIII. "furnished and set forth certain shippes ;" and then adds, "that this voyage *took none effect*,"

* See Biddle, Memoir, p. 110.

from the faint-heartedness of one of the originators of the voyage, Sir Thomas Pert. Mr. Biddle, thinking that the expedition *sailed*, gives to the words, "the voyage took none effect," the interpretation, that the object and aim of the voyage were not reached, because Sir Thomas Pert, in the decisive moment, showed a want of courage to go further with Cabot. But it appears to me, that the words "the voyage took none effect," might also signify, that the whole expedition failed from the beginning, and that it did not sail at all. Sir Thomas Pert may have shown "a faint heart" in the outset. Being a Vice-admiral, he was perhaps a wealthy man, and may at the beginning have favored the enterprise with his influence and money; but despaired at the eleventh hour of its success, and refused it his assistance.

But if we suppose that the expedition actually sailed, and that it reached the coast of America, the next question is, whether it is likely that Sebastian Cabot was one of the commanders. The dedication of Eden to the translation of Sebastian Munster's work appears so to state. But we will for the moment put this statement aside, and proceed to show the difficulties which we have to encounter, in order to bring Sebastian Cabot to England at the right time in the beginning of 1517.

That Cabot, in the year 1515, was still in Spain, and that he was in a very comfortable position there, we learn from Herrera and Peter Martyr. The first tells us, that Ferdinand gave him, in the said year, the title and salary of captain and cosmographer.* And the second relates, that he (Peter Martyr) had been sitting with Cabot as a member in the Council of the Indies, that Cabot was his good friend, and that he saw him often at his house. And further he says, that

* "Mando asentar salario—de Capitan y Cosmografo a Sebastian Gaboto." Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 1, cap. 12.

Cabot intended to try for Spain, what we now call a north-west passage ; that Spanish vessels were fitting out for him : and that he probably would sail in the month of March, 1516, in the service of the king of Spain.*

Mr. Biddle admits this, and calls the position of Cabot in Spain a “dignified and important station.” † We cannot, therefore, conceive why, occupying this distinguished position, he should have suddenly left Spain. No Spanish author tells us, that Cabot at this time, or shortly after, had left Spain. Peter Martyr, who so often speaks of him, gives no support to this supposed voyage of Cabot. Nor does Herrera : although in his great work he follows him in all his changes and enterprises, even furnishing the details of the correspondence which the king of Spain had with England, and especially with Lord Willoughby, in 1512, to induce Cabot to enter his service ; and relating all the advantages and emoluments heaped upon him successively by the kings of Spain ; as, for example, in 1512, his invitation from England, his title of captain, great salary, and residence at Seville ; in 1515, his title and salary of captain and cosmographer, and membership in the Council of the Indies,—favors conferred by Ferdinand ; in 1516, the fitting out of ships for him : in 1518, title, salary, and station of pilot major (chief of the hydrographic bureau),—granted by Charles V.

As no Spanish author speaks of his leaving Spain in the year 1516 or 1517, so neither does any English author inform us of his arriving in England, and entering the service of Henry VIII.

Mr. Biddle thinks that Cabot quietly remained in Spain until after the death of Ferdinand, which occurred on the 23d of January, 1516 ; and suggests that on the death of the

* Peter Martyr, *De rebus Oceanicis*, Dec. III, lib. 6.

† Biddle, l. c. p. 100.

king, Cabot, being a foreigner and comparatively a stranger, may have been viewed with dislike and jealousy by the Spaniards, and subjected to harsh treatment, which Ferdinand did not permit during his life.

After the death of Ferdinand and before Charles, the new king, arrived, there was an interregnum, and much misgovernment in Spain. It was certainly not a flourishing time for the "Spanish natives." On the contrary it is well known, that the native Spaniards were much oppressed during this period by the Belgians, and other foreign favorites of the new king, who resorted in great numbers to the kingdom. The native interest was not in the ascendant after Ferdinand's death. We hear at this time only the complaints of the native Spaniards, and of some of them leaving their country in disgust for the West Indies.*

But even if, during that interregnum, some foreigners may have left, Cabot would certainly have been one of the last. He has been described by every biographer, and also by his contemporaries, as a man of gentle and modest manners. He must have had many friends even among native Spaniards, and was useful to them by his knowledge and experience, and had no doubt a great and influential party in the Council of the Indies. None could expel him from this Council except for misdemeanor, of which Cabot was never accused, even by the bishop Fonseca; upon whom foreign authors have heaped reproaches without reason, and whom Mr. Biddle calls an "intriguer of infamous notoriety;" † thus leading us to infer that he may have been the cause of Cabot's return to England.

Cabot's friend, Peter Martyr, was also a foreigner; but we never find him complaining of "Spanish jealousy of foreign-

* See Robertson's Charles V, for the year 1516.

† Biddle, l. c. p. 102.

ers." On the contrary, at the very time when Cabot is supposed to have left Spain, in the autumn of 1516, Peter Martyr wrote a very submissive and respectful letter to Charles, in which he dedicated to him his first three decades.* He was, though a foreigner and of Italian extraction like Cabot, all the time quietly taking his seat in the Council of the Indies.

Cabot, with whom Peter Martyr sympathized in so many respects, shared probably his sentiments toward the new prince; and probably, like Peter Martyr, so far from looking forward with despair to the expected and often announced arrival of Charles in Spain, was full of hope for promotion from this young and enterprising sovereign. That he rightly cherished such hopes, was proved soon after the arrival of Charles in 1518, by the promotion of Cabot. It appears therefore very improbable, that he should have left the country just at the time when so many in Spain were looking to this rising sun. He might well expect that he should find employment under the new king; and in this he was not disappointed.

Mr. Biddle suggests, that the particular occasion for Cabot's "feeling slighted" and leaving Spain, was the preferment of the cosmographer, Andres de St. Martin, to the place of pilot major. Charles, in a letter dated Brussels the 18th of November, 1516, had commanded the bishop Fonseca, to "inquire into the capacity and fitness of the said Andres de St. Martin for the place of pilot major, which the said person had claimed." Mr. Biddle says that Cabot, feeling himself slighted by this proceeding, returned to England.

It would have been a hasty action on his part, to leave his dignified station because his sovereign took the liberty to

* See this dedicatory letter in Peter Martyr's "De rebus Oceanicis," at the beginning.

“*inquire*” whether a certain other person was fit for the place of pilot major. It would appear less so, if we were sure that Cabot at that time had applied for the station, and also that it was really conferred on Andres de St. Martin, who was himself a foreigner, from France. But both these points are very uncertain. Herrera says, that Andres de St. Martin, a few years after this, went out with Magellan as one of his pilots.* It is very improbable that a man, who held the office of pilot major in Spain, would leave that place and go out in a position so inferior. From the circumstance that Cabot really obtained the office of pilot major in 1518, it is probable, that the application of St. Martin in 1516 was rejected; and that from the beginning, the place was kept open for Cabot.†

Is it therefore probable, that Cabot should have “felt slighted” and left the country, when he had the best hopes of obtaining the desired position?

But if he actually left Spain—and Mr. Biddle agrees in this opinion—he could not have departed until the king’s letter, dated Brussels, the 18th Nov., 1516, which is supposed to have annoyed him so much, had become known in Spain. We must allow some weeks for the reception of the letter after its date; and several more for the contents to have reached Cabot, before he relinquished his office. To those who know the tedious and protracted forms which delay the settlement of official accounts in Spain, this time will not seem unreasonable for closing his affairs and transferring himself to England. We cannot, therefore, suppose that he could have arrived in England before the end of the year 1516.

* Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 4, cap. 9.

† Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, pp. 120, 121, where he enumerates all the pilot majors of Spain until Cabot leaves the place open from 1516–1518.

We can find no satisfactory reason why Cabot should have left a comfortable and dignified position in Spain, from which nobody intended to remove him, and in which he had a hopeful prospect of favor from the youthful sovereign, to go to England at that time. For we are expressly informed, that in 1512, "no account was made of him" in that country; and that the authorities had permitted him without regret, to enter the service of the king of Spain, considering it "a thing of little moment" to retain him.*

After his voyages of 1497 and 1498, Cabot had "received little encouragement from Henry VII; and Henry VIII. dismissed him in 1512 to Spain, as being of "no account." We cannot therefore believe, in the absence of all authentic information, that this king had changed his mind, and had invited him, in 1516, to return to England. Cabot himself, in his famous conversation with a distinguished gentleman, intimates no such thing. He only says, that finding, after his first voyages under Henry VII, no further patronage in England, he went over to Spain; and then, without mentioning any other invitation from England, *or any voyage in 1517*, he relates his further employments, and particularly his expedition to the River La Plata in 1526.†

But notwithstanding this, Mr. Biddle makes Cabot return to England, where, as I have showed, it was impossible for him to arrive before the end of 1516.

The expedition, of which he is said to have shared the command, is stated by Eden to have been "set forth" by Henry VIII, in the eighth year of his reign; which, reckoning from the time of its beginning, on the 22d of April, 1509, would be from the 22d of April, 1516, to the 22d of April, 1517.‡

* See the authorities for this in Biddle, l. c. p. 100.

† See Rannusio, vol. 1, fol. 374. Venetia, 1613.

‡ Lord Herbert, l. c. p. 2.

The expedition must, therefore, have been "set forth," at the latest, in the month of March, or beginning of April, 1517; and this leaves to Cabot only about three months for persuading Henry VIII. to a new undertaking, and for all the preparations necessary for such an expedition. This rapidity of action rendered indispensable by this brief term, and particularly the fact, that there was then no great choice of ships in England ready furnished for service, are strong circumstances against this voyage.

Mr. Biddle,* speaking elsewhere of a subsequent expedition, and wishing to prove that a letter written by Mr. Thorne to Henry VIII, at the beginning of 1527, could have had no influence in promoting an expedition, which left the Thames on the 20th of May of that year, says it is "absurd to suppose, that four or five months would have been a sufficient space of time for forwarding such a letter to the king; for considering and adopting the suggestions of this letter; for resolving on the course of the intended expedition; for selecting the commanders and the vessels suitable for such an enterprise; and for completing all the other arrangements so as to admit of this early departure." And yet, in this case, he thinks four months and a half quite sufficient for a letter, written by the Emperor Charles V. in Brussels on the 18th of November, 1516, to be carried to Spain, and forwarded to the proper authorities there; for Cabot to take it into consideration, and to go through all the preliminaries for leaving his important office; for settling his accounts; for his returning to England without invitation, and making all preparations necessary for a long and expensive expedition to a remote, savage, and little known country, so as to admit of his departure in the month of March, or in the beginning of April.

* Memoir, p. 200.

Eden, the only authority for this voyage, does not say to what region it was destined, nor at what part of the new world, if any, it arrived. Neither Spanish nor Portuguese authors mention the arrival of these ships on coasts known to them. Mr. Biddle thinks that they *must* have gone out to the savage regions of the north-west. He strives to make this probable by referring, amongst other things, to the well-known letter, written in 1527 by Master Robert Thorne, addressed to Henry VIII, to urge him to renew the search for a north-west passage. This letter alludes, in the most general terms, to the discovery of Newfoundland made "of late by his Grace's servants," and says, that "the king has taken in hand" the northern discovery, and has made proof of it, without finding the commodity thereby, which he had expected.*

Mr. Biddle thinks, that these expressions cannot allude to any other voyage than that which, according to Eden, was "set forth under Cabot and Pert;" and that, consequently, this voyage must have gone to and reached the north-western countries. I admit that all this is possible, if this voyage took place at all. But Thorne might have used these expressions in the same manner if no such voyage had been undertaken, having in mind no other than the expeditions to Newfoundland under Henry VII, though seemingly attributing them to the time of Henry VIII. The "king," Henry VIII, might be said to have taken northern discovery in hand, when the "king," Henry VII, commenced it. The Englishmen who discovered Newfoundland under Henry VII, were still living under Henry VIII, and were his servants and subjects; and so without adopting a north-western voyage of 1517, it is quite true, that England and her king had not

* See this letter in Hakluyt, "Divers Voyages." Edition of Hakluyt Society, p. 27 seq.

found, in the expeditions before made to the north-west, all the advantages expected.

The evidences which Mr. Biddle adduces to prove that an expedition was undertaken and executed to the north-west in 1517, appear to me extremely weak. But they are much weaker in proving that Cabot was concerned in any such voyage.

Mr. Biddle also asserts,—and this without having any authority or even the slightest probability for it,—that it was on this voyage of 1517, and not on the voyages of 1497 or 1498, that Cabot reached the latitude of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.; and he further says, that it was on this voyage of 1517 that Cabot entered into Hudson's Bay, “and gave English names to sundry places therein.”

The only thing which induces him to think so is the date, “the 11th of June,” which Ramusio gives, as does also Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in a quotation from a map of Cabot,* as the time when Cabot reached the said latitude, and which does not agree, he says: 1. with the date of the 24th of June, on which he is said, by the best authorities, to have reached the continent of America in 1497; nor 2. with the date of “the month of July,” which, by Peter Martyr,† and Gomara‡ is said to have been the time of his great struggle with the ice in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. Mr. Biddle therefore argues, that since the date, 11th of June, does not agree either with the date of the voyage of 1497, or with that of 1498, there must have been another voyage made by Cabot, to which that date may belong; and that must have been the voyage of 1517.

To this reasoning we may answer as follows: All the au-

* See Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. 3, p. 16. London, 1600.

† See Peter Martyr, *De orbe novo*, p. 232. Parisiis, 1587.

‡ See Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, fol. 20. Saragossa, 1553.

thorities referred to, Peter Martyr, Gomara, and Ramusio, differ only with respect to the month, and not the year or the voyage, in which the ice and the high latitude were reached. They all ascribe these events to Cabot's voyage made by command of Henry VII. in 1498, and have not the slightest allusion to a voyage made by command of Henry VIII. in 1517.

And even their difference with respect to the month is perhaps only apparent.

The words of Cabot's map, according to Gilbert, run thus: Cabot affirmed "that he sayled very fare westward, with a quarter north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, the eleventh of June, until he came to the Septentrional latitude of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$," etc. From this it appears, that the date of the 11th of June may as well be given to his sail along the coast of Labrador, as to his arrival there. He does not say that he came *on* the 11th of June to $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, according to my interpretation, may as well be quoted as giving the time of Cabot's arrival in this high latitude to the month of July.

In regard to Ramusio, he quotes, probably from memory, a letter which Cabot had written him many years before ("gia molti anni sono"). Writing from memory about an old letter, received many years before, he might easily err with respect to the exact date.

Moreover, Peter Martyr, who often conversed with Cabot and had him at his house, may well be credited for his date of the month of July. And Gomara, who was a contemporary of Cabot, and lived and wrote in the same country in which Cabot himself lived for a long time, is not an unworthy witness for the month of July.

The map of Cosa, made from Cabot's first charts, so far as the north-east coast of America is concerned, may be cited,

if not for the date of July, at least for the voyage of 1498. This map, made in 1500, shows this east coast as high as $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and even beyond it.

And last, but not least, the 11th of June appears, for still other reasons, to be a very questionable, if not an impossible date, for a voyage in the high latitude claimed for it.

Mr. Biddle says, that it was on occasion of this voyage of 1517, that Cabot arrived through Hudson's Strait at Hudson's Bay, discovered open water, and sailed into it, giving English "names to sundry places therein." He relates further, on the authority of Ramusio, that Cabot was there "sanguine of success," and hopeful of going directly to Catayo, "if he had not been overruled by the timidity of his associates," and particularly by the faint heart, nay, "maliginity" of the master of the other ship,—according to Mr. Biddle, Sir Thomas Pert,—who would go no further.*

If Cabot had been in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., near the entrance of Hudson's Bay, he would have been under the arctic circle, in the midst of the so-called "Frozen Strait," or "Fox Channel," near Southampton Island. Now I believe that it is without precedent in the whole history of maritime discovery, for a navigator to sail unobstructed, cheered by the greatest hope of success, and everywhere surrounded by open water, on the 11th of June, old style, in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., in Fox Channel, north of Hudson's Strait. In these regions,—the coldest and most obstructed of all the arctic regions,—the 11th of June, even according to the old style, is only the end of winter; and at that time navigation there is impossible.

I will remind the reader of the state of things encountered in these regions by some of the old navigators, at dates not far from those assigned to this voyage of Cabot:

Hudson, in 1610, passed the entrance of Hudson's Strait

* Biddle, l. c. p. 117-119.

after the beginning of July, and arrived at the entrance of Hudson's Bay in the beginning of August.

Bylot, in 1615, could not reach those regions into which Mr. Biddle puts Cabot on the 11th of June, before the 12th of July, O. S., and then he was still two degrees south of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.

Hawkbridge, in 1616, reached the same regions in the beginning of August. On the 10th of that month, O. S., he was at Seahorse Point at not quite 65° N., and could not go higher than this latitude.

James, in 1631, was not free of ice before the 3d of July; and then began to approach the opening of Hudson's Bay.

Parry, in the year 1823, was beset by ice in the northern part of Fox Channel during the entire month of July, N. S.; and then in the midst of a broad and thick field of ice was floated down the entire length of Fox Channel.

By comparing still other dates, if necessary, I could render it certain, that a visit to those localities "on the 11th of June" must be rejected as impossible, whatever written or printed authorities may affirm; and that, consequently, the whole structure built upon that date by Mr. Biddle, must fall to the ground. I am convinced, that modern as well as ancient navigators would think it a strange thing, that poor Sir Thomas Pert should be reproached with "timidity," a "faint heart," nay, with a particular "malignity," because, on the 11th of June, he did not like to sail beyond $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., in Fox Channel, which, at that time, is a perfectly unbroken wilderness of ice.

Mr. Biddle, and the authorities quoted by him, and the authors who follow him, tell us that Cabot, after returning from his discovery of Hudson's Strait to England, found there no support for a renewed effort. The enterprise was considered "a failure." The horrible "sweating-sickness" which

aged in England from July to December, 1517, and "the attention which the king paid to the affairs of the continent, left no time to think of the prosecution of a precarious enterprise."* They further say, that Cabot, "languishing in inactivity," went over again to Spain, cheered by the new and more auspicious aspect of affairs; and that he was received there with open arms and made pilot major.†

I think that these suggestions contain more than one improbability and contradiction.

That a discovery of Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay, if it had been made in 1517, should have been considered in England as "a failure," is so contrary to all probability, that it scarcely needs a reply. It is quite certain, that if the discovery had really been made, it would have been trumpeted through the country; or at least have been communicated to the king's ear, as a most precious secret. Everybody would have said that the thing had been done, that the short route to Cathay had really been found, that only one effort more was wanting to arrive on the "backside of the northern countries." Henry VIII. would certainly have found time to give attention to such a discovery, which, if true, might have made him a most powerful sovereign. And the "sweating-sickness" which ended in December, 1517, about the time when Cabot must have returned, would certainly not have hindered him from fitting out another expedition in the spring of 1518.

To suppose that the expedition of 1517, with the discoveries ascribed to it, should have been considered as "a failure," is in plain contradiction to what is said in Ramusio of Cabot's own views, when he reached the above latitude; of his cheerfulness and hope; his being "sanguine of success;"

* Biddle, l. c. p. 120.

† Ibid.

and his conviction that he "both could and would have gone to Cathay," if it had not been for the revolt of his crew, or, as Hakluyt and Biddle think, for the "faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert." From these views of Cabot it might reasonably be inferred, that Henry VIII, a shrewd man, would have sent back the "sanguine" adventurer as soon as possible to the same regions, to finish the business; and would have kept at home his former "faint-hearted" companion, the often-mentioned Sir Thomas Pert.

If Hudson's Strait and Bay had been seen free and open by Cabot in 1517, Robert Thorne, in his letter to Henry VIII. in 1527, to encourage him in a north-western enterprise, would certainly not have made use of such general and faint expressions regarding a "discovery of the Newfoundland," as we have quoted above. He would, no doubt, have mentioned the names given by Cabot in Hudson's Strait; his chart of the Strait; and would have adopted a much more demonstrative and decisive tone.

As to this supposed invitation from the Emperor Charles to Cabot, and this alleged correspondence about his recall to Spain in 1517, we have not the slightest indication of it in the old authors; though they speak in detail about such a correspondence, in which Ferdinand invites him to Spain, in 1512; while such negotiations would have been far more necessary now, when Cabot is supposed to have seen opened before him so great a thing as "the way to Cathay."

What we know for certain is, that Cabot, after having been nominated pilot major in 1518, was occupied in Spain with the quiet duties of his station; that is to say, examining pilots, signing their patents and instructions, revising and arranging charts, and attending to the transactions regarding the boundary between Spain and Portugal. We find no evidence whatever that he was anxious to return to that region,

where he is said to have "seen the way to Cathay openly spread out before him;" or that the Emperor Charles invited or ordered him to make a new attempt in that direction: as he certainly would have done, if, in 1517, Cabot had made the discovery ascribed to him by Mr. Biddle. When Cabot's personal friend, Gomez, is sent out in 1525, Cabot gives no advice that he should be sent to Hudson's Strait. And when he himself goes out again in 1526, we see him sail to the south of America, and not to Hudson's Strait in the north; which, if he had seen it in 1517, he must have believed to be at least as good a route as Magellan's Strait.

The events and proceedings here referred to are so contrary to what we should expect from Cabot, after his supposed discoveries in 1517, that it is quite evident that these discoveries could not have been made.

The results of these observations may be summed up in the following points:

There is no satisfactory proof that Cabot really left Spain in the year 1516 or 1517.

It seems to be inconceivable, that a dignified councillor of the Indies, having left his seat in Seville without any palpable reason, and having either actually shown to England, the rival of Spain, or at least attempted to show, the short route to Cathay, for which everybody was then searching, should have been rejected in England, and received back into Spain with open arms, with honor and reward.

It appears to be much more probable from all we know, to suppose that Cabot, after 1512, remained quietly in Spain, and continued his fortunate career, from one high station to another, in the offices of that country.

Against this opinion we have the single statement of Eden, incidentally made in the dedication of his book, where he speaks of an English voyage "set forth" in the year 1517,

“under the governance of Sebastian Cabot.” If Eden, a most worthy author, really *wrote* thus, *he* certainly must have believed, that Cabot had been engaged in this expedition. No attempt that we know of has been made, by diplomatic or bibliographical researches, to render it doubtful, whether Eden indeed wrote what he is said to have written.

It is proved by good evidence and admitted by all parties, that if any expedition was made in 1517, it cannot have been, as Hakluyt supposes, the expedition which the Spaniards saw off Porto Rico.

It is just as much out of the question to suppose, that, if an expedition was made, it could, on the 11th of June, have reached the waters in the vicinity of Hudson’s Bay in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., according to the representations of Mr. Biddle.

It would appear more probable, that, if an expedition sailed for the western regions in 1517, it must have reached some more southern part of the east coast. All the great expeditions for the west, made contemporaneously or subsequently, were directed to the coasts of the United States; namely, the Spanish expeditions of Ayllon, in 1520–1526; the French expedition of Verrazano, 1524; of Gomez, 1525; and the English of 1527; of all which we shall treat in subsequent pages.

I do not pretend to have found the true explanation of the expedition, supposed to have been made in the year 1517. But the difficulties and questions suggested above with regard to the explanation of Mr. Biddle and others, are, I think, worthy of consideration; and so long as they are not solved, we must put down this undertaking as at least doubtful.

[NOTE.—The very able arguments of Mr. Biddle and Dr. Kohl on opposite sides of the question, still leave us in doubt whether Cabot undertook a voyage to the North American coast in 1517, or not. It appears to us

that the weight of argument inclines to the side of Dr. Kohl. It is strange that such contradictory statements should exist of important transactions occurring within fifty years from the time of the writers who reported them. The same obscurity hangs over the domestic concerns of the principal nations, as over their foreign voyages; which indicates great carelessness or indifference in the preservation of facts. We find a document of the time of Edward VI, in the State Paper Office at London, which shows, that even during Cabot's life, in 1551, he was in danger of losing certain rights by the loss of evidence. It says: "Touching Sebastian Cabot's matter, concerning which the Venitian ambassador has also written, he has recommended the same to the Seignory, and in their presence delivered to one of their Secretaries, Baptista Ramusio, whom Cabot put in trust, such evidences as came to his hands. The Seignory were well pleased that one of their subjects, by service and virtue, should deserve the council's good-will and favor; and although this matter is over fifty years old, and by the death of men, decaying of houses, and perishing of writings, as well as his own absence, it were hard to come to any assured knowledge thereof; they have commanded Ramusio to ensearch with diligence any way and knowledge possible, that may stand to the said Sebastian's profit, and obtaining of right."

The various reports we have of stirring events which occurred in the brilliant contemporaneous reigns of Francis I, Charles V, and Henry VIII, cease to make us wonder that Sir Walter Raleigh should burn his MS. history, seeing the contradictions which occurred under his own observation; or that Sir Robert Walpole should have instructed his sons to "read anything but history, for that is sure to be false."—ED.]

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER VI.

CHARTS OF THE FIRST FRENCH DISCOVERIES IN "TERRE NEUVE."

I. ON MAP, NO. 11, OF NEW FRANCE, COMPOSED BY THE ITALIAN COSMOGRAPHER, JACOMO DI GASTALDI, IN 1550.

THE celebrated collector of early voyages, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, has given in the third volume of his great work, besides a general map of the entire continent of North America (p. 455), some maps of particular parts of it; for example, of Brazil (p. 427) and of New France (p. 424). Of the latter we give a copy in our map, No. 11.

On the history of these maps the following remarks are made by Ramusio, in the discourse prefixed to his third volume, addressed to his excellent and learned friend, Hieronimo Fracastoro.*

Fracastoro, he says, had urged him in a letter to compose four or five tables (tavoli), depicting "in imitation of Ptolemy," all the countries and coasts of the new world, so far as they had become known, and in the manner in which the Spanish pilots and captains had traced them on their charts. He adds, that Fracastoro had sent to him at the same time all the necessary materials, which he had received from the illustrious imperial historiographer, Gonzalo Oviedo; and that, being willing to comply with so reasonable a request, he had directed Master Giacomo di Gastaldi, an excellent cosmographer,† to make first a reduced map of the whole of the new world, and then to divide it into four parts. Gastaldi did this with the utmost care and diligence; so that now all industrious readers may see and learn how far, by the help of his Excellency Fracastoro, these things had become known to the world. "Because they know in Spain and also in France," Ramusio goes on to say to his friend, "the great pleasure and interest which you take in this new part of the world, of which you your-

* See this discourse in Ramusio, vol. 3, p. 2, seq. Venetia, 1556.

† Giacomo di Gastaldi (also called Jacopo Gastaldo) was a native of Villafranca in Piedmont. He had made maps and observations for an edition of the work of Ptolemy published in the year 1548 by Andrea Mattioli in Venice.



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self repeatedly, with your own hands, have made designs; so all the literary men of those countries send every day to you some new discovery made there, and brought to them by pilots or captains coming from those parts. Amongst these, particularly, is the above-mentioned illustrious Gonzalo Oviedo from the Island of Spagniola, who every year presents you with some new-made chart. The same is also done by some excellent Frenchmen, who have sent you from Paris reports of New France, together with several draughts, which will be put in this volume in their place."

Ramusio then says, that he had introduced these maps, such as they were, not because he thought them to be perfect and complete, but because he wished to satisfy the desire of Italian students, entertaining the hope that, in some time to come, they would be improved. He concludes his discourse with these words: "The benevolent readers may take the little which I have the great pleasure to present to them, and may be sure, that if something better had come to my hands, I should have felt a much greater pleasure in giving it to them. And this is all that I have to say about my newly constructed geographical maps."

The discourse of Ramusio is dated, "Venice, 20th June, 1553," at the time when he probably had collected all the materials for his third volume. As this would take him some time, we may not the date of the composition of these maps as before 1550, though they were not published by Ramusio until 1556, the date of the first edition of his third volume.

The general map of America, here given by Ramusio, is a very accurate production, the result of the study of Spanish original maps and reports of the time. It is one of the best, most complete, and correctly printed of the maps published near the middle of the sixteenth century. It has even the latest discoveries, made in 1542 by the expedition of Cabrillo to California, as high up as about 40° N. I have, however, not given a copy of this map, because it does not contain much that is connected with our subject.

The map of New France, of which I give here a reduced fac-simile, concerns us more nearly. It represents Newfoundland, Labrador, Nova Scotia, a part of the St. Lawrence, and in the west a fragment of the coast of Maine. It has no indications of longitude and latitude, and no scale of miles. Ramusio gives this map, and also his other four special maps, as illustrative of a short description of the countries and coasts discovered by the French, to which he gives the title: "Discourse of a great French sea-captain of Dieppe, on the navigations made to the West Indies, called New France, from the 40° to the 47°

N." He does not mention the name of his "great French sea-captain;" but it is for several reasons certain, that the famous Jean Parmentier of Dieppe, who in 1529 made a long voyage to Sumatra and other countries, is meant; and it is pretty certain, that the discourse was written by Pierre Crignon, Parmentier's companion and eulogist.* We infer from the contents of the discourse, that it must have been written in 1539, though not printed until 1556. The author, Crignon, enumerates all the old French sea-captains known to have gone out on discoveries to New France before Cartier: namely, Jean Denys, Thomas Aubert, and Giovanni de Verrazano. He says, that thirty-five years ago the Bretons and Normans commenced their navigation to those parts; that about thirty-three years ago, Jean Denys made his voyage; and that fifteen years ago, Verrazano was on that coast. The Bretons and Normans commenced their voyages to New France, as is generally thought, in 1504; Jean Denys sailed in 1506; Verrazano in 1524. Thus all these statements concur in fixing 1539 as the year in which the discourse was composed.

A short time before, in 1534 and 1535, Jean Cartier had made two of his remarkable expeditions to New France. But no mention whatever is made of these voyages by our author. This extraordinary omission of these most important French discoveries in a discourse, in which all the ~~most important~~ discoveries are mentioned, is hard to account for. Was the discourse perhaps written in some distant part of the world, which the news from France had not reached? Or did the author, ~~before~~ his discourse before Cartier's voyage in 1534, and soon after Parmentier's expedition of 1529? and did he, in a later year, 1539, when he wrote his discourse, alter the above-mentioned dates, forgetting then to include Cartier's discoveries?

However this may have been, the appended map of New France agrees very well with the contents of the discourse. It gives the regions there described, and in the manner in which they are described, and yet has no trace whatever of Cartier's discoveries. It appears decidedly to have been constructed upon materials and after originals which existed before the time of Cartier. Perhaps the chart of Verrazano was in part used in its construction. But Verrazano saw all the coasts here depicted, only on a very rapid sail. He could not, for instance, have on his chart any trace of a great river in the interior of Canada. It seems evident, that the author of our map must have used some delineations still older than those of Verrazano; perhaps a copy

* See for this R. H. Major's Introduction to his work, "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," p. vi.

of the map of the French captain, Jean Denys, said to have been made in the year 1596; in the same manner as he evidently used old Portuguese maps for the country of Labrador and the higher latitudes. The map, upon the whole, appears to give us that chartographical picture of New France, which, having been collected from several early sources, was current in France *before* Cartier; from which circumstance the map has great interest for our subject. It may serve as a substitute for the lost maps of Denys, and some other old French navigators.

The map is all the more interesting, because the eminent cosmographer Fracestoro, so often mentioned in the history of the discovery of America, had so much to do with it, and partly procured the materials for its construction. And, indeed, since Fracestoro employed himself in his old age in the country-seat near Verona, to which he had retreated, in composing maps, and "used to lay down upon globes the new discoveries" as they came to his knowledge, and then liberally communicated all that he had collected to his protégé Ramusio; we may conclude that all the maps contained in Ramusio are, to a certain extent, the productions of Fracestoro;* though they were completed and prepared for publication by Gastaldi.

I will now endeavor to give an analysis of this map.

In the north, the map shows a coast running for a long way east and west with the name "Terra de Labrador," and with the Portuguese arms. It is the same country which we have seen, on our former maps, with the same configuration; and is, probably, our present Greenland.

On the south of this country, separated from it by a broad strait (Davis' Strait), there lies a large group of great and small islands. The northernmost of these, named "Isola de demoni" (the island of demons), is separated from the rest by a long narrow strait, on which, at the eastern entrance, is written "golfo di castelli" (the gulf of the castles),—the old name usually given to the Strait of Belle Isle, which separates Newfoundland from our present Labrador. From this it is evident, that the large "island of demons" is intended to represent a portion of our present Labrador; and the group of smaller islands at the south, our Newfoundland. The name "Terra nuova" is given to one of the larger of these islands. The "island of demons" is unmistakably designated by the small devils flying about it. This

* Fracestoro lived only a few weeks after the date of the above-mentioned discourse, addressed to him by Ramusio on the 20th of June, 1553. He died on the 8th of August, 1553, at the age of seventy-one years. See Tiraboschi, *Storia de la Literatura Italiana*, tom. 7, pp. 1450, 1451.

name is very often found on old maps, applied to a small island at the entrance of Davis' Strait.

Along the east coast of "Terra nuova," we find some names attached to it by the Portuguese navigators after the time of the Cortereals: "Monte de trigo," * "Bonne viste," "Bacealaos," "C. de speranzo," and far south-west, the famous "C. de ras" (Cape Race).

The distance from Cape Race to the eastern entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle (Golfo de Castelli) is about six degrees of latitude, or about four hundred English miles in a direct line. This measure may supply the want in this map of a scale of miles and degrees.

West of Newfoundland we find on our map the Gulf of St. Lawrence; not broad and spacious enough at its mouth, but with a northern channel far too long and large. This northern channel, running down from Davis' and Hudson's Straits, is however very remarkable. It is an indication of our Ungava Bay, into which a Portuguese explorer had probably looked, without discovering that it was closed at the south.

Far to the west lies a large country, called "Parte incognite." From this region a large river runs in an eastern direction, which undoubtedly represents the first notions which Bretons and Normans had gained respecting the great river of Canada. The river has two mouths, with a great island between them, perhaps the island of Anticosti. Several other rivers run into it. The whole of this river-system looks as if it had been drawn by an Indian on the sand for Denys, perhaps, or Aubert, or some other Frenchman, by whom it had been transferred to paper.

From Newfoundland, the southern coast of the continent runs east and west. A small part of it in the east, with the name of Cape Breton attached to its southern headland, is cut off from the rest by an arm of the sea,—our island of Cape Breton and Gut of Canso. The country extending west is called "Terra de Nurumbega," which, by the shore line, is about five hundred miles long, and ends in a rectangular cape,—doubtless Nova Scotia and Cape Sable.

Nova Scotia is represented as having three large ports on its south coast; one at the west, filled with many small islands, called "Port du Refuge" (the harbor of retreat); another named "Port Royal;" and the easternmost, "Flora." It is difficult to identify these names with modern harbors. The deepest and largest bays on this south coast are: the harbor of Halifax, Margaret's Bay, and Malone Bay; and pos-

* This name and its position at no great distance south of the "Golfo di Castelli" render it certain, that Kunstmann is wrong in charging the author of this map with a mistake in placing where he does the name "Golfo di Castelli." See Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 95. Compare our map of Honem, No. 21.

sibly these were meant, having been often visited by the fishermen and coasters of Brittany and Normandy. They may, perhaps, have been surveyed by Verrazano, and drawn on his charts. Here the name, "La Nuova Francia," is written in very large letters, indicating probably that this name is meant for the entire country. The name, "Terra de Nurumbega," is written in smaller letters, and appears to be attached only to the peninsula of Nova Scotia. Crignon, however, the author of the discourse which this map is intended to illustrate, gives to this name a far greater extent. He says: "Going beyond the cape of the Bretons, there is a country contiguous to this cape, the coast of which trends to the west a quarter south-west to the country of Florida, and runs along for a good five hundred leagues; which coast was discovered fifteen years ago by Master Giovanni da Verrazano in the name of the king of France and of Madame la Regente; and this country is called by many "La Francese," and even by the Portuguese themselves; and its end is toward Florida under 78° W., and 38° N. The inhabitants of this country are a very pleasant, tractable, and peaceful people. The country is abounding with all sorts of fruit. There grow oranges, almonds, wild grapes, and many other fruits of odoriferous trees. The country is named by the inhabitants, "Nurumbega;" and between it and Brazil is a great gulf, in which are the islands of the West Indies, discovered by the Spaniards."* From this it would appear that, at the time of the discourse, the entire east coast of the United States, as far as Florida, was designated by the name of Nurumbega. Afterwards, this name was restricted to New England; and, at a later date, it was applied only to Maine, and still later to the region of the Penobscot.

In the west of Nova Scotia there is a large and broad bay, probably the entrance to the Bay of Fundy. Further west we come to the coast of Maine, at once recognized by its characteristic feature,—a long chain of small islands; and then to another bay filled with islands, which I take to be our present Passamaquoddy Bay. It is here called "Angoulesme" (Angoulême), a name often used by the French discoverers. Into this bay a river runs from the north (the St. Croix), which the author of this map supposes to be a branch of the great river of the north. So much for the coast-line.

The interior of these countries is filled with objects and pictures partly imaginary and partly real; with scenes of Indian life, and birds and other animals moving about among the trees. The great group of islands (Terra nuova) has but few trees, thus answering to the old

* See this description of Nurumbega in Ramusio, vol. 3, fol. 423 F.

Scandinavian denomination of "Helluland" (land of the flat stones). On the contrary, the country of Nova Scotia (Terra de Nurumbega) and Maine is described as full of large trees and thick forests, thus answering to the "Markland" (the land of the woods) of the old Scandinavians.

Among the animals on the continent we see, now and then, a large bear or a running rabbit; and on the islands of Newfoundland various sorts of land- and water-fowl.

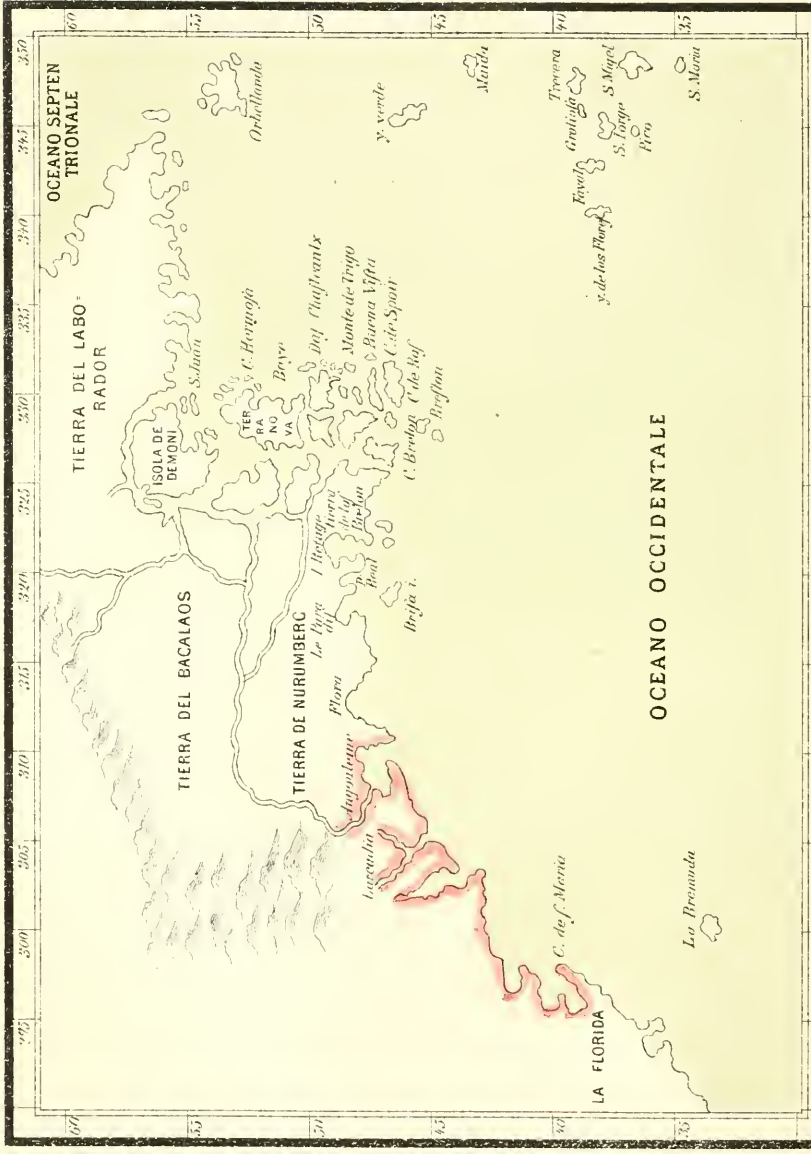
These scenes from the life of the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, and of the Abnakis of Maine, are as pleasant, peaceful, and agreeable, as the Indians themselves are represented in the discourse of the great French captain.* Some of them are seen sitting by the shore, embracing each other, and admiring nature. Some appear to be sleeping; others conversing about their affairs under the roofs of their huts. Some are hunting the bear, or bearing a good-sized deer. Little children amuse themselves with shooting at birds. Some have hung up their fish between two trees, just as the traveler sometimes sees done at the present day in the west of Canada. Cheerful groups are walking leisurely or dancing on the turf. No scenes of violence or destruction anywhere appear; no signs of cannibalism, depicted so dreadfully on many old maps of South America. In the foreground near Cape Race a cross appears, surmounted by a crown, denoting possession taken by some one of the Christian powers of Europe.

In short, everything is represented in accordance with the descriptions and views of the great French captain Parmentier, of the amiable Italian cosmographer Fracastoro, and also of the contemporary French, who are well known to have been friendly to the Indians of Canada, and disposed to keep on good terms with them.

In the front of all these coasts and countries, winding like a snake, there runs a long and narrow sand-bank; denoting, as I think, the fishing-grounds of these regions, and the extent of the right to use them claimed by the French fishermen.

In the centre of this bank, and south of Cape Breton and the Gut of Canso, there appears a square figure called "Isola della rena"—better, della arena—the sandy island. It is at the same distance from the coast, and in the same position as the present "Sable Island," long ago known to, and dreaded by, the Portuguese and French fishermen. The French (or Portuguese) had left here some swine for the assistance of their wrecked mariners, and these swine had so rapidly increased, that they swarmed through the whole island.

* "Gli abitatori di questa terra sono gente trattabili, amichevoli e piacevoli."



350 345 340 335 330 325 320 315 310 305 300 295 290 285 280 275 270 265 260 255 250 245

35 30 25 20 15 10 5

350 345 340 335 330 325 320 315 310 305 300 295 290 285 280 275 270 265 260 255 250 245

The sea on this map, according to the description of Cabot, is full of sea-dogs, seals, spouting whales, cod, and other fish. Indians in their canoes, French and Portuguese in their large ships and boats, are busy in catching them. In the south-eastern corner of the map a vessel appears with the French lilies upon the sails, and the motto, "vado alla terra nuova" (I go to the new country). A similar French vessel is sailing, in the south-west section of the map, along the coast of Maine. In the high north toward Labrador, there is another ship with the Portuguese arms on her sails.

The results of the examination of this highly interesting map, from the time preceding Cartier, may be summed up thus:

The coast of Maine was known to the great French captain Parmentier, and his reporter Crignon; to Ramusio, Fraeacastoro, and their Italian contemporaries; and to the French, before Cartier. It was included by them under the name of "Terra de Nurumbega;" and was designated on their maps by the numerous islands, which constitute its distinguishing feature. Their fishing-grounds were claimed to be co-extensive with this coast, and they knew at least one of its harbors, spacious and filled with islands, Passamaquoddy Bay, to which they gave the name of "Angoulesme." They were also acquainted with the entrance of the Bay of Fundy. The French ships came often in sight of this coast. Beyond it toward the south-west, their fishermen did not often go, and knew but little.

2. ON MAP, NO. 12, OF "TERRA NUEVA" BY GIROLAMO RUSCELLI, 1561.

Girolamo Ruscelli was a learned Italian, a "Philologus," from Viterbo, who lived partly in Rome, partly in Venice, the two great Italian centers for the study of cosmography. He was a contemporary of Jacomo di Gastaldi, and is, by some, called "Gastaldi's successor." He composed several linguistic and literary works, and published his well-known translation of Ptolemy, in 1561, at Venice, where the works of Gastaldi and Ramusio had for the most part been issued. Ruscelli died in that city in the year 1569.

Ruscelli added to his Italian Ptolemy a work with the title "Espositioni e introduktioni universali sopra tutta la geografia di Tolomeo" (Universal expositions and introductions to the entire Geography of Ptolemy), which contains remarks on mathematical geography, and the art of drawing maps and charts; also a series of maps, delineating all the countries of the world. I give here No. XXXII. of these maps, to which the author has given the title: "Tierra Nueva." He comprises

under this name the following countries: "Tierra del Labrador," "Tierra del Bacalaos," and "Tierra de Nurumberg," and nearly the whole east coast of the United States, as far down as "La Florida," in about 40° N.

He quotes no authorities for his map; but it is evident that he used the same sources, as Gastaldi had used for his map of 1550, which, as I have shown, were very ancient, taken probably from the first sketches and charts brought home from "Terre Neuve" by the French adventurers and fishermen. Perhaps also Ruscelli simply copied the work of his countryman and friend Gastaldi, leaving out now and then a name, or changing it, and adding here and there another. I furnish this map particularly to show, that the system of Gastaldi, as contained in Ramusio, did not remain isolated, but found a contemporaneous response, and was copied by others. For the greater part of the contents of this map, I may refer to what I have said on the map of 'Gastaldi, No. 11.

Labrador, Newfoundland, the great river of Canada, and the several harbors of Nova Scotia, are all drawn and named by Ruscelli in the same manner as by Gastaldi.

The harbor of "Angoulême" (Passamaquoddy Bay) has also the same form. At the south-west of it, Ruscelli places another pretty broad inlet, probably Penobscot Bay. The coast runs down with a bend to a prominent pointed cape, called "C. de S. Maria" (probably Cape Cod). I have before observed (p. 50), that the name "C. de S. Maria" had been given by the Spaniards to another cape on our coast, probably Cape Ann; but by the later map-makers the same name is sometimes applied to Cape Cod.

But I find on this map an entirely new name—"Larcadia"—which I have not observed on any prior map. It is a name of Indian origin; and was probably applied by French fishermen to the coast south-west of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is well known that this name, which in the beginning had no definite limits, was afterwards restricted by the French to Nova Scotia and its vicinity; including also a part of the present State of Maine. The name is variously written, "L'Arcadie," "L'Acadie," "la Cadie," and otherwise. On the map under discussion the name stands on the coast of Maine exactly in the midst between Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Bays. "The word is said to be derived from the Indian 'Aquoddiauki,' or 'Aquoddie,' meaning the fish called a 'pollock.'"*

* According to Mr. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 220. [According to another authority, Porter C. Bliss, a thorough student of the Indian

The aboriginal name given on this map to Nova Scotia and the neighborhood has this peculiarity, that instead of being written, as according to its Indian etymology it should be, "Norumbega" or "Norumbec," it is written "Nurumberg;" showing that the Italian, as well as the German geographers, were reminded, by this Abnaki word, of the famous German town of "Nuremberg." In a similar manner the Indian name "Pernambuco" in South America has been sometimes Germanized to "Fernamburg" (Ferdinand's town).

dialects, *Acadie* is a pure Miemac word, meaning "place." In Nova Scotia and Maine, it is used by the Indians in composition with other words, as in *Pestum-acadie*, and in Etchemin, *Pascatum-acadie*, now Passamaquoddy, meaning the "place of the pollock." Gesner, in his "Resources of Nova Scotia," pp. 2, 31, gives the same meaning, illustrated in the words, *Anglishou-akade*, a place where Englishmen reside; *Sagaben-acade*, ground-nut-place, now *Skubenacadie*. The origin of *acadie* is *ahki*, land or place, with *da*, a particle of admiration, added; translated by Rale, *voilà! there!* implying abundance.—ED.]

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST SPANISH EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA FROM COLUMBUS TO AYLLOX, 1492 to 1520.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE earliest discoveries of the North American continent by Europeans were made on the great north-eastern peninsula, Newfoundland, the most eastern projection of which is the point nearest to Europe; and was reached on the old highway, by the intermediate stations, Faröe, Iceland, and Greenland.

Then followed the discovery of the West India islands, toward which the navigation was comparatively easy by help of the trade-winds and the equatorial current.

From both these northern and southern regions the more central parts of the coast were reached, and by degrees more thoroughly explored.

The State of Maine, being a part of the north-eastern peninsula, was usually reached from that quarter; and its early discovery is more intimately connected with that of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and other northern divisions, than with that of the West India islands and Florida. Accordingly, the voyages of the Northmen, the Cabots, the Cortereals, and others, are much more connected with the discovery of Maine, than those of Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, De Soto, and their successors at the south, who scarcely reached our coast.

Some of these southern expeditions in their progress, at last came *very near* to our northern coasts; and, as I shall show, were at least *intended* for them. Bringing up the chain of discovery to as high a latitude as about 40° N., they serve to settle the question, how the coast of Maine was interlinked with the entire coast-line, and what position it occupied there. They also gave names on the south of Maine to certain bays, capes, and rivers, which are found on the Spanish charts. We should not be able to understand these charts, and to show on them what belonged to us and what not, without taking some notice of the southern voyages and their results.

A review of them, therefore, will be necessary, and a short review will suffice, to point out the most important steps in the progress of this branch of the history of discovery, which relates to the south-eastern coasts of North America.

2. COLUMBUS AND THE EAST COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

Columbus, setting out on his first voyage in September, 1492, from the island of Gomara, followed at first a strictly northern course, in about 28° N., near and along the northern limits of the northern trade winds.

If he had kept on this track to the end, he would have reached the east coast of the United States in $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., about the latitude of Cape Canaveral in Florida. But during the latter half of his voyage, at the end of September, when about midway in the Atlantic Ocean, he began to change his course a little to the south, and so touched the new world in about the latitude of the southern end of our east coast.

The Indians of the small Lucayan islands, with whom he first came in contact, had from ancient times a more intimate intercourse with their southern neighbors,—the inhabitants of the larger Antilles,—than with those at the north,—the inhabitants of Florida and the east coast of the United States.

They were connected with the south by a chain of islands and low banks, whose channels were navigable for canoes; and were drawn in that direction by old traditions, that their paradise lay in those magnificent countries, the high mountains of which they could see from some parts of the Lucayan Archipelago. On the other hand, they were separated from the east coast of North America by a deep strait and the swift current of the Gulf-stream, which would be likely to sweep away their canoes, and be to them an object of dread. Besides, the flat and less attractive country of Florida was nowhere in sight from their native islands.

When therefore Columbus made inquiries of the poor islanders after larger and more beautiful countries, and took some of them on board as pilots, they conducted him *to the south*; and in this manner turned him off from our east coast; so that during the rest of his life, he continued to be occupied with the exploration of the southern regions, and gave little attention to the northern.

On his first homeward voyage in January, 1493, he approached the great section of the ocean, which lies to the east coast of North America, more nearly than at any other time. His course was in a north-east direction, somewhat parallel with our east coast, but at a distance from it, for nearly four hundred leagues; passing not far to the east of the Bermudas, and about a hundred and fifty leagues south of the southern end of the great Newfoundland Banks.*

Though Columbus never saw this east coast, yet he was convinced that there was a great continental land lying in this direction, at the north-west of his islands. He however believed until his death, as many did after him, that this great continent was the eastern coast of Asia, and that the islands

* See this track laid down on the chart of Columbus' voyages by Navarrete in his "Collección de los viajes et descubrimientos," tom. 1, p. 352.

visited by him were situated not far eastward from that continent.

On his second voyage to the west he sailed along the south shore of Cuba, June, 1494, in a west-north-west direction. Arriving in the vicinity of its western extremity, he turned back, declaring his conviction, that the country was not an island, but a part of the great Asiatic continent.

As unhappily not one of the numerous charts which Columbus constructed has been preserved, we cannot say what may have been his exact idea in regard to the distance, trending, and configuration of that eastern continental coast. His first view may have been, that in these particulars it resembled the coast-line drawn on the globe of Martin Behaim, in 1492, running north-east of Zipangu (Japan), supposed by Columbus to be the same with his *Isla Española* (St. Domingo).

It is probable, although it is nowhere directly stated, that Columbus became acquainted, at a later time, with the discoveries of the Cabots and Cortereals made nine and six years before his death. This is rendered indeed quite certain, so far at least as the discoveries of Cabot are concerned, from the fact, that these had been already depicted on the celebrated map of Juan de la Cosa, the pilot and companion of Columbus.

The east coast of North America is drawn by Cosa on this chart, in accordance, doubtless, with the views of Columbus; that is, at a considerable distance from the West India islands, with a trending from the south-west to the north-east. On one point, however, Cosa differed from Columbus, namely, in representing Cuba as an island, and not as a peninsula, as Columbus continued to regard it, probably during his life.

Similar representations were made in various ways on maps made long after the death of Columbus. His last two voyages were occupied in explorations much further south, which have no special relation to our subject.

3. EXPEDITION OF PONCE DE LEON FROM PORTO RICO TO THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA IN 1513.

For the reasons above stated, the more northern regions were for several years neglected by Columbus and his followers; and even the northern side of Cuba, which, accordingly, was supposed by them to be continental with Asia, until it was circumnavigated by Sebastian de Ocampo, in 1508, when its insular character became generally known.

Soon after this voyage of Ocampo, the Spaniards began to search more eagerly after the regions north of Cuba. The Indians of Cuba and of the Lucayan islands related a tradition, that there was, in that direction, a great country, which they named "Cautio," in which there was a wonderful fountain, having power to restore youth and strength to those who bathed in its waters. A similar story was told of an island, called "Bimini," said to lie in the north-western part of the Lucayan Archipelago.

It is probable that Ocampo brought home from his circumnavigation of Cuba, the first accounts of these traditions, and spread them among his countrymen, the Spanish settlers. And probably soon after, private adventurers and explorers may have undertaken voyages in search of this fountain of Bimini, and the country of Cautio.

Some years later, Juan Ponce de Leon, the conqueror and governor of Porto Rico, influenced by these glowing traditions, determined to seek this fabled fountain to restore his shattered frame; and on the 3d of March, 1513,* sailed with three vessels to the north-west, having as chief pilot,

* Nearly all former authors have placed this voyage in the year 1512. But Peschel, in his "Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen," p. 521, has proved that this year is an *impossible* date, and that instead of it the year 1513 *must* be adopted.

Antonio de Alaminos, a very intelligent and skillful man, who afterwards distinguished himself by several important discoveries.

De Leon, sailing at first along the eastern coasts of the Lucayan Archipelago, arrived on the 14th, at "Guanahani," the first American island discovered by Columbus. No Spanish navigator, so far as we know, since the discovery of Columbus in 1492, had reached this his north-western *ne plus ultra*. Ponce de Leon now passed it, crossed the track of Columbus, and advanced still further to the north-west.

On the 27th of March, which was Easter-day, commonly called in Spain, "Pascua Florida" (Flowery Easter), he discovered land in about 29° N. He sailed along the coast for two days in a north-westerly direction, looking for a harbor, until on the second day of April, he came to anchor at a place in $38^{\circ} 8'$ N., probably near the present St. Augustine. Here he went on shore, took possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain; and, thinking it to be a large island, he called it "La Florida," as well because he had discovered it on the above-mentioned festival day, as also from its flowery aspect.*

The next day, Friday, he still continued his course to the north-west: but on Saturday, changing his mind, he returned along the coast in a southerly direction; disappointed, perhaps, in the object of his search, and desirous of ascertaining what connection there might be between Florida and Cuba.

He continued on his southern course until the 20th of April, baffled by the strong current of the Gulf-stream, and making little progress. He occasionally landed and gave names to several places; for instance, to a place,—discovered on the 8th of May, in latitude $28^{\circ} 15'$ N., probably Cape Canaveral, as indicated on subsequent Spanish maps,—he

* See Herrera, Dec. I, lib. 9, cap. 10.

gave the name "Cabo de Corrientes," so called from the strength of the currents which rendered it difficult for him to pass, though sailing with favoring winds and all his sails set. In about 25° N., he saw the coast turning westward, and there descried a long chain of rocky reefs and islets of various forms, which appeared to his Spanish imagination like martyrs lying upon their grates; and which he therefore called "Los Martyres" (the Martyrs), our present Florida Keys.

Having reached these keys, De Leon turned to the north, entered upon other waters quite new to the Spaniards; and came upon the western coast of his "island Florida," along which he sailed some distance to the north, perhaps as far as the present "Charlotte Bay." From this point he again turned south, and on his home route came in sight of the "Tortugas" (the Tortoises); where, having Cuba on the one hand, and Florida on the other, he was able to determine the distance between those two countries. After cruising in the Lucayan Archipelago, he arrived at Porto Rico in the month of September or October.*

After this expedition, De Leon went to Spain, where the king gave him the title of "Adelantado de la isla de Bimini y la Florida," together with the government of these newly discovered provinces, with a commission to establish a colony there. De Leon was accordingly the first European governor appointed for the North American continent. For the next few years, however, he was so occupied with expeditions against the troublesome inhabitants of the Caribbean islands, "that he could not profit by his commission." But in the year 1521, he began to arm and avail himself of his commission in Florida. With the remainder of his fortune he fitted out two vessels, and sailed again to that country; at this time visiting only its western coast, and accordingly fur-

* There are some doubts about this date.

nishing nothing of interest to our subject. On this his last expedition he was mortally wounded in a battle with the Indians of Florida; and died in Cuba, leaving a son, the heir of his titles to the great country discovered by him in the north.

The Spanish name "Florida," which De Leon gave to this new country, remains; while the Indian names, "Cautio" and "Bimini" were soon forgotten. The name of Florida was extended by degrees further north with the progress of Spanish discovery and power in that direction. New England, and even Labrador, were at last included under the name of Florida. Nearly to the end of the eighteenth century, the name of North America was little used by Spanish authors.*

4. VOYAGE OF ANTONIO DE ALAMINOS FROM VERA CRUZ THROUGH THE BAHAMA CHANNEL TO SPAIN IN 1519.

Before and after the expedition of De Leon in 1513, numerous private excursions were made to the coasts of Florida and the Lucayan islands, from St. Domingo and Cuba. Among the adventurers was a certain Diego Miruelo, who had preceded De Leon, and was now found by him to his astonishment, making on his own account a second expedition to Florida, in 1516. This Miruelo brought home specimens of gold, which increased the fame of this country among the Spaniards.†

We are not told to what part of Florida Miruelo went; but probably it was not to the east coast. The Gulf of Mexico at this time, and in subsequent years, attracted the

* Among these authors is the well-known historian, Barcia, in his great history of Florida.

† See Garcilasso de la Vega's work upon De Soto, lib. 1, chap. 2; and Barcia's "Ensayo Chronologico," p. 2. Madrid, 1723.

attention of enterprising Spaniards more than any other region. The great naval expeditions of Cordova, 1517; Grijalva, 1518; and Cortes, 1519, were directed to that mediterranean sea of North America. The east coast was neglected for nine years after Ponce de Leon's voyage in 1513. But from these gulf expeditions there proceeded a voyage, which exerted an important influence upon the exploration of this east coast.

Cortes,—having obtained on his cruise along the coast of New Spain some favorable accounts from the interior, and built the fortress of Vera Cruz, and wishing now to send reports of his successful progress to the king of Spain, by the shortest possible route.—despatched, in a fast-sailing vessel, his skillful pilot, Antonio de Alaminos. He, as has been said, had been the chief pilot of De Leon, in 1513; and had conducted, in this capacity, the subsequent expeditions of Cordova, Grijalva, and Cortes to the Gulf of Mexico, and had thereby acquired great knowledge and experience of those waters.

Alaminos knew the east coast of Florida as high as 30° N., and had observed with De Leon the strong northern current along that coast. He did not know with certainty what was the state of things beyond this point to the east, on the route to Spain. No one, probably, except perhaps Sebastian Cabot in 1498, had sailed in that direction, and he, probably, only as far south as 36° N., in about the latitude of Gibraltar. It could not, therefore, be known at that time, whether the islands which appeared on the map of Cosa so plentifully scattered over those waters as high up as 40° N.,* might not be barred with reefs and banks; or whether the passage in that direction might not be blocked by some peninsula, projecting from the northern continent far to the south and the east.

* See Cosa's Chart, our No. 5.

But Alaminos, having observed the strong currents in the Bahama Channel, did not think it possible that such obstructions could exist. "He thought," says Herrera, "that these currents would conduct him somewhere into deep and open water." Accordingly he made trial of a passage through the Bahama Channel, and floated down the Gulf-stream into the broad Atlantic Ocean; thereby proving the existence of a navigable passage in this direction, from Cuba and the Gulf of Mexico to Spain.

The exact latitudes of Alaminos' track are nowhere reported. We are only told, that, in sailing through the Bahama Channel, "he put himself to the north" (*fue metiendo se al norte*), and that in this direction he found the broad ocean (*hallo el espacioso mar*); and that in pursuing his voyage he touched the island of Terceira.*

From this it is evident, that he sailed along a great section of the Gulf-stream, and may be considered as the real discoverer of this current, running along the entire east coast of North America, and exerting an important influence on its commercial, as well as geographical and political history. He probably passed near the Bermudas, though he is not known to have seen them. In this manner he completed the discovery of the section of the ocean lying between the tracks of Cabot, Columbus, and Ponce de Leon, which, until his voyage, had remained untraversed and unknown.

5. THE FIRST SPANISH EXPEDITION OF LUCAS VASQUEZ DE AYLLON TO CHICORA (THE COAST OF CAROLINA), 1520.

The Spanish slave-trading voyages to the Lucayan Archipelago, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had depopu-

* See Bernal Diaz, *Historia Verdadera*, cap. 54-56; and Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 14.

lated one island after another. As the demand for laborers in the mines and plantations of Hayti and Cuba continued, the slave-traders sought other countries not yet visited, and at last extended their search to the coast of the "Northern Indies."

In the year 1520, several wealthy planters of St. Domingo fitted out two vessels in the harbor of La Plata, and despatched them to the Lucayan islands, for the purpose of "procuring hands." Among these owners or adventurers (armadores), were the Spanish civil officers Diego Caballero, Ortiz de Matienço, and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon; the last a literary man, a graduate (licenciado) and judge (oidór).

The judge Ayllon, apparently the most wealthy and active in the company, with the help of his associates, paid all the expenses of the expedition. The name of the commander we do not learn, only occasionally a Captain Jordan is mentioned as the commander of one of the ships. He may have been the commander of both ships, and the expedition may, therefore, properly be called "Captain Jordan's voyage."*

The chief pilot of the expedition was Diego Miruelo, the same who has already been mentioned as having made reconnoitering expeditions on his own account to the north, in 1513 and 1516, and who was therefore well acquainted with the navigation of the Lucayan islands and with parts of Florida.

The two vessels sailed from St. Domingo some time in 1520. They touched at several Lucayan islands; but finding them depopulated, and determining "not to return with empty ships," they directed their course further north, to try

*The only Spanish author who makes Ayllon himself go with the expedition, is Barcia, 1723. The older authorities, Gomara, Oviedo, Herrera, do not mention him.

their fortune on the coasts discovered by Ponce de Leon, whose track they followed.*

In this direction they fell in with a coast "in 32° N.," according to Gomara and Herrera, or "in 33° N.," according to Oviedo. And going on shore, they called a cape in the neighborhood "Cabo de Santa Helena" (cape of St. Helena), because they had discovered it on the day of that saint, the 18th of August. A river, which was near, was called "Rio Jordan," after the above-mentioned Captain Jordan. The country, as they understood from the aborigines, was called "Chicora."

I will not examine here the doubtful points connected with these dates and names. This belongs to a special history of the coast of Carolina. I will only state, that we shall find several of these names on charts hereafter introduced, and shall use them as waymarks.

Ayllon's men do not appear to have given much time to exploration. Their voyage was nothing but a slave-hunting expedition. They remained for that purpose in the harbor where they had come to anchor, went on shore, caught some of the natives, to whom they gave European trinkets, and dresses made in the Castilian fashion; who were then dismissed among their countrymen as decoys.

Many poor Indians, upon this, came on board the ships in cheerful groups, to receive similar presents; and when the decks were covered with them, the treacherous Spaniards unfurled their sails, and turned their prows toward the south. But this crime was unprofitable; and was finally avenged on the cruel perpetrators. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished together,—the first

* Herrera, l. c., "navegaron por la noticia que se tenia de la navegacion de Juan Ponce de Leon." "Some will have it," says Herrera further "that they were only carried away to the north *by a storm.*"

shipwreck, probably, on the coast of Carolina. The greater part of the Indians on board the other ship died from sorrow and grief,* sickness and hunger, refusing to eat what the Spaniards offered them. However, one young Indian at least remained alive, to whom the Spaniards gave the name, "Francisco Chicora." He acquired the Spanish language, and afterwards related to Ayllon many wonderful things of the beauty and riches of Chicora. Ayllon, whose imagination was inflamed by these reports, and who was now desirous to try the conquest of this country, carried his Indian to Spain,† with the design of proposing to the government to undertake an expedition on a grander scale.

But these transactions and the preparations for this new expedition occupied several years; and meanwhile this east coast, in its northerly section, had been reached and explored by the Spanish expedition of Gomez in 1525, as well as by the French expedition of Verrazano in 1524, of which I shall treat in the following chapter.

*"—de tristeza y pesadumbre."

† Peter Martyr, l. c. Dec. III, cap. 2, has a most interesting chapter on this Indian from Carolina. Once he had him and his master Ayllon at his table in Seville, and communicates to his readers the conversation which he then held with them about "Chicora." Among other things, he mentions, probably for the first time, the sweet potatoes ("Batatas") of that region.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITIONS TO THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA
UNDER THE FRENCH, BY VERRAZANO,—THE SPANIARDS,
BY GOMEZ,—AND THE ENGLISH, BY RUT.

1. EXPEDITION OF GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO IN 1524.

No exploring expeditions had been undertaken to the new world officially by the French government prior to 1523. All had been left to private enterprise. But in that year, the first French voyage for “the discovery of the new countries” was commenced, under the patronage of Francis I, the brilliant, enlightened, and powerful sovereign of France.

Four ships were fitted out, under the command of Giovanni da Verrazano,* a citizen of the same nationality, which had furnished commanders for the Spanish and English expeditions to the new world,—an Italian of Florence. He had previously navigated the eastern parts of the Mediterranean,—the same waters in which Columbus had gained his experience; and having entered the service of the king of France, he had been employed at times in cruising against the Spaniards.

The expedition of 1524 appears to have been partly destined as a hostile cruise against the Spaniards. But explora-

* I write this name here as it is written in the work of Ramusio, though Italians, Tiraboschi, for instance, write it Verrazani. To adapt the name to the English reader, we shall in the following pages call him *John Verrazano*.

tion and discovery, more particularly the search for a passage to Cathay, were the principal objects of the royal commission then received by Verrazano, as he himself says, in his letter to the king.* In this letter we regret that we have not a more full account of the instructions or orders given to him by Francis I.†

From several circumstances soon to be mentioned, it appears probable, that at first he sailed from France in the autumn of 1523. The expedition seems to have met with unfavorable weather, and to have encountered great tempests on the northern coasts (*nelle spiagge settentrionale*). Two ships were separated from the fleet; and what became of them we are not informed. With the two other ships, "La Dauphine" and "La Normande," in a damaged condition, Verrazano entered a port of Brittany to repair. What "northern coasts" these were is not clear. Some think that this first attempt was designed for a long exploring expedition, and that "the northern coasts" were some northern part of America already reached by Verrazano in 1523. Verrazano says, in his letter to the king, that he had made a

* Ramusio, vol. 3, p. 420 seq. Venetia, 1565. Verrazano speaks of the four ships which were sent by the orders of the king across the ocean, to discover new lands (*li quattro legni che vostra Maesta mandò per oceano a discoprir nuove terre*); and further says (in the appendix to the copy of his letter, lately discovered in the Magliabecchian library in Florence, edited by G. Cogswell, Esq., in the collections of the Historical Society of New York, second series, vol. 1, p. 52 (New York, 1841), that it was his intention "to reach in this voyage Cathay on the extreme coast of Asia."

† Herrera (Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 9) says, that Francis I, the rival of Charles V, had a desire to emulate him also in respect to western discovery. He relates, that Francis had uttered the expression, that "he did not think God had created those new countries for the Castilians alone." Herrera thinks, also, that the expedition was sent out especially for the discovery of a north-west passage, and of a route to the Moluccas; "a subject which at that time occupied the cosmographers and navigators of all sea-faring nations."

report to him on this first unfortunate attempt at exploration ; but this report has unhappily not come down to us.

After having repaired his vessels, Verrazano sailed again, well equipped for a cruise along the coasts of Spain.*

He went as far south as the island of Madeira. From this place he resolved to proceed to the west, but with only one of his vessels, "La Dauphine." As to what became of "La Normande," we have no account.

On board the "Dauphine" he had fifty, probably picked, men ; and she had provisions for an eight months' cruise, "arms and other warlike munitions and naval stores."

On the 17th of January, 1524, he parted from the "Islas desiertas," a well-known little group of islands near Madeira, and sailed at first westward, running in twenty-five days five hundred leagues, † with a light and pleasant easterly breeze along the northern border of the trade winds, in about 30° N. His track was consequently nearly like that of Columbus on his first voyage.

On the 14th of February, ‡ he met "with as violent a hurricane as any ship ever encountered." But he weathered it, and pursued his voyage to the west, "with a little deviation to the north ;" when, after having sailed twenty-four days and four hundred leagues, he descried a new country which, as he supposed, had never before been seen either by modern or ancient navigators. The country was very low.

From the above description it is evident, that Verrazano came in sight of the east coast of the United States about

* Herrera (Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 9) says, that he sailed *from Dieppe* on the 17th of January, which probably is not correct.

† Ramusio, l. c.; Herrera, l. c.; and also Hakluyt, in his "Divers Voyages," edited by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1850.

‡ So the Magliabecchian Manuscript (l. c. p. 56) has it. Ramusio and the "Divers Voyages" have the 20th of February, which appears less probable.

the 10th of March, 1524. He places his land-fall in 34° N.,* which is the latitude of Cape Fear, a prominent peninsula projecting, with its islands and banks, far into the ocean, and was probably the first land seen by him.

He first sought a harbor for water and to repair his ship, and for this purpose sailed to the south along the coast "for about fifty leagues" † from the point of his land-fall. But he could find no port in this direction.

Seeing the coast trending still further south in the same manner, he reversed his course, and returned north; but finding no suitable port, he came to anchor near the coast, ‡ and sent some of his men on shore to look at the country and communicate with the inhabitants.

This landing-place must have been somewhat north of his land-fall in 34° N., perhaps not far from Cape Lookout. A section of low coast, sixty to seventy leagues in length, stretches along there, in which Verrazano could find no port; and this corresponds with the character of the coast between Capes Lookout and Romain. There are long uniform tracts of low country without any estuary or port whatever, which might well have discouraged a weather-beaten and port-seeking navigator. The few inlets or ports existing there, lie behind sandy promontories, and might be easily overlooked.

South of Cape Romain are the harbor of Charleston, St. Helena Sound, the inlet of Port Royal, Savannah River, and other open channels on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, as far down as the harbor of St. Augustine. The coast of Florida south of St. Augustine is destitute of any good

* See the Appendix to his letter in the Magliabecchian Manuscript, l. c. p. 52.

† Twenty French marine leagues, probably meant here, make one degree of latitude.

‡ Ramusio, l. c. p. 420 A.

harbor. As it is quite certain that Verrazano did not sail as far south as St. Augustine, it is evident that he could not have gone much south of Cape Romain. We may therefore, with some degree of probability, put down *this cape as the southern terminus of his voyage*. This cape is only about thirty French marine leagues from Cape Fear,—his land-fall. But Verrazano may have meant “fifty leagues,” coming and going. At all events, his “fifty leagues,” if we reckon them strictly, bring him on the coast of Carolina, and still north of Port Royal and St. Helena Sound. I therefore do not agree with the American author, who thinks “that he sailed *at least* as far as the southern part of the State of Georgia.”* The important discovery of that more southern coast, so rich in harbors, belongs to another, a Spaniard,—Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon.

Those who hold that Verrazano’s southern terminus was near the peninsula of Florida, have so thought, because he mentions the palm tree as among the productions of the country, while this tree is not found north of Georgia.”† But even should this be true, we need not lay much stress upon these “palm trees” of Verrazano. It is well known that the old navigators in these western countries very often saw what they wished to see. Verrazano says also, that “the country, being so near to the east (of Asia), would probably not be destitute of the medicinal and aromatic drugs of the Orient,” and he thinks also that the country might contain gold, which he thought was “denoted by the color of the ground.” So he may easily have thought, that he saw “palm trees” in some other trees resembling them.

From these considerations I infer, that Verrazano saw

* Rev. S. Miller, D. D., in New York Historical Society’s Collections, vol. 1, p. 24. New York, 1811.

† Dr. Miller, l. c.

little of the coast of South Carolina, and nothing of that of Georgia, and that in these regions he can, at most, be called *the discoverer only of the coast of North Carolina*. Verrazano, who gives us the oldest description known of this country, thus represents it: "The first line of the coast is sandy; has behind it small rivers and arms of the sea that enter at certain creeks, washing the shore on both sides. Beyond this appears a country rising in height above the sandy shore, with many fair fields and plains, and full of mighty woods. . . . The shore is shoal and without harbors, but it is free from rocks, and deep, so that within four or five feet of the shore, there are twenty feet of deep water, the depth increasing in a uniform proportion; and there is very good riding at sea."

Verrazano wrote this account probably at the place where he, for the first time, anchored and went on shore. It is a truthful description of the coast of Onslow Bay in North Carolina, north-east of Cape Fear. From this we may infer, that his anchorage was near New River Inlet, in the center of this bay.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion, that the first land made by Verrazano was Cape Fear, in 34° N., which is in the very center of a harborless coast. And the correctness with which he gives this latitude tends further to convince us of the general accuracy of his observations of latitude, and especially of the accuracy of those latitudes which he afterwards mentions.

From the center of Onslow Bay Verrazano sailed on toward the east and north. Like the Cabots, who were at the same point thirty years before him, he probably feared that, in going further south, he should encounter the Spaniards, who had already discovered the coast of Carolina in the expedition of Ayllon in 1520, and at this very time were preparing to send this same navigator from St. Do-

mingo, on a second expedition to the same regions, and with the same object of finding a north-west passage to Cathay.

“The coast,” as he says, “stretched at first to the east,* and then turned to the north.” Before coming to this northern land, Verrazano sent again some of his men on shore, probably in Raleigh Bay, where happened that hospitable and kind treatment so often related, which the wild inhabitants gave to a French boy, whom the waves had thrown on their shores.

Departing thence, we suppose he rounded Cape Hatteras, and at a distance of about fifty leagues, came to another shore, where he anchored and spent several days.†

While riding at anchor “on the coast for want of harbours,” he explored the country, and found it full of immense forests a few leagues from the coast. Here he had an interview with the Indians, and brought one of their boys on board his ship, and kept him there.

This was *the second principal landing-place of Verrazano*. If we reckon fifty leagues from Cape Hatteras, it would fall somewhere upon the east coast of Delaware, in latitude 38° N., where, by some authors,‡ it is thought to have been. But if, as appears to me most likely, Verrazano reckoned his distance here, as he did in other cases, from his last anchoring, and not from Cape Hatteras, we must look for his second landing somewhere south of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and near the entrance to Albemarle Sound. And this better agrees with the “sail of one hundred leagues,” which Verrazano says he made from his second to his third landing-place in New York Bay. From the Peninsula of Delaware, in

* Ramusio.

† Magliabecchian report: “sequendo sempre il lito que tornava verso settentrione, pervennimo in spazio di leghe 50 a una altra terra.”

‡ J. W. Jones, in note to p. 61 of the “Divers Voyages.”

38° N., to New York harbor, it could scarcely be called "a sail of one hundred leagues." In a direct line, it is only fifty leagues.

Though Verrazano sailed from his second station "always in sight of the coast during the daytime, and always carefully coming to anchor in the night," still the large and beautiful entrance of Chesapeake Bay is not mentioned by him. His second landing-place could not have been near this entrance, because he says, that at this station he was "riding on the coast for want of harboroughs." All the country was sandy and low, and for the space of two hundred leagues which he ran, "he never saw a stone of any sort." These "two hundred leagues of sandy, stoneless shores," probably designate the coast from his southern terminus, Cape Romain, to his third landing-place, New York harbor, which is about two hundred French marine leagues.

After this sail of one hundred leagues from his second station, he found "a very pleasant place among some small, prominent hills, in the midst of which ran down to the sea a great body of water (*una grandissima fiumara*),* which was so deep at its mouth, that any heavily laden vessel might pass into it.

This is the first time that Verrazano mentions "hills" as having been seen by him. And there can be scarcely a doubt, that the Highlands of Neversink are here intended. They are the first hills of any importance found on the whole coast, from Florida north; and the sight of them would naturally make a strong and agreeable impression on a navigator coming from that quarter. Near the capes of Virginia, at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, some hills are observed; but they have an elevation of not more than a hundred and

* Ramusio.

thirty feet, while the Highlands of Neversink rise to an elevation of more than three hundred feet.*

It is further to be observed, that Verrazano does not speak here exactly of a river (fiume). That name would hardly seem appropriate to designate that great mass of water which passes out between Sandy Hook and Long Island. Verrazano calls it a "finmara," † which, according to the dictionary of the *Accademia della Crusca*, is more than a river (piu che un fiume), and is defined as a "congeries aquarum." This is a very appropriate term for the broad outlet of New York Bay, and corroborates the supposition, that the mouth of this bay is here intended. And this supposition is further confirmed by Verrazano's description of the coast.

So far as this point, the coast, he says, ran for a long distance from the south, but that afterwards "it trended for fifty leagues and more toward the east." This describes exactly the situation of the bay, in the north-west corner of the great triangular gulf of New York.

He found at this third landing station an excellent berth, where he came to anchor "well-protected from the winds" (in luogo ben coperto da venti), ‡ and from which he ascended the river in his boat into the interior. He found the shores very thickly settled, and as he passed up half a league further, he discovered a most beautiful lake (bellissimo lago), of three leagues in circumference. Here, more than thirty canoes came to him with a multitude of people (con infinite gente), who seemed very friendly, and showed him the best places for landing.

While he was having this friendly communication with

* See Blunt's "American Coast Pilot," pp. 307, 326, New York, 1857, where these highlands are depicted.

† At least, in the edition of his letter contained in Ramusio.

‡ Ramusio.

them, a sudden squall of *contrary* wind arose (movendiosi dal mare un impeto *contrario* di vento), which compelled him to return speedily to his ship, and even to weigh anchor and sail onward toward the east, greatly regretting to leave this region, which had appeared to him so commodious and delightful.

This description contains several accounts which make it still more clear, that the bay of New York was the scene of these occurrences.

The multitude of people which came out to see him seems to prove, that he must have been at the mouth of some great river, like the Hudson. For the Indians, from the earliest times, have always crowded around such localities, which were favorable to trade and settlement, just as European planters did afterwards. That excellent berth of his, "protected from the winds," could not have been outside of Sandy Hook; for there he could not have found such protection. What is called the Outer Harbor of New York is not mentioned. Verrazano's "bellissimo lago" of three leagues in circumference, can be nothing else than the "Inner Harbor;" though even for this, the "three leagues" mentioned are rather a short circuit. If we suppose that he came to anchor in Gravesend Bay, his "boat sail of half a league," which brought him to that "lake," might be explained as a passage through the "Narrows," which is not much longer than half a league. Hence it seems to me, *that Gravesend Bay is the most likely place of Verrazano's anchorage in these waters.* Still it seems strange that he should feel obliged to leave an anchorage so well protected, and so commodious and delightful a place which he was anxious to explore, from a flaw of wind sweeping over the bay.

From New York Bay Verrazano sailed eastward "along the southern shore of Long Island. He followed this direc-

tion for about fifty leagues,—the coast always in sight.” At the end of the fifty leagues he discovered an island of a triangular shape, hilly, covered with trees, and full of people. He gave it the name of the mother of Francis I,* the princess Louise of Savoy; and must therefore have called it “L’Isle de la Princesse Louise,” or something like that. But by a singular mistake, subsequent geographers, supposing the mother of Francis to have been named *Claudia* (the name of his first *wife*, daughter of Louis XII. of France), have called it the island “Claudia.”

This mistake was first made by Ortelius, who, in 1750, drew on his map of America a “Claudia Island:” which after him was reproduced on all subsequent maps and charts of America. Even Hakluyt repeated and sanctioned this mistake, by writing in a marginal note to his translation of Verrazano’s report: “The mother of Francis I. was Claudia.” † This Claudia, the first wife of Francis I, was by no means a prominent person. She is seldom mentioned in the history of France, and was already dead at the time of Verrazano’s voyage. Louisa, the mother of Francis, was, on the contrary, a very distinguished person, and much beloved by the king. During his absence in Italy, in 1524, she was appointed to be Regent of France. It is therefore probable, that her name, rather than that of a person so obscure as Claudia, would have been selected by Verrazano for this compliment. This island is distinguished as being the only place to which Verrazano gave a name, in his report of his voyage.

Some authors suppose, that this island of “Claudia,” or rather “Louisa,” is our present little Block Island; others think, more justly, that it must be Martha’s Vineyard, which

* “Batlezzamola in nome della Vostra clarissima genetrice.”

† Hakluyt’s “Voyages and Navigations,” vol. 3, p. 298. London, 1600.

agrees much better than Block Island with Verrazano's account of the distance of his "Louisa" from New York, and of the appearance of that island. Fifty French marine leagues (twenty to a degree) running east from New York harbor, carry us beyond Block Island, and indeed a short distance beyond Martha's Vineyard.

The "triangular shape," ascribed by him to Louisa Island, might perhaps be equally applicable to Block Island and to Martha's Vineyard; but not the account he gives of its size and general appearance.

The island of Rhodes, near Asia Minor, to which Verrazano compares his newly-discovered island, is forty-four leagues, or about one hundred and thirty miles, in circumference. Being a Mediterranean navigator, he doubtless knew it well from his own observation. It had become famous by the bloody and destructive assaults made upon it by Solyman, the Turkish emperor, only two years before, and would hence have naturally occurred to his thoughts, during his lonely sail along the barbarous shores of North America. He could hardly have thought of comparing that little fisherman's station, "Block Island," which is only four leagues in circumference, with the magnificent island of Rhodes. It is certainly less difficult to suppose, that he may have been led by some association of ideas to compare it with Martha's Vineyard, which, being sixty statute miles in circumference, comes somewhat nearer to the size of Rhodes. It presents a very agreeable and diversified aspect, and is covered with little ranges of hills interspersed with plains, and has always been well peopled.

Several authors have found difficulty in adopting this opinion regarding Verrazano's "Louisa Island," for the reason, that Martha's Vineyard lies far to the east of the entrance of Narraganset Bay, while Verrazano would seem,

from his account, not to have entered this bay until after he had passed beyond this island. Verrazano relates, that *after* having descried his "Louisa Island," he entered another most "beautiful port" fifteen leagues distant. These authors have supposed that this fifteen leagues' sail must have been, like the former course, in an eastern direction; and since, in this direction from Martha's Vineyard, no such "beautiful port" could be reached, they have concluded that Louisa Island must be Block Island, which lies west of Narraganset Bay, and from which this beautiful port could be reached on an eastern course. They seem not to have considered, that the "fifteen leagues' sail" from "Louisa Island," could as well be in a western direction; which, indeed, is quite clearly indicated by Verrazano's report. He says: "that he could not anchor and go on shore on Louisa Island, because the wind became contrary" (*per contrarieta del tempo*). A contrary wind, in his situation, was, of course, a wind from the east. It was perhaps an eastern *gale* which forced him to look out for a harbor. He was beaten back from Martha's Vineyard; and so quite naturally was carried, by a north-western course, into Narraganset Bay.*

That the "beautiful port" (*bellissimo porto*) which Verrazano thus reached after a fifteen leagues' sail toward the north-west from Martha's Vineyard, was Narraganset Bay, and more especially Newport harbor, is evident from the description he gives of this port, and from other circumstances.

This port he represents as situated in the parallel of Rome, $41^{\circ} 40'$ N. (in grade 41 e duo terzi). The latitude of Newport is nearly the same, being $41^{\circ} 30'$. Such accurate observation of latitude is seldom found at that time. From this correct statement of the latitude of Newport, and the other

* Mr. J. W. Jones, in a note on p. 64 of his edition of "Divers Voyages," partially adopts this view, though not very decidedly.

of Cape Fear before mentioned, we have cause to regret that Verrazano should have given us no other observations of this kind in his narrative.

He says further, that the outlet of the port to the ocean looked toward the south, and that there the harbor was "half a league broad." This is exactly the width and direction of the passage from Newport harbor toward the sea. He also mentions several times a small island near the harbor where his ship was riding (*una isoletta vicina alle nave*); which corresponds with Goat Island, lying near Newport.

He stayed there a fortnight, providing his vessels with necessaries, and carrying on a friendly intercourse and trade with the Indians. This is the longest stay which Verrazano made at any place on our coast.

He made several excursions into the interior, and gives an accurate description of its appearance, its open and fertile fields, meadows, and groves. He sailed also into the northern parts of the bay, and ascertained that it became larger, and was twenty leagues in circumference; he counted five islands in it, and says that the largest fleets might ride safely between them;* all which corresponds to existing facts in regard to Newport, and confirms the supposition that this was the spot visited by him.

Verrazano was the first European, after the Northmen, who came to this harbor; and it is remarkable how perfectly he corroborates their description of the beauty of the country, and the richness of its vines and grapes, which he mentions several times.

* Some writers (for instance Dr. Miller, in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, p. 24, seq., New York, 1811), have thought that it was not the Bay of Narraganset and Newport, but the Bay of New York, which was here meant. I think that it has been shown above, that this view cannot be correct.

He left this port on the 5th of May, which is the only date he gives us during his whole survey of our east coast. Allowing a fortnight for this stay in Newport, and a few days more for his sail from New York, we may fix the date of his arrival in New York Bay at the middle of April.

From Narraganset Bay, Verrazano coasted a "hundred and fifty leagues" along a country "somewhat higher, with certain mountains." This country, no doubt, is New England. At first, for about fifty leagues, he found the coast running to the east, "trending afterwards to the north," in the vicinity of Cape Cod. Though he kept, as he says, always in sight of the shore, still his letter affords no indication of any port or harbor made or discovered by him along the coast of New England; but his description of his sail northward, after having rounded Cape Cod, points unmistakably to this region.

I here present in full Verrazano's report relating to this territory, because it is the first detailed description of the coast of the Gulf of Maine, which has been given by any European traveler. I copy it from the translation of the letter in Ramusio, found in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. 3, p. 295, London, 1600. The Magliabecchian copy gives it nearly in the same words as Ramusio.

Verrazano's Description of the Coast of the Gulf of Maine.

"Trending afterwards to the north (after Cape Cod), we found another land high, full of thicke woods, the trees there of firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be curteous and gentle, so much were these full of rudenesse and ill manners, and so barbarous, that by no signes that ever we could make, would we have any kind of traffike with them. They cloth

themselves with Beares skinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beastes skinnes. Their food, as farre as we could perceive, repairing often to their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots, which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They have no graine, neither saw we any kind of signe of tillage, neither is the land for the barrenesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to have any of their commodities, they used to come to the seashore upon certain craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let down with a rope, what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approache to the land, demanding immediately the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fishhookes, and tooles to cut withall, neither did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people showed all signes of discourtesie and disdain, as were possible for any creature to invent. We were in dispight of them two or three leagues within the land, being in number twenty-five armed men of us. And when we went on shore they shot at us with their bowes, making great outeries, and afterwards fled into the woods.

“ We found not in this land anything notable or of importance, saving very great woods and certaine hills; they may have some mineral matter in them, because we saw many of them have beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence, keeping our course north-east along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, *with high mountains within the land.* Continuing directly along the coast for the space of fifty leagues, we discovered thirty-two Islands, lying all neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high, and having many turnings and windings betweene them, making many fair harbo-

roughs and chanel's as they do in the gulfe of Venice, in Sclavonia and Dalmatia. We had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same manners and nature as the others are. Saying North-east for the space of one hundred and fiftie leagues, we approached the land, that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees."

Rounding Cape Cod with a fair and favorable southerly or south-easterly wind,* and keeping the distant country in sight, Verrazano, having crossed the Bay of Massachusetts, must have touched the shore at some place in the inner corner of the Gulf of Maine, probably in the vicinity of Portsmouth, where he appears to have made some stay. Departing thence, he changed his course from a northern to a north-eastern direction along the shore, and soon came in sight of "*high mountains within the land.*" These "high mountains" were probably the "White Mountains" of New Hampshire, which were often observed and mentioned by old navigators sailing along our coast. They cannot be seen from the sea near Portsmouth; but after this port has been passed, they soon become visible along the coast, from the neighborhood of Saco to the region of the Kennebec. This circumstance makes it nearly certain, that Verrazano touched our coast near Portsmouth, and had there his first landing-place, in his cruise along the coast of the Gulf of Maine.

He was struck there by the more northern aspect of the country. He found "firres and other trees, wont to grow in cold countreys." He found the country not apt to bear fruit

* After having left Narraganset Bay, Verrazano says (Hakluyt l. c.), that for some time he did not land in any place "because the weather served his turn for sailing." This expression appears to indicate a wind of the description given above.

or seed, nor anything of importance, saving great woods, for which the State of Maine has always been famous.

And as to the inhabitants, while those in the south had been courteous and gentle, these in the north were rude, ill-mannered, and unfriendly.

In fact, all the inhabitants of this northern country were in a state of irritation and hostility against the white men ; from which I conclude, that the country had been previously visited by Europeans, whose treatment had disaffected the natives. For nearly everywhere in the new world, where Europeans first landed, their reception by the natives was kind, like that experienced by Columbus on his arrival in Guanahani ; while, on the contrary, where the two races had repeatedly come in contact, a hostile disposition was manifested, such as Verrazano met with on the coast of Maine.

Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, in 1524, had often been visited by the French and Portuguese, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, either in catching fish, or driven by contrary winds ; and some of them may have been driven to the coast of Maine, not more than about one hundred leagues distant from their most western fishing-banks.

This is still more probable from another circumstance mentioned by Verrazano ; that whilst the natives of the south did “ not care at all for steele or yron ” instruments, those in the north were very eager to possess them, and accordingly must have already learned their use. “ They would take nothing,” Verrazano says, “ but knives, fish-hooks, and whatever would cut.”

European commerce and barter had, therefore, commenced before the time of Verrazano’s expedition to this coast.

Departing from his landing-place on the coast of the Gulf of Maine, Verrazano, as he sailed along the shore in a north-

east direction, found the country more pleasant. The coast of Maine is still found more diversified and attractive, than the more uniform shores of the south. And its interest is increased by the distant view of high mountains within the land, which, no doubt, as has been said, were the White Mountain range.

From Saco Bay the coast of Maine begins to be broken up into those innumerable headlands, tongues, peninsulas, and islands, which form one of its most characteristic features. Verrazano, as he sailed along, counted thirty-two islands, very pleasant to the view, and having many turnings and windings between them, making many fair harbors and channels. And thinking of his cruise in the Mediterranean, the theatre of his former exploits, compared them very appropriately to the coasts of Dalmatia and Sclavonia in the Adriatic, which have very similar indentations, and are equally full of islands. He does not appear, however, to have landed again; so that it remains doubtful whether he ever trod the territory of Maine. His last landing-place, where, with twenty-five armed men, he went two or three leagues into the interior, having been "in the vicinity of Portsmouth," it is doubtful whether it was upon the soil of New Hampshire or Maine.

The characteristic beauties of the coast of Maine must have made a strong impression upon the mind of Verrazano. For while he speaks of them in high terms and describes them minutely, he has for Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the remainder of his voyage, only these few words: "Sailing north-east (from the coast of Maine) for the space of 150 leagues, we approached to the lande that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Having now spent all our provisions and victuals, and having discovered about seven hundred leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France."

He entered the port of Dieppe early in July, 1524.* His whole exploring expedition, from Madeira and back, had accordingly lasted but five and a half months, and may be called a most prosperous and rapid excursion.

Though Verrazano says that he discovered a new country, "which had never been seen by any one, either in ancient or modern times," and though he never mentions either the name of America, which in his time had come into use, or the name of "Occidental Indies," by which the Spaniards at that time called America: still from the description which he gives of the new country,† it is evident, that he was quite aware of having touched a part of the regions designated by these names. He says that this country, of which he had discovered a part, and of which the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered the rest, is so large, that it might well be called another world (*un altro mondo*), and that even at the beginning of his voyage he "expected to find some such an obstacle," though he did not doubt "that he should penetrate by some passage to the Eastern Ocean." How far distant he thought this "Eastern Ocean" to be, he does not say, but only that the breadth of his newly discovered country is not ascertained. That he thought himself much nearer to the Eastern Ocean and to China, than he really was, is clear from several of his observations. He thought that the savages, whom he saw on our east coast, were, in some of their qualities, "like the people of the east parts of the world, and especially like *them of the uttermost parts of China*." He thought, also, that "these new countries were not altogether destitute of the drugs and spicery, pearls and gold,"

* His report, which he at once sent to the king, is dated "on board the ship *Delphin*, in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524."

† In the additional notes to his report found in the Magliabecchian library. See Cogswell's edition, l. c. p. 65 seq.

supposed to belong to the eastern world. He hoped that certain information on these points would soon be obtained by new undertakings to the same coasts.

Verrazano's voyage—with that of Gomez, soon to be mentioned—is to us the most interesting maritime undertaking made to our east coast during the first half of the sixteenth century; principally, because it is the only one of this period upon which we have a full written report, composed by an eye-witness, himself the well-instructed commander of the expedition. The account is, therefore, invaluable. Still the most precious part of what Verrazano wrote respecting his voyage, has not been preserved, namely, that little book (*un libretto*) which he says he sent to the king, having noted in it all his observations of longitude and latitude, of the currents, ebb and flood of the sea, and other matters, which he hoped would be serviceable to navigators, and be promotive of science.*

Ramusio informs us,† that Verrazano made another voyage to the shores of the new world, where he was killed in a battle with the natives. Though we have no original document in which this is affirmed, still it is probable, for many reasons, that a second expedition was really made.‡

The first is the statement of Ramusio himself, a contemporary and countryman of Verrazano, and who lived among the very men with whom Verrazano would be in correspondence, and who would be likely to know his fate.

Further, the tenor of Verrazano's own report, which is very favorable to the country he had discovered, in respect

* See Mr. Cogswell's edition of Verrazano's letter, l. c. p. 52.

† "Discorso," etc., vol. 3, fol. 417 B.

‡ Mr. G. W. Greene, in his "Life and Voyages of Verrazano" (in *North American Review*, 1837, p. 304), collects, in a very complete and able manner, all the reasons and circumstances which make a second voyage of Verrazano nearly certain.

to its nature, its climate and fertility, its general aspect, and even its aboriginal inhabitants, shows an inclination on the part of the author to go out again to these regions, and even to persuade his king to make a settlement there. "In a short time," he repeats once more at the end of his report,* "we shall have, I hope, more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid of your majestie."

Ramusio does not pretend that Verrazano made his second voyage as commander, and in the service of the king of France. The affairs of France and of Francis I. fell into a very confused and desperate state soon after Verrazano's return, and after the battle of Pavia at the beginning of 1525; Verrazano may, therefore, have early discovered, that there was no chance for him of employment in France. For this and other reasons it is not unlikely, that, as some have thought, he may after a time have emigrated from France, proceeded to England, and entered the service of Henry VIII; and that he may have been the "Italian pilot," who is said by Herrera to have been killed by the Indians on a subsequent English expedition to the east coast of America, of which we shall soon speak.†

But with regard to Verrazano's ultimate fate, the opinions of authors have been very widely different. Some have thought that, not receiving the promotion he had expected in France, he returned to Italy and died there; others, that he was taken by the Spaniards and hanged as a "corsario" (pirate). ‡

* See Cogswell, l. c. p. 67.

† This, to a certain degree, is made probable by Mr. Biddle in his *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 278 seq.

‡ This is said by Barcia, *Ensayo Chronol. de la Florida*, p. 8. Madrid, 1723.

2. EXPEDITION OF ESTEVAN GOMEZ ALONG THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA IN 1525.

From the time of Columbus, the pilots and cosmographers of Spain were continually occupied with the problem of a passage to India by a western route. The question was revived with renewed zeal on the return, in 1522, of the *Victoria*, Magellan's vessel, under command of Sebastian del Cano, from the great discovery at the south, that a passage had at last been found through the hitherto impassable barrier of the western continent.

Another expedition toward Magellan's Strait was at once prepared. But the mariners, who had returned in the *Victoria*, had found the new route long and dangerous, and could not, therefore, highly recommend it.

The hope again revived, that another strait might be discovered, by which America would be penetrated in a similar manner in the north, though the Cabots and the Cortereals had not succeeded in finding it. It was argued by some, that *because* there was a strait in the south, there *ought also to be one* in the north, under the conviction that, according to a certain law of harmony, nature must have disposed and shaped, in a corresponding manner, the countries verging toward the north and south poles.

Among those who inclined to this belief, was Estevan Gomez, an experienced Portuguese pilot, who since 1518 had been in the service of the king of Spain. In that year the emperor gave him the title of "piloto," at the same time that he gave to Sebastian Cabot the title of "piloto major."*

Gomez had been several times with his Portuguese countrymen to the East Indies. He had also sailed with Magellan to the south of America in the subordinate capacity of

* See Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 3, cap. 7.

pilot of the "San Antonio," one of Magellan's vessels, though he had much higher pretensions. In that capacity he had become, to some extent, an opponent and rival of Magellan, his commander; and at last had conspired against him, and left him with the ship Antonio and her mutinous crew, and returned to Spain. On his arrival he reported, that the strait in the south, which Magellan thought he had discovered, was too dangerous to be used for any good purpose, that Magellan and all his men would probably perish, and that he himself had concluded to save his vessel and crew for the future service of his king.

It was natural, therefore, that when Magellan's remaining vessel returned in 1522, Gomez should desire to offset this valuable discovery of his rival, by a more successful attempt in the north.

Fernando Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, had also, in 1524, pronounced himself in favor of the existence of a northern passage to the Pacific. At this very time, Lucas Vasques D'Ayllon also entertained the same opinion. He had extended Spanish discoveries in 1520 to latitude 33° on our coast, including "Chicora," and had received a royal commission, signed June 12, 1523,* for the discovery of a passage in the northern parts of Florida.

It appears, accordingly, that in the years 1523 and 1524, there were in Spain not less than three competitors for the discovery of a north-west passage on our coast,—Cortes, Ayllon, and Gomez. But Cortes was hindered by several circumstances from the execution of his plan, and gave it up. Ayllon consumed a long time in the outfit of his vessels, and in preparing for his expedition, and was not ready with his

* See commission in Navarrete, "Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos," etc., tom. 3, p. 153 seq.

armament until 1526, and at last came to an unhappy end. in the southern part of the east coast.

It was, therefore, left to Gomez in 1524 to conduct an expedition for the discovery of this passage. An order had been made by Charles V. in 1523, for fitting out a vessel of fifty tons, to which he would contribute 750 ducats; the rest of the expense to be borne by private persons. But this expedition was delayed in the hope of securing the services of Cortes; and also by a disagreement between Spain and Portugal, in regard to the division of their respective claims in the new world.* For the adjustment of these, a council was held at Badajos, to which Gomez was sent in 1524. Here he took his place, as one of the Spanish scientific commissioners, by the side of Sebastian Cabot, Juan Vespucci, Diego Ribero, and other celebrated cosmographers and pilots.† This honorable position shows the high estimation for knowledge and experience in which this "pilot" was held; who was destined to be the official Spanish explorer of the northern parts of the east coast of America.

This commission dissolved in 1524 without having come to a conclusion on the disputed points; and Gomez was again at leisure to complete the preparations for his voyage. He sailed a few days after the 10th of Feb. in 1525,‡ from the port of Corunna in Galicia, where the "Casa de contratacion" (court of Admiralty), formerly held in Seville, had been for some time established.

* Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 1.

† Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 6.

‡ Navarrete has found in the Spanish archives the Royal decree (la Real cedula), by which Gomez, before he started, was nominated, Feb. 10, 1525, his majesty's pilot. And Navarrete adds, "he left the port at the same time." There is also a perfect agreement between this date and the statements of the historians on the time of his return; respecting which I shall speak hereafter; so that there seems to be no doubt, that his departure must have been on the days next following the 10th of February.

We are unable to designate the track which Gomez followed on the ocean. No kind of ship-journal or report, written either by himself or any of his companions, has been preserved. And the Spanish historians Oviedo, Herrera, and Gomara, who may have seen such a journal, are extremely brief in their accounts of this expedition; although it had a particular interest for Spain, being the only official expedition sent out by that country to the northern parts of our eastern coast.

We only know, that Gomez had the intention of going to the north, though not to the *higher* arctic regions, which the Cabots and the Cortereals had attempted. He thought he might find a passage to China "between the Bacallaos and Florida."* The coast of Florida had been discovered and explored in 1512 and 1520, as high as 33° N. by Ponce de Leon and Ayllon; by which it was known in Spain, says Herrera, that no passage existed there. Newfoundland, Labrador, and other coasts in that region, had been reconnoitered by Sebastian Cabot, the Cortereals, and others. But in the wide region between Florida and Cape Breton, "no Castilian vessel had sailed as yet."† The expedition made the year before to the same region by the French "corsario," Verazano, was perhaps not yet known in Spain.

From this it appears, that Gomez, from the beginning, had this intermediate coast in view. "If China and the Moluccas could not be found that way," says Herrera, "many other goodly islands and provinces might be found, which had not been discovered as yet. It was also," he adds, "the opinion of Sebastian Cabot, that there might be discovered still many islands on the way to the Moluccas."‡

* So says Peter Martyr, Dec. VI, cap. 10, "iter ad Cataiam inter Bacallaos et Floridam se reperiturum inquit."

† Herrera, l. c. Dec. III, lib. 8, cap. 8.

‡ Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 4, cap. 20.

Sebastian Cabot was in communication with Gomez, having had, in 1524, his seat with him in the council of Badajoz; and we may conclude that Cabot was consulted in regard to his voyage, and its direction; and he may have suggested to Gomez to seek his object in this middle region. Cabot may have thought that enough had been done, in the higher latitudes, where the ice had proved so great a barrier, and that a practicable passage might be found between the extreme points already explored, and which he had not been able to examine himself with sufficient attention. The expedition of Gomez may, therefore, be considered in a manner as a continuation and completion of Cabot's voyage.*

Near Newfoundland, Cabot had discovered broad openings which had not been satisfactorily explored. On the south of Newfoundland a large open space had been depicted on the chart of Reinel, the countryman of Gomez, and by others after him. It is therefore probable, that Gomez, on leaving Corunna, shaped his course to the north, in the direction of Newfoundland; leaving the south, which had been already now fully explored, and where success was more doubtful, to be examined afterwards. In fact, some authors state explicitly, and others leave us to infer, that his course, like that of Cabot, was along our coast from north to south.† But Galvano, in many respects a good authority, affirms that Gomez went from Corunna first to the island of Cuba, and thence sailed by Florida as high north as Cape Race.‡ Thus Gal-

* Some authors affirm, that the expedition of Gomez was proposed *in opposition* to Cabot, and by his rivals and enemies. I find no allusion to such an enmity in any Spanish author. It only appears that there were two parties in Spain, entertaining different views on the usefulness and success of the undertaking of Gomez.

† Peter Martyr, l. c. hints this; also, Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 8, cap. 8; and Oviedo (Sommario, cap. 10, fol. 14), says that Gomez ran along the coast westward (*discurriendo al occidente*).

‡ See Galvano, "Discoveries of the World," ed. by Vice-admiral Bethune, p. 167. London, 1862.

vano, who was a Portuguese, either from want of information or from oversight, has reversed the whole track of Gomez. And in this important point he has been followed by some modern authors.* This construction we shall endeavor to prove to have been erroneous.

The reports, given by the Spanish historians, of the discoveries of Gomez along our coast, are lamentably short. They determine neither his northern land-fall, nor the southern end of his cruise, nor the gulfs, ports, and inlets which he entered. We learn nothing from them about the obstacles he encountered, nor any incidents of his voyage. They say nothing, but that "Gomez went along quite a large space of country which had been navigated by no Spaniard before him,"† and that he went as far south as Florida. But "Florida" was a vague and broad term. Oviedo says, that he went as far south as about 40° or 41° N. But in respect to all the particulars of his voyage we are left to probabilities, and also to the official Spanish charts, which were executed soon after the time of Gomez, and which speak more precisely than the Spanish authors. I shall introduce these charts and examine them in the appendage to this chapter.

The result of this examination will be, that Gomez entered many ports and bays of the coast of New England, and gave names to them, by which they became known in geography for a long time. The territory, of which Maine is a part, was described on Spanish maps, as the "country of Gomez" (Tierra de Gomez).

* A discoverer sailing along our coast from south to north would be likely to make different discoveries, to enter different ports, to be arrested by different impediments, from one sailing from north to south.

† Gomara says: "Anduvo buen pedaco de tierra." And Herrera about the same: "Corria por toda aquella costa hasta la Florida, gran trecho de tierra."

The voyage of Gomez terminated in about 40° or 41° N.,* without his having found any passage to the west, or any of the rich products which he was expected to bring home.†

But determining to present something valuable to his owners, he caught as many Indians as he could take on board his small vessels, and carried them to Spain.‡ No account is given of the place or manner in which these poor captives were taken. But it is reasonable to suppose, that he would not have seized them until he had given up all hope of finding a passage to Cathay, and was about entering on his home voyage, and therefore, that they were taken from the southern termination of his cruise, in latitude about 40° N., or about New York bay.

Herrera says, that from "Florida" he went to the island of Cuba, stayed some time in S. Jago, there refitted his vessel, refreshed his men, and was well taken care of by Andres de Duero, whom the emperor afterwards rewarded for this hospitality to his pilot.§ Though Peter Martyr and Gomara mention nothing of this visit to Cuba, and make Gomez sail directly to Spain, still Herrera's statement is in the highest degree probable. Vessels coming from the north with exhausted crews, along the coast of Florida, have always considered the West Indies as a harbor of refuge. I could mention many expeditions which, before returning to Europe, have sought refuge in Cuba or Hayti for refreshment and supplies. And as the planters of Cuba were at this time much in need of slaves, it may have appeared to Gomez a good market for his cargo; and he may have sold there the

* Oviedo, a contemporary writer, says this quite distinctly in his *Sommario*, cap 10, fol. 14, which, for the first time, was published in the year 1526.

† Gomara.

‡ Peter Martyr says: "utriusque sexus hominibus navem ferevit."

§ Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 8, cap. 8; and Navarrete, l.c. p. 179.

greater part of his captives to indemnify his owners. Other writers, however, think that he carried them to Spain to gratify the curiosity of the emperor, as was then customary with explorers.

The circumstances last mentioned tend to confirm the opinion, that Gomez did sail along the coast from Newfoundland to the south; and not, as Galvano and some modern writers affirm, from south to north.

The entire voyage of Gomez lasted ten months. On this point all the good authorities agree. And as he sailed from Corunna a few days after the 10th of February, he must have arrived at that place on his return about the 10th of December; and this date agrees with the view which Peter Martyr takes in his letters on the subject. Although in his work he announces, as in a newspaper, the various movements in the progress of discovery, still in none of his letters, written in the month of November, 1525,* does he say anything of the return of Gomez. He speaks of him in a subsequent letter, written probably at the beginning of 1526.† Oviado says, that he arrived "in the month of November," perhaps at the end of it. The "ten months" of navigation should not, perhaps, be taken literally.‡ But they all concur in making the length of the voyage *about ten months*; which is an ample period for his extensive and minute exploration.

On his arrival in Corunna, the public was very anxious to know whether he had succeeded in his great object, and if he had really reached the Moluccas through the northern regions. A good old gentleman, whom they told that the

* See this letter in Peter Martyr, Dec. VIII, cap. 9.

† Peter Martyr, Dec. VIII, cap. 10.

‡ That is confirmed by the expression used by Peter Martyr, who says that Gomez returned "within the tenth month" (*intra mensem decimum a secessu*).

pilot Gomez had returned and had brought back “*esclavos*” (slaves), understood them to say “*clavos*” (cloves or spices). Thinking that this would be good news for the emperor, who at this time held his court at Toledo, he took the swiftest horses, and carried the report that Gomez had reached the Moluccas, and had returned with a ship full of spices and other precious articles. But the meagre truth soon followed, that not “*clavos*” had been brought home, but only *esclavos*, kidnapped against the royal decree by Gomez, who therefore deserved punishment, instead of reward. This mistake gave occasion at the time for a good deal of amusement to the courtiers, and has been related for more than a hundred and fifty years, by every historian and geographer who has written, even if only a few lines, on the discovery of Norumbega.*

A more important consequence of the voyage of Gomez is, that it was the means of introducing another nation to our waters and coasts. Although the Spaniards, since the year 1494, when the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal was drawn, had considered all the regions west of this line as a part of their dominion, and had depicted them as such on their maps; still, no Spaniard, by any act of discovery or possession, had seized those coasts in the name of his king, until this voyage of Gomez in 1525. Gomez had now done this by actual survey, and by giving to the country a Spanish name, “*La tierra de Gomez,*” which was now entered on their charts.

The Spaniards, and more particularly the mariners and fishermen of Biscay, have pretended, like those of Brittany and Normandy, that they and their ancestors, from time immemorial, had sailed to Newfoundland; and, even before Columbus,

* See Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Gomara, Herrera, Wytfliet, De Bry, and in fact all historians and geographers down to Mr. Biddle.

had established their fisheries there. But the Spanish historian Navarrete, in more modern times, does not sustain this pretension of his countrymen, and shows that it is "not supported nor proved by any contemporary and trustworthy document whatever;" but that it is proved, on the contrary, by many facts and testimonies, that the fishermen of Guypuzcoa, S. Sebastian, and other Biscayan ports, did not appear in our waters, or commence their fisheries before 1526, the year after the return of Gomez.* Then and not before, says Navarrete, the Biscay people commenced their voyages to the north-western regions, going every year in the early spring, and returning in the latter part of autumn,—the same seasons of the year in which Gomez had sailed and returned.

Though the proofs on which Navarrete founded his opinion,—namely, certain recollections, testimonies, and statements of old Biscay fishermen, made upon examination in a lawsuit in 1561,—do not appear to me to be quite conclusive,† still the views of a Spanish historian like Navarrete, are of great force. At any rate, we may come to the conclusion, that if the fisheries of the Spanish Basques on the Banks of Newfoundland and in the vicinity, did not begin with the voyage of Gomez, they received from it a new impulse. Gomez, fitted out as he was in Coruna, very probably took his principal crew from among the hardy navigators of the north of Spain. Herrera, in speaking of the preparations for this voyage and its outfit, says, that the emperor had ordered "the province of Biscay and the four Biscay towns to give him thereunto every possible assistance."‡ Gomez, on his voyage, made known to the Biscayan sailors who accompa-

* See Navarrete, *Collección de los viages y descubrimientos*, etc., tom. 3, p. 1766 seq. Madrid, 1829.

† The recollections of those old fishermen, examined in the year 1561, may, from want of memory, have gone no higher up than 1526.

‡ See Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 4, cap. 20.

nied him, the coasts surrounding the Banks of Newfoundland, Newfoundland itself, the coasts of Nova Scotia and the Gulf of Maine, as far at least as 41° or 40° N. He brought back also from these regions accurate maps, or sailing charts, and thus made the navigation to them more easy. Moreover, he proclaimed the news through all the north of Spain, that these regions, if not rich in spices, were at least "full of walrusses, cod-fish, salmon, and fish of all sorts."* Such news must have made a great impression on the fishermen of Biscay, and have given them a fresh impulse. From this time, for more than a century, they appeared in these waters every year with a large fleet, and took their place upon the banks as equals by the side of the Bretons, Normans, and Basques of France, until the middle of the seventeenth century, when rival nations dispossessed them of their privileges.†

3. EXPEDITION OF TWO ENGLISH SHIPS, THE MARY OF GUILFORD AND THE SAMSON, UNDER THE COMMAND OF JOHN RUT, 1527.

A wealthy and intelligent merchant of Bristol, Robert Thorne, "in the time of Henry VIII. of England, a notable member and ornament of his country," was very active in promoting voyages of discovery. In 1527 he was, for some time, settled in Seville in Spain, and from thence he wrote two letters or memoirs, one of which he directed to Doctor Ley, "ambassador in Spain" of Henry VIII, in which he gave information of the parts of the world discovered by the emperor and the king of Portugal; and another, which he addressed to Henry VIII, exhorting him to prosecute the

* This is mentioned in the inscription on Ribero's map of the year 1529. See this map in the appendix to this chapter.

† Navarrete, l. c. p. 180.

work which had been begun, of discovering unknown countries.

Hakluyt, who afterwards found and published these two interesting old documents,* says, that "this motion took present effect," and that the king sent out "two faire ships, well manned and victualled; and having in them divers cunning men, to seeke strange regions."

One of these vessels was called "The Mary of Guilford," and the other the "Samson." † They sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of June, 1527. ‡

Biddle § thinks it absurd to suppose, that a letter, written in the year 1527, could have been forwarded, its suggestions considered and adopted, the course resolved on, commanders selected, vessels suitable for such an enterprise prepared, and all the arrangements completed, so as to admit of that early departure on the 20th of May. Hence he concludes, that Robert Thorne is associated with this expedition by Hakluyt, without due consideration. He thinks, on the contrary, that Verrazano, soon after his return from his expedition of 1524, perceiving that in the confused and exhausted state of France, he would have no chance of employment there, had proceeded to England, presented his chart, and probably a report of his former expedition to Henry VIII, and was therefore the true instigator of this undertaking of 1527. So far as Verrazano is concerned, all this appears very probable. Still, Hakluyt's statement regarding Thorne may also be

* See Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," Ed. John Winter Jones, pp. 27 and 33.

† Hakluyt (*Voyages and Navigations*, vol. 3, p. 166, London, 1810) says, that according to what he had heard, one of the vessels was named "The Dominus vobiscum." Master Rut, the commander of the expedition, in a letter written by him, gives the two names above mentioned.

‡ Purchas, *Pilgrims*, vol. 3, p. 809. Hakluyt says, on the 20th of May from the Thames. Both may be right.

§ *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 280.

true to a certain extent. Henry may have lent his ear to the words of Verrazano, and also to the letters of Thorne, if we suppose them to have been written and delivered at the beginning of 1527. Thorne's letter may have contributed to confirm the king in his support of Verrazano's scheme. Often, in such cases, an impulse has been derived from different sources.

The discovery of a north-west passage appears to have been the principal object of the expedition. The ships sailed toward Newfoundland, but went no further north than 53° , where they met with "many great islands of ice," and "a marvailous great storm," which separated the two vessels on the 1st of July. The *Mary of Guilford*, under command of Master John Rut, "cast about to the southward," and "on the third day of August entered a good haven in Newfoundland, called St. John, where they found eleven sails of Normans, one of Brittany, and two Portugal barks, all a fishing."*

As we have no further account of the *Samson*, it is probable that she perished in the great storm above mentioned.

The *Mary of Guilford* "returned by the coasts of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Norumbega;" often, as Hakluyt informs us, "entering the ports of those regions, landing men, and examining into the condition of the country. They reached England in the beginning of October."†

The name "Norumbega," or "Arambec," in Hakluyt's time, was applied to Maine, and sometimes to the whole of New England. We have, therefore, in this report, information of the first instance in which Englishmen are certainly known to have *put their feet upon these shores*. Though the

* Purchas, l. c.

† Hakluyt, *Voyages, Navigations, etc.*, vol. 3, p. 168. London, 1810. The old edition of Hakluyt (fol. 517, London, 1589) has "coasts of Norumbega." The later editions, including that of 1598-1600, fol. 3, p. 219, have "coasts of Arambec." The names are synonymous.

Cabots and others, before this time, had sailed in sight of this coast, yet we are not told distinctly, that they went on shore or reconnoitered the country.

It is much to be regretted that we have so little information on this exploring expedition, which is so highly interesting to the object of our inquiry, especially as the expedition is said to have been accompanied by a learned man, "a Canon of St. Paul in London, a great mathematician." It may be presumed that his observations on these regions were brought to England; and that by this means, or others, the English had now become somewhat acquainted with Norumbega.*

Mr. Biddle conjectures that Verrazano who, like Thorne, had recommended this expedition, was on board of the *Mary of Guilford*, and was killed by the natives of Norumbega on one of the excursions into the interior.† Verrazano, on his expedition in 1524, had observed the numerous islands and the broken and indented shores of these coasts. He had expressed in his letter to Francis I. a great interest in these regions, and a wish to visit them again; and it may be supposed, that he had persuaded the commander, Master Rut, to explore more carefully these coasts, where from their wide indentations he might hope to find a passage. It is therefore not unlikely, that Verrazano found his death on the shores of Norumbega: and if a monument to the memory of this famous discoverer should ever be contemplated, this would be the region in which it should be erected.

From certain statements of Spanish authors it is probable that the "*Mary*," after passing the coasts of Norumbega,

* Hakluyt (l. c. p. 179) says, that he could not learn the name of "the mathematician." Mr. Biddle (p. 274) makes it probable, that it was the clergyman Albert de Prato, mentioned by Purchas.

† See Biddle's Memoir, p. 276 seq.

sailed still further south along the east coast of the United States; and, arriving in the Spanish West Indies, cast anchor off the island of Porto Rico.

The Spanish historian Oviedo, who at the time of this expedition lived in the West Indies, reports, that in the year 1527 an English vessel had appeared off Porto Rico. He gives no further particulars regarding this alarming appearance of Englishmen in these exclusively Spanish waters.* But another Spanish historian, Herrera, without giving an exact date, relates this event as follows: † A strange vessel of three masts and of the burden of two hundred and fifty tons had appeared off the island of S. Juan de Porto Rico. Gines Navarro, the master of a Spanish vessel then lying in the port, supposing her also to be Spanish, went out in a boat to board her. But on his way he was met by a pinnace from the strange vessel, with twenty-five armed men, and two pieces of artillery. They proved to be Englishmen, and told the Spaniard the following story: They had come from the north. In the beginning they had two vessels, fitted out for the purpose of searching for the country of the Great Chan. ‡ The second vessel had been separated from them in a storm. They had passed through a very rough sea, where they had encountered great islands of ice, and afterwards had entered into waters which were boiling hot (the Gulf-stream?). They had reconnoitered "the Bacallaos," where they had found fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese fishing vessels. In one instance they had gone ashore to confer with the Indians, by whom their pilot, an Italian, "a native of Piedmont," was killed. They had then coasted along as far south as the river

* See Oviedo, *Historia general de las Indias*, lib. 19, cap. 13; and Bid-
dle, *Memoir of Cabot*, pp. 114, 275.

† Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 3.

‡ . . . "para yr a buscar la tierra del Gran Can."

of Chicora (*hasta el Rio de Chicora*), and from this river they had come over to the island of S. Juan de Porto Rico.

These Englishmen, as Herrera proceeds to relate, invited Captain Navarro to come on board their vessel, showing him their papers and instructions from the king of England, and their great store of victuals, wine, flour, clothes, ammunition, artillery, and iron-work. The ship was manned by sixty men. They wished to know the way to Santo Domingo; and, after some time, sailed thither. From this place, however, not being received in a friendly manner by the Spanish commander of the castle, who fired upon them, they returned to Porto Rico, traded some time with the inhabitants of the port of St. German, and after that disappeared altogether.

From this narrative it is evident, that the early events of the English expedition of which Herrera speaks, have a striking resemblance to the early events of the expedition of the "Mary of Guilford" and the "Samson," as related by Hakluyt and Master Rut. It is nearly certain, that both the Spanish and the English accounts refer to the same expedition; and both agree in ascribing to it the same essential particulars, of the commission from the king, the purpose of the voyage, the number of vessels and the fortunes of each, the countries visited, and the obstructions and difficulties encountered. The islands of ice, and the French and Portuguese fishing vessels near Newfoundland, are mentioned in both reports.* Thus it appears, that Master Rut communicated to the Spanish captain nearly the same things, and in nearly the same words, which he had just before written in his letter from Newfoundland to the king of England.

The principal point on which they differ is the date. Herrera, in his chronological history, speaks of his English vessel in a chapter in which he treats of events of the year 1519.

* Herrera mentions also *Spanish* vessels, which Rut does not.

That he has misplaced this voyage under that year is evident from the following facts :

1. The perfect silence of all English authorities on a royal English expedition for a north-west passage in the year 1519.

2. The improbability that all the alleged circumstances should agree in two different expeditions.

3. The circumstance that Oviedo, a contemporary and an inhabitant of the West Indies, mentions the arrival of an English vessel at Porto Rico in the year 1527, and does not speak of such an event in the year 1519.

It is possible that Herrera may have made a chronological mistake, and that he was not sure about the date of this event. But it is more probable, that he did not intend to give the date of 1519 to the incident which he has here related. In a chapter under the head of 1519, he considers and reviews, in a general way, the condition of the Spanish colonies, and merely adverts, by way of example, to this appearance of an English vessel, as one of several circumstances which had led to complaints and uneasiness on the part of Spain. In giving examples and instances, he thus refers to an event which occurred at a later period.

And last but not least, it must be observed, that the country and river of "Chicora," which Herrera mentions under the head of the year 1519, did not become known to the Spaniards until after the subsequent expeditions of Ayllon in 1520-1526.* In the year 1519, no Captain Navarro could speak with an English captain about "Chicora."

From all this it is perfectly clear, that the strange vessel which the Spanish Captain Navarro saw off Porto Rico was the "Mary of Guilford" in 1527, and that the English commander, with whom he had this conversation, was Master Rut. And hence it follows, that the oral communication

* See amongst others, Herrera, Dec. X, lib. 9, cap. 12.

made by Master Rut to Captain Navarro regarding certain events of his expedition subsequent to its departure from Newfoundland, namely, the killing of the Italian pilot (Verrazano?) and the sail of the *Mary of Guilford* along the east coast of North America to "Chicora," must be regarded as a supplement to his written communication, made to Henry VIII. concerning the earlier events of his expedition.

Unfortunately, we do not certainly know whether any chart of the track of the "*Mary of Guilford*," and of the coasts reconnoitered by her, was drawn during this voyage. But as it was usual on these royal or official expeditions to draw charts of their routes, we may infer, that it was done in this instance; and also from the fact that they had on board a "learned man," both a canon and a mathematician. Though it has not been preserved to us, it may have existed for some time in England, and have been used by later English map-makers.

This voyage of the *Mary of Guilford*, in 1527, was the last official enterprise of the English to our waters and coasts, until the expedition of Sir John Hawkins, in 1565.

The result of our examination of this expedition, so far as they relate to our special purpose, may be thus summed up:

The coast of the country of Norumbega was visited by an English vessel in 1527.

The *Mary of Guilford* not only came in sight of the coast of Maine, but she also "often times put her men on land to search the state of these unknown regions;"* and it is the first occasion of which we are distinctly informed, that Englishmen actually landed on this coast.

It is not improbable, that it was on the occasion of this

* Hakluyt, ed. of 1589, p. 517.

landing, that the celebrated French navigator, Verrazano, was killed by the Indians.

After Cabot, this was the *second* English expedition which sailed along the entire east coast of the United States, as far south as Carolina,—the country of Chicora.

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER VIII.

I. CHARTS FROM VERRAZANO.

1. ON MAP, No. 13, OF NORTH AMERICA, MADE AFTER VERRAZANO'S CHART, BY MICHAEL LOK, IN 1582.

THE charts made by Verrazano of his voyage in 1524 are, as I have before mentioned, unfortunately lost. Hakluyt, however, in 1582, when he published his "Divers Voyages," says, "an olde excellent mappe, which Verrazano gave to king Henry VIII. existed still, and was then in the custodie of Master Michael Lok."*

This "Master Lok" (or Locke) was the son of Sir William Locke, an alderman of London, and was a merchant, who during his life had made many and great travels through nearly all the countries of Europe and in the East, and had also been for some time consul at Aleppo for the company of merchants of Turkey. He is said by Hakluyt, "to have been a man of knowledge, worthie, and of good reputation." To his own misfortune he became a great promoter of the expeditions undertaken for finding a north-west passage, and particularly of the voyages of Martin Frobisher in 1576-1578.†

Being desirous of proving the possibility of a north-west passage, he composed with this view, probably for those who were interested in its discovery, a map of North America, on which he drew the coasts of terra firma so far as they had become known to him, and, where no country had been discovered, left open water.

Hakluyt affirms, that Lok made his map "according to Verrazano's plat;" and he accordingly added it as an illustration to the report on Verrazano's voyage, published by him. In this we follow his example; for though the map shows very few traces of Verrazano, still it is the only one known to us, which, according to good authority, pretends to have been taken partly at least from his charts.‡

* Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*. Edited by J. Winter Jones, p. 11. London, 1850.

† See the introduction of Mr. Jones to Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. xc. seq.

‡ M. R. Thomassy, however, says, that there exists in Rome still another old chart relating to Verrazano's voyage, among the collections of the Propaganda. This



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Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," first published in 1582, had become very rare; and still rarer the map contained in it. There were not more than four copies of it known in 1850. In that year it was republished by the Hakluyt Society, and of this our map, No. 13, is a reduced copy.

The map has in the west the coast of California (Quiviri), beyond 44° N.; and on the coast of Florida the names, "River de May," etc., given by the French under Ribault. This could not have been taken from "Verrazano's plat," because it alludes to discoveries made a long time after his death. Much less could "Verrazano's plat" have served for the delineations given of the islands and straits in the high north: "Meta incognita," "Frobisher's Strait," etc.,—names relating to discoveries in the time of Lok himself. The trending and configuration given to that part of the east coast of America, along which Verrazano had sailed, agrees also so little with the longitudes and distances given in Verrazano's report, that I find it difficult to believe, that our map is a copy from Verrazano's original survey. Master Lok probably took it from some one of the innumerable maps of his time, which was nearest at hand.

The coast of Maine is, however, easily recognized by the chain of islands ranged along it, in 43° N. Among those islands there is one bearing the name of Claudia, which Verrazano is erroneously stated to have given in honor of the mother of Francis I. The island, to which this name is supposed to have been given by Verrazano, lies on the south coast of New England, near Narraganset Bay. On our map and on many contemporary maps, it is located near the great river of Norumbega (Penobscot Bay).

The name "Norumbega," which is prominently written on this map, was also conspicuous on all the maps in Lok's time. It was probably not taken from Verrazano's map. "Norumbega" (including here Nova Scotia and part of New England) is represented as a long island. The large strait which bounds it on the west, and runs from south to north,

chart, according to Thomassy, is a sea chart representing a great part of the world. An inscription on it says, that it was made by Hieronymus Verrazano, probably a brother of the discoverer, Giovanni Verrazano, 'five years after the voyage of the latter,' consequently in the year 1529. Unhappily, I have not been able, as yet, to procure a copy of this chart. The notes of Thomassy give very little information of its contents or importance. See his article: "Les cartes géographiques et la cartographie du Vatican," in "Nouvelles Annales des voyages, tom. 3, p. 269 seq., 1853." [In the MS. of Hakluyt, in the hands of the Maine Historical Society for publication, there is a reference to "a mightie large olde mappe in parchmente, made, as it shoulde seme, by Verrazanus, nowe in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke;" and also to "an olde excellent globe in the Queene's privie gallery at Westm'r, w'ch also seemeth to be of Verrazanus makinge." (Cap. 17, §§ 10, 11.)—ED.]

from the Atlantic to the great St. Lawrence, is by some supposed to be Hudson's river. And indeed this idea may have been suggested to Lok by Verrazano's chart. In looking into the broad mouth of Hudson River, from which he was unfortunately beaten back by a flaw of wind, Verrazano may have thought this to be an open passage. But he could not have thought it connected with the St. Lawrence River; for in 1524 he had no knowledge of that river. Besides, the river in question is too far east and north for the Hudson. Its connection with the St. Lawrence may be a mere invention of Master Lok. And other rivers and inlets of our coast, besides the Hudson, were supposed at that time to be branches or outlets of the St. Lawrence.

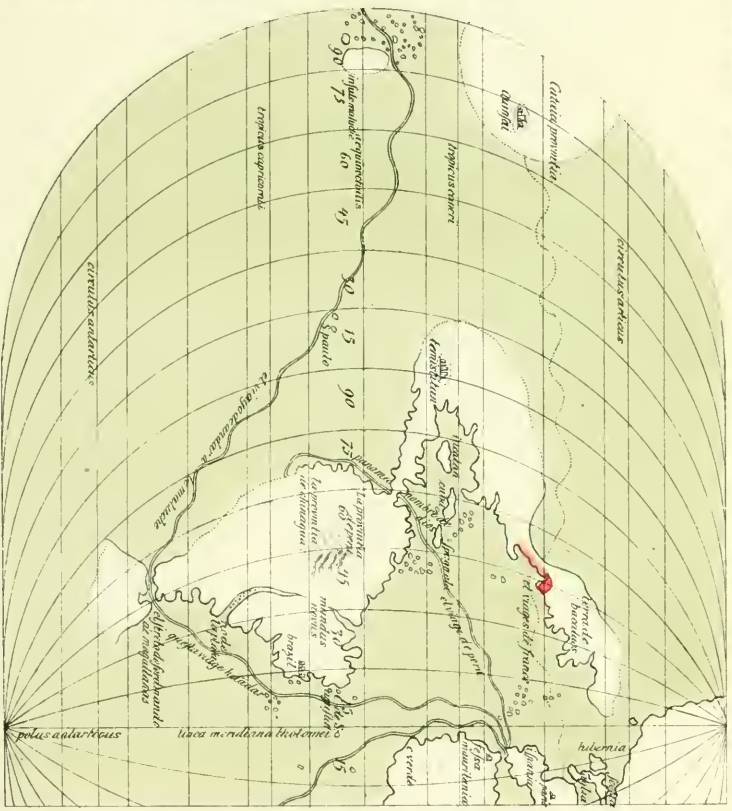
On the western coast of North America, a gulf is drawn, approaching from the great eastern ocean so near to the Atlantic, as to leave only an isthmus between them no wider than that of Panama, and thus dividing North America into two great continents. Something like this delineation may have been seen by Master Lok on the chart of Verrazano; as otherwise he would hardly have designated this gulf as he does on his map, by the inscription, "Mare de Verrazana, 1524."

The great merit of this map is the correct manner in which Fro-bisher's discoveries are laid down. On many subsequent maps they were widely misplaced, and led to serious geographical mistakes. But I do not propose to point them out in this place.

Whether Master Lok took from Verrazano's plat all these traditional and fabulous islands, "Sept Cités," "I. Brandan," "Emperada," etc., with which he has filled the Atlantic Ocean, it is impossible to tell. Perhaps his cosmographical wisdom and his antiquarian tastes, had inspired him with a certain fondness for these old names. They had disappeared long before his time from all authentic and official French and Spanish maps. But they lingered for some time after in the maps compiled by learned geographers. Lok disposes of them very much after the manner of old Ortelius, in the year 1570.

2. ON MAP, No. 14, OF AMERICA, BY BAPTISTA AGNESE, 1536.

Baptista Agnese was an Italian cosmographer and map-maker of Venice, who is better known by his numerous works, than by the circumstances of his life. He lived in the first half of the sixteenth century. He appears to have been settled at Venice, where he found a large circle of persons interested in the western discoveries of the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and English. His works were published principally in Venice, between the years 1530 and 1545. He was no traveler or discoverer himself, but received his information from others. He is said "to have composed his maps for the curious."



From a map of the world made in the year 1536 by B. Agnese.

Though his cartographical works, as historical documents, are not of much importance, still we see reflected in them the ideas and conjectures current in his time respecting the configuration of the new world.

Many of his maps are still preserved in several collections of Germany, France, Italy, and England. Some of them I have seen in Dresden, others in the library of the Duke of Gotha, some in Paris others in the British Museum; and there are others still in the excellent collection of Mr. Henry Huth of London, to whose extreme kindness I am indebted for photographs of such of them as appeared useful to our present purpose.

All these maps of Agnese are executed with great skill and taste, beautifully embellished with colors and gold, drawn upon the best of parchment, all in the same style and handwriting, and according to the same geographical ideas; so that even when the author's name is not given, as in some instances is the case, his works are easily recognized and identified.

The work, of which our No. 15 is a fragment, is a Portolano, or collection of sea-charts, which represents all the known coasts of the world upon ten plates. Upon nine of these plates the several countries are depicted separately and minutely; and upon the tenth, there is a resumé of the whole, in a complete picture of the world. We give here, in a somewhat reduced compass, the western half of this picture.

The Portolano is preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden. In the catalogue of that library it is described as "a work of Baptista Agnese, made in the year 1536;" though neither the name nor the date were given to his atlas by Agnese himself. However, the statement of the catalogue is rendered quite certain from internal evidence. There is, moreover, in the British Museum, a similar parchment atlas (Manuscript Department, No. 5463), which has the following inscription, in the handwriting of the author, "Bapt. Agnese, Venetiis, 1536." Both works, which I have compared, have exactly the same configuration of the several parts of the world, the same embellishments; as, for instance, the same delineation, even as to figure and number, of the golden mountains in the central parts of South America.

At the time when this map was composed, the discovery of Magellan was recent; and still more recent, the discoveries of Pizarro along the coasts of Peru. The more southern parts of Peru and Chili were unknown. The great oceanic route through Magellan's Strait to the Moluccas, and the highway over the Isthmus of Panama to the golden country of the Incas, had, however, been frequently traversed; and they might, to a certain degree, be considered as beaten tracks. They

are pointed out on our map by clear and distinct lines, as well as that long-known highroad of the Portuguese to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope. On the original, the Peruvian track, called "el viago de Peru" (the way to Peru), is gilded; the routes through Magellan's Strait, and round the Cape of Good Hope, are only silvered; which embellishments we have not attempted to reproduce in our copy. The road through Magellan's Strait is designated as the track for going (de andar) to the Moluccas; that round the Cape of Good Hope, as the track for returning from them.

In North America, we find only Mexico and its vicinity represented as being known on both sides. The exploring expeditions of Cortes to California, and the charts made by his captains, could not have been known to our Italian author in the year 1533. They had but just commenced their exploration in these regions. On a map which was made a few years later,* the same author has laid down the Peninsula of California,—a proof that the geographers in Venice became soon acquainted with the new discoveries.

De Soto had not, as yet, discovered his great "River of the Holy Cross" (the Mississippi). And the discovery of another great river of North America (the St. Lawrence), which Cartier had partially explored in 1534 and 1535, was evidently not known to our author in 1536. On the entire east coast of North America no great river had been noticed. Hence there was nothing to hinder the Italian geographers and map-makers, at the time of the composition of this map, from representing North America as narrow and as meagre as they wished to have it. It was their opinion and wish, often expressed in their works, that on the west coast of America, from the termination of the voyage of Cortes on the Pacific coast of Mexico, the shore would turn quickly, and run in a north-eastern direction "to the point of Labrador," (alla punta di Labrador).

Our author entertained this idea, and has represented the whole of North America as an extremely narrow strip of land, and the greater part of the western coast, by a dotted line; both evidently showing that his draft is a matter of conjecture. The countries surrounding the Gulf of Mexico, and also Labrador and the vicinity, called on our map by the old name, "terra de Baccalaos," were generally admitted to be broad tracts of country. But the section including New England and New York, was at that time generally regarded as the narrowest part of the continent.

On some former maps, as I have stated, this part of the country was depicted as an open space, with broad water between the north and

* A map dated 1544, preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden.

south; because at that time, the statements of Cabot and the delineations of Cosa's map of the continuity of the coast, were not believed. But in 1536, after the explorations of Verrazano and Gomez, this fact could no longer be denied. The broad water-gaps must, of course, have then disappeared; while many inlets and narrow passages, not seen by navigators, would still be believed in, and be entered upon their maps many years later.

The Western Ocean, the so-called Pacific, approaches, on our map, nearest to the Atlantic between 40° and 45° N. In 40° N. is depicted a hook-like promontory, projecting in a manner strikingly similar to the "C. arenas," (Cape Cod?) drawn on the map of Lok, after the "plat of Verrazano." Here lies a very narrow strip of land, somewhat like the Isthmus of Panama, running through five degrees of latitude. By this delineation, the section of the continent running due west of the present States of New England is very much contracted, and forms a very narrow isthmus between the Atlantic and Pacific. It was this imaginary isthmus which led Francis I. and his captain Verrazano, to direct to this region the expedition of 1524 in search of a passage to Cathay. And although Verrazano was arrested by a continuous coast, he did not give up the hope, that he might find an opening somewhere; at any rate, he was confident that the Western Ocean was quite near.

From Lok's copy of Verrazano's chart, on which these ideas were depicted, we conclude that such was, at this time, the prevailing opinion in France and Italy.

Agnese delineates on his chart a third, or northern, great highway through America to the eastern countries of Asia. He makes it commence at some harbor of France, perhaps in Normandy; then passes it by water, or over a narrow strip of land, across the isthmus of New England, into the neighboring Pacific Ocean, and thence directly on a straight course to "Cataia provincia" (the province of Cathay) and the great city of Quinsay, which he places at the north of the Molucas. He calls the dotted line marking this course "el viages de France" (the voyages of France). That he is not, however, quite sure of the correctness of this third highway across America to Asia, may be inferred from the fact, that while he indicates this way by dots only, he represents the passages of Spain and Portugal by gilded and silvered tracings.

The particular interest which the map has for our locality is, that it makes New England a narrow isthmus between the Atlantic and Pacific, across which the proposed highway of the king of France runs directly to China.

3. ON FOUR MAPS, No. 15 a, b, c, d, OF NORTH AMERICA, BY DIFFERENT AUTHORS BETWEEN 1530 AND 1544.

The general features of the map of Agnese just described, such as the meagre continent, the proximity of the Atlantic and Pacific, the narrow isthmus of New England, and the highway over it from France to China, were retained on many maps after that time. It would be tedious and unnecessary to mention them in detail. But I have selected some of them from different authors, and brought them together on map No. 15. By this it will be perceived, that the ideas to which I have alluded, were deeply rooted in the minds of geographers in the middle of the sixteenth century. I have been able to include these various drafts on a single plate, because they contain very few names, with rough outlines, and no minute work.

The first map, No. 15 a, is a sketch of North America, from a map of the new world contained in the Ptolemy, edited in Basle, 1530. The map was drawn and engraved a few years after Verrazano's expedition. It has nothing of the Spanish expeditions to Peru and California.

The plate upon which it was engraved, must have been in use for a long time; for the same map appears both in earlier and in much later editions of Ptolemy, without any corrections or additions whatever. The same also reappears in the cosmography of Sebastian Münster, published in Basle. I myself have seen the same delineation in an edition of Münster of the year 1572. It may also have been presented to the "curious public" in still later works.

In the work from which I take the sketch, it has the very ancient title "Novarum insularum descriptio" (a description of the new islands). And after this, follows a Latin note, of which the following is a verbal translation: "Nearly infinite is the number of new islands, which, since the year 1492 until this day, have been discovered by the Spaniards. The most remarkable of these islands are America,* Cuba, Hispaniola, Francisca,† terra Florida. America received her name from the discoverer; and, from its magnitude, the whole is called a New World. It has several adjacent islands, namely: Pariana and Hispana, which is also called Ophir."

North America is circumscribed within narrow limits. "Zipangu" is very near to Mexico, surrounded by the "Archipelago of 7418 islands," taken from the maps of the time before Behaim and Columbus. New England is located upon the narrow isthmus above mentioned, and is

* The name "America," for a long time was applied only to South America.

† Canada.



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partly included in "Francisca," the old name of New France. All the rest of North America is placed under the head of "Terra Florida." Newfoundland is called "Corterati," a corruption of the name Cortereal. The other names on the map will explain themselves.

It is an extraordinary fact, that such a sketch should have been published repeatedly in works of high repute, for more than half a century, until 1572. It shows how slowly improvements were made in maps prepared for the instruction of the people. The map, No. 15 a, has this particular interest for us, that it is probably the first on which "the Sea of Verrazano" was depicted in the form given to it by Lok, in 1582. I have found no map prior to 1530, on which this delineation appears.

No. 15 b. This sketch of North America is taken from a map said to have been made by Girolamo Ruscelli,* of Viterbo, of whom some account has already been given, in treating (Appendage to Chap. VI, § 2) of the map, No. 12. That map was composed by him in 1561; but before that date he must have composed others. And our sketch is a reduced copy of one of those ascribed to him, which I found in the British Museum, bearing the date of 1544. On this map Ruscelli draws the isthmus of New England according to the notions of Agnese and the author of No. 15 a, which probably were the original ideas of Verrazano. He presents, however, the "Sea of Verrazano" as a part of the Northern Ocean (*Oceanus Settentrionalis*). As on the former maps, North America has here only two principal sections, "La Florida" and "Terra de Baccalaos." At the south-west of Florida appears New Spain, "Nueva Hispania." In respect to the connection of the new world, with Asia on one side, and with Europe on the other, Ruscelli adhered to the old notions. As Peschel says, "he fell back into the old Ptolemaic errors."† He represents North America as connected on a broad line with Asia. His "India superior" (Cathay) stands at no great distance north-east of New Spain. A similar error was made, at a later date, by other geographers. On the other side, he connects "Terra de Baccalaos," including New England, Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Labrador, by the way of "Grothlandia," with "Norvegia" in Europe; so that the whole North Atlantic, on his map, as on the old Scandinavian maps, is surrounded in the north, by continuous land. And he repeats, in the different editions of his Italian Ptolemy of 1561, 1563, exactly the same description of America.

* See upon Ruscelli, T. Lelewel, *Geographie du moyen age*, tom. 1, p. 170. Brussels, 1852.

† Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 371. München, 1865.

No. 15 c. This is a fragment of a map, contained in a manuscript Portolano, preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford. On one of the maps of this Portolano, we see in the handwriting of the map, the date, "1536 die martii." The author is nowhere mentioned. But it is shown from internal evidence, that the author must have been either the Portuguese Diego Homem, or the Italian Baptista Agnese, both of whom repeatedly gave on their maps exactly the same configurations of the countries brought to view, as are represented on our sketch. The map is quite similar to No. 14, with this difference only, that the great oceanic highroad from France to Cathay, in the present sketch, runs through an open passage between "Terra de Baccalaos" (Newfoundland and Labrador) and "Terra de los Bretones" (Nova Scotia and New England), and not, as on No. 14, over the Isthmus of New England. At the time when the author made this map he must have been acquainted, either with the discoveries on the St. Lawrence River by Cartier in 1534 and 1535, or, at least, with Cartier's intentions and plans for these expeditions. Cartier, as well as other explorers of this time, who entered any inlet or river-mouth on our east coast, thought he had found an opening to the Pacific and to Cathay. It was a general belief, for some time after Cartier, that "his river" (the St. Lawrence) was not a river at all, but a broad opening, an oceanic passage or highway to Northern China. Even Ramusio, as I have before remarked, stated, in 1533, that all the countries seen by Cartier toward the north, were probably only islands cut up by channels.* This map indicates the north-west passage to China, which Cartier suggested, by a dotted line from a harbor in France across the Atlantic, entering the American continent between "Terra de los Bretones" and "Terra de Baccalaos," and reaching the coast of "Cataia provincia" in about 40° N. Our maps, Nos. 14 and 15, are probably the first maps on which a north-west passage is distinctly drawn.

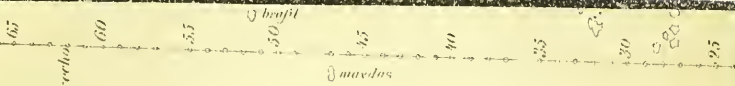
No. 15 d. This number is a copy of a sketch of North America, made about the year 1540, by Diego Homem, a Portuguese. Homem was a well-known map-maker, of the first half of the sixteenth century, of whom I shall speak more fully hereafter. His maps and manner of composing them, are so similar to those of his contemporary Agnese, that one would think they had copied each other. Most probably the Italian copied the Portuguese.

I annex here Homem's sketch merely for the purpose of showing, that, at the time of Verrazano's and Cartier's first voyages, North America was depicted even by the Portuguese as a very narrow coun-

* See Ramusio in his *Introductory Discourse*, vol. 3, fol. 4. Venetia, 1556.

POLUS MUNDI ARCTICUS.

Islanda



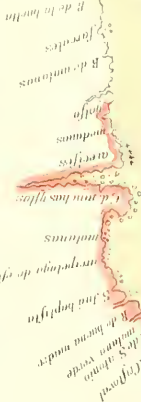
Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses no ay en ella cosa de provecho

TIERA DEL LABRA

Tierra de las bayas... la qual descubrieron los Ingleses en el año de 1497... y se llama comenclador.

TIERA DE ESTEVAN GOMEZ

En qual descubriera por mandado de su mag. y por el año de 1525 ay en ella muchas arbores y frutas de las de España y muchos naturallos y sibilanes y saltes un hato.



TIERA DE AYLON

En qual descubriera por mandado de su mag. y por el año de 1500 ay en ella muchas arbores y frutas de las de España y muchos naturallos y sibilanes y saltes un hato.



Barco de las Indias

OCCEANUS OCCIDENTALIS

try, with an isthmus in the region of New England. I found the map from which this is copied in the British Museum, under the name of Diego Homem, but without a date. It must, however, be assigned to about the year 1540. For its explanation, I refer to my remarks on the sketches preceding it on the same plate.

II. CHARTS TO GOMEZ.

1. ON CHART, NO. 16, OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, FROM A MAP OF THE WORLD, BY DIEGO RIBERO, IN 1529.

Diego Ribero was a very able map-maker and cosmographer of Spain, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He is often mentioned by the early Spanish historians, Gomara, Oviedo, and Herrera, as "Maestro de hacer cartas" (a master in map-making), and as "Cosmograph de Su Majestad" (cosmographer of His Majesty). He is said to have made many charts, having for his partner in this business the Portuguese Pedro Reinel, of whom we have given a chart in No. 9.

In 1524, at the celebrated junta of Badajoz, which was called upon to decide the difficult question about the division of the world between Spain and Portugal, Ribero was employed as "Consultor" (Counselor) "to furnish the members of that junta with the necessary charts, globes, and instruments." He also made the charts for the second great expedition to the Straits of Magellan and the South Sea, under the command of Loaysa in 1525, who is said "to have had Ribero's charts on board." Ribero's charts were not made from actual survey; for as far as we know, he never was a voyager and explorer, like Juan de la Cosa, who, for the most part, made his drawings on the spot. Ribero's maps and charts were all compilations, made by study and research.

In 1526 the emperor Charles V, hearing that the then existing sea-charts were very uncertain and contradictory, appointed a commission of cosmographers and pilots, under the presidency of Don Hernando Colon, the son of the great Christopher; and ordered them to review and correct the Spanish charts; to bring them into harmony and uniformity, and to make such additions as were required by recent discoveries. This commission prepared a map of the world, drawn on parchment, which is preserved in the collections of the Grand Duke of Weimar in Germany; on which is an inscription stating that it was drawn by "a cosmographer of his Majesty," probably Hernando Colon himself, in the year 1527.

Ribero, as one of the commissioners, was probably employed on this map of 1527. However this may be, in the year 1529 he composed a

similar map of the world, which, in exactness and beauty, surpassed that of 1527; and which contained, in addition, the Spanish discoveries made after that date. This document, drawn on parchment, after having passed through several hands, is also preserved in the collections of the Grand Duke of Weimar. The emperor, Charles V, probably carried it himself from Spain to Germany, on his journey through Italy to Augsburg in 1530. In Bologna, where, at the end of 1529, he had an interview with the Pope, he probably showed him the map,* and presented him with the copy, which is still preserved in Rome.† And then, perhaps, the Venetians also procured the copy which they printed and published in 1534, at Venice.‡

As a work of great accuracy, and as an official map, "composed at the command of the emperor Charles V.," it has always attracted the attention of the learned, and has been copied and used by many persons. In subsequent times, when the discovery and exploration of America had made further progress, it was, like other old maps belonging to the beginning of the age of discovery, laid aside and forgotten. In modern times, when the history of American geography began to be treated in a more critical manner, it was again brought to light. A German geographer, Sprengel, at the end of the eighteenth century wrote an essay on it; and that part of it which represents America was copied and engraved by Güsselfeldt, a German. This remarkable document attracted the earnest attention of the Baron Humboldt; and he and the illustrious owner of the map, the Grand Duke Charles Augustus Saxe Weimar, are said to have been often observed sitting in that part of the grand ducal library, which is called "the tower," with this picture of the world before them, discussing the contents of the old parchment, and admiring its beautiful workmanship. In 1860, a fac-simile of this map of Ribero of 1529, and also of that of the year 1527, were published, with critical notes, by the author of the present work.

Our map, No. 16 is a reduced but exact copy of the east coast of North America, as given in this last-mentioned fac-simile. It is unnecessary to give here the contents of the map of 1527, because it has throughout the same configuration of the east coast, and the same names with Ribero's map, though less perfect and less complete. A few exceptions to this remark I shall hereafter have occasion to mention.

*I have made this probable in a work published by me under the title: "Die beiden Aeltesten General-Karten von America," etc., p. 43-44. Weimar, 1860.

† See M. R. Thomassy, *Les Papes géographes*, etc., in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, III, p. 272 seq. 1853.

‡ I have a copy of this Venetian draft in my possession. It gives only the general features of our map.

Our map comprises the entire development of the North American east coast, from Florida in the south, to Greenland and Iceland in the north, and the greater western half of the North Atlantic Ocean. In the ocean, there may be observed, scattered through its vast spaces, a few of the old fabulous islands, "Brasil," "Maidas," "Y^a Verde,"—the last remnants of the geographical myths of the middle ages, as they are about to disappear.

"Iceland" has its true position in about 70° N.

In the western part of the ocean we find "La Bermuda," discovered about 1526, in its true position. This is the first time that we see the Bermudas depicted on a map. Between these islands, in the midst of the ocean, on the usual home-track of the Spanish vessels, a ship is seen under full sail, with the inscription, "Vengo de las Indias" (I come from the Indies).

Greenland, Labrador, and Newfoundland, on our map, have the same configuration as had been given to them on many former maps. They were probably taken from the Portuguese maps, drawn originally from the actual surveys of the Cabots and Cortereals; for instance, from the map of Pedro Reinel (map No. 9); who, as has been before remarked, was a partner of Ribero, and perhaps his teacher.

Greenland has here the same name given to it as on Portuguese maps, namely, "Tierra del Labrador," and has over it the inscription, "This country the English discovered; but there is nothing useful in it."

Newfoundland and Labrador are joined by one continuous coast-line, and there is no indication of the Strait of Belle Isle, or of the insularity of Newfoundland. The south-eastern part of Newfoundland is, however, very well drawn, particularly its great south-eastern peninsula, now called "Placentia and St. Mary." These bays and harbors, so well delineated, must all have been explored by observing seamen, before this map was drawn in 1529.

"C. Rasso" (Race) has its true latitude of about 47° N. The name given to Newfoundland and Labrador is, "Tierra de los bacallaos;" and to this there is added the inscription, "which the Cortereals discovered, and they were lost here. Until now, nothing very useful has been found in it, except the cod-fishery, which, however, is of little esteem."

This language of some Spanish cosmographer would certainly not have been admitted by the Portuguese, Normans, or Bretons, of that period. The disparaging terms of this inscription appear, however, to lend some support to the view of Navarrete, above quoted, that the Newfoundland fisheries were not much frequented by the Spanish Basques before the voyage of Gomez in 1525.

The inlet between "Tierra del Labrador" and "Tierra de los bacalao," the present Hudson's and Davis' Straits, is closed on our map, and represented as a gulf. The Gulf of St. Lawrence, south of Newfoundland, is likewise closed. Both of these inlets, on the map of Hernando Colon, 1527, are represented as being open. Some writers have suggested, that Ribero represents these waters as closed, not from ignorance, but by design, and for political reasons. The king of Spain, so these writers argue, wished to turn the attention of the English and French from the north-east coast of America, and throw obstacles in the way of their finding here a passage to the Pacific and China; and therefore ordered him to represent the coast as everywhere a continuous and unbroken continent.* Against this suggestion, however, there is this fact, if nothing else, that charts, like that of the royal cosmographer Ribero, were made only for the use of the king of Spain, and his officers; and that to show such charts to foreigners, was regarded as high treason in Spain, unless this was done by the act of the emperor himself, as in his presenting them to the pope.

At the west of the opening of the Gulf of St. Lawrence appears the square-shaped end of Cape Breton and the peninsula of Nova Scotia, called here as usual, "Tierra de los Bretones." The distance of the eastern point of this country from Cape Race, is here made about a hundred and twenty Spanish leagues, which is somewhat greater than the true distance. From that point for about three hundred leagues, the coast runs east and west; and then with a great bend, turns to the south. On this large section of the coast, we find the inscription, "The country of Stephen Gomez, which he discovered at the command of His Majesty in the year 1525. There are here many trees and fruits similar to those in Spain; and many walrusses, and salmon and fish of all sorts. Gold they have not found." The name of the country "Tierra de Estevan Gomez" is written in large letters in the first line.

* [The writers referred to have probably derived their opinion from such statements as that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his "Discourse to prove a passage by the north-west to Cathaia," where, in chap. 10 (Hakluyt's Voyages, etc., vol. 3, p. 23, ed. of 1600, London), he says: "It is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall, would not have sit out [quietly] all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselves all that trade they now use, and feare to deale in this discovery, least the Queen's Majesty having so good opportunitie, and finding the commeditie which thereby might ensue to the commonwealth, would cut them off, and enjoy the whole traffique herselfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: *which thing they foreseeing, have commanded that no pilot of theirs, upon paine of death, should seeke to discover to the Northwest, or plat out, in any Sea card, any thorow passage that way by the Northwest.*"—ED.]

Up to the year 1525, according to Herrera's statement, "no Spanish vessels had sailed along this section of our coast." From the West India Islands in the south, the Spaniards, under the command of Ponce de Leon in 1512, and Ayllon in 1520, had explored the coast northward to about 33° or 34° N. But in 1526, Ayllon had sailed as far north as about 38°, a little beyond Chesapeake Bay (Baia de St. Maria). From thence northward, the coast was unknown to the Spaniards, except by what they had heard about it from Sebastian Cabot, whose explorations had been delineated in Spain by Cosa, in 1500; and excepting also, what they learned afterwards from the discoveries of Gomez in 1525.

From these circumstances we may infer, that Ribero drew this section of our coast entirely from the explorations and reports of Gomez; and we have in the names and coast-lines which he gives, a very good representation of this famous region, particularly interesting to us, on which the Spanish historians unhappily are so very deficient.

I will endeavor to decipher and identify the names and objects given on our map, proceeding as Gomez himself did, from north-east to south-west.

At the distance of about twenty-five leagues from the south-east point of "tierra de los Bretones," we find an inlet on our map on which is written the name, "Rio de la buelta" (the river of *return*). It is possible that the "Gut of Canso" is meant here; that Gomez looked into it, and not finding the outlet, *returned* from it.

About twenty-five leagues onward to the west, we find a bay with some small islands before it, with the name, "sarçales" (brambles). There are on the coast of Nova Scotia many islets with brambles and shrubs. The distance above given would bring us to the Bay of Halifax, which possibly is indicated here.

About twenty leagues further to the west comes another inlet with the name, "R. de montañas" (the River of Mountains). The distance brings us to the bays and harbors of Metway and Bristol. Mr. Blunt, in his Coast Pilot says, that near Metway harbor, some inland hummocks may be seen; and he observes, that to the west of Halifax the highlands of Apostogon and La Have are in sight on the coast.* Perhaps Gomez saw these highlands near his "R. de montañas."

About thirty leagues further west, a somewhat larger opening occurs, with the name of "Golfo." It is possible, that the broad entrance of the Bay of Fundy is meant here. Gomez probably saw something of this entrance; but fog or other unfavorable circumstances may have prevented him from observing it more accurately.

* See Blunt, American Coast Pilot, 18th edition, p. 178. New York, 1857.

Passing from Cape Sable, the western cape of Nova Scotia, and having caught only a glimpse of the Bay of Fundy, in the midst of fogs and storms, Gomez descried a coast on which he perceived a long series of reefs, breakers, headlands, and small islands. He describes the coast west of the "Golfo" by the words "medanos" (sand-hills) and "arcifes" (reefs). He puts down also small islands along the coastline. Here we are evidently on the much indented and broken coast of Maine, which abounds in islands far more than Nova Scotia, or any other section of the American east coast.

About sixty leagues to the west of "Golfo" (Bay of Fundy), there is depicted a long, deep, triangular inlet, full of islands, running directly south and north, and ending at the north in a river. It is the most prominent object on the whole coast. The latitude given to its mouth is 44° N., and the longitude about that of the island of Bermuda.

This description agrees nearly in every point with the broad triangular Penobscot Bay, the largest inlet and river on the coast of New England. Gomez probably entered this inlet, and explored it more accurately than any other part of the coast; and in his report to the king may probably have lavished his praises on its harbors, its islands, and beautiful scenery. Since the year 1529, it is delineated on subsequent maps in the same manner as Ribero has here depicted it, after the surveys of Gomez. On these maps it is sometimes called "Rio Grande" (Great River) or "Rio de las Gamas" (Deer River), or, at a later date, "the great river of Norumbega."

West of this river appears the name, "C. de muchas yslas" (the cape of many islands). It would be difficult to say, to which particular point or cape of the many headlands "surrounded by islands" west of Penobscot Bay, we should ascribe this name. Judging strictly from the latitude, we might suppose it to be Cape Elizabeth; but looking at other circumstances, should incline to the opinion, that some headland in the neighborhood of Owl's Head is intended.*

About thirty leagues west of Penobscot Bay occurs the name "montañas" (mountains); and these mountains must have been regarded by Gomez and subsequent map-makers and navigators as very conspicuous objects; for henceforth they never disappear from their maps of this region. They are sometimes found marked even on maps which have no other names inscribed. They are plainly intended to describe the "White Mountains" of New Hampshire. These may be seen near the mouth of the Kennebec, and along the coast of Casco Bay, and

* [See for this, "Die Beiden Aeltesten General-Karten von Amerika," von J. G. Kohl, p. 64. Weimar, 1850.—ED.]

were doubtless sighted by Gomez, on his exploration of this region, and marked on his chart.

The numerous islands by which the bending coasts in this vicinity are skirted, would seem to be those of Caseo Bay.

Next appears the name, "Arcipelago de Estevan Gomez" (the Archipelago of Stephen Gomez), written very prominently and at full length. I think it was not meant to designate any one of the smaller bays or inlets of this region, but the entire Gulf of Maine; and that perhaps it may be considered as the first name, by which this gulf was designated on the old charts.* At all events, it will become quite clear in the sequel from other authorities, that the name "Arcipelago of Estevan Gomez" has always been given either to the entire Gulf of Maine, or to some section of the waters north of Cape Cod.

The coast from this point bends round to the south-west and south, much in accordance with the trending of the coast-line of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, ending at the south, like that, in a peninsula projecting eastwardly, and called "Cabo de Arenas" (the Sandy Cape), and forming a bay exactly resembling the Gulf of Maine.

This cape has about the longitude of St. Domingo. It has the configuration of a horn, and is hooked or pointed like Cape Cod. Like that, it also has banks and shoals at the east; and like that forms a kind of *cul de sac* on the west, between the hook and the main-land. In respect to its longitude, its configuration, its sandy soil, its shoals on the east, its little bay on the west, it agrees with Cape Cod, and was intended, we can scarcely doubt, to represent this prominent feature of the New England coast; although the latitude of "Cabo de Arenas," the northern point of which is in 40° N., is two degrees lower than the northern point of Cape Cod, which lies in 42° N.

As far down as "Cabo de Arenas," the coast is lined, as before, with a chain of small islands, which thus forms the distinguishing feature of the whole east coast of New England. South of Cape Cod, no such coast islets appear within the limits of the United States.

It is scarcely credible that a navigator, sailing like Gomez along our coast from Newfoundland, in a direction from north-east to south-west, and following the coast-line, as he did, in search of an open passage, could have overlooked so prominent a headland as Cape Cod. Neither the Northmen nor Sebastian Cabot, on their voyages, failed to observe and represent it. Nor at a later period, did it escape the observation of the French under De Monts. Sailing in the same direction, they

* I shall make this more probable in reviewing the maps of Chaves, and the description of this coast by Oviedo, in the following section.

were caught and arrested by this remarkable cape, and entered it on their charts by the name of "Cape Blanc" and "Malebarre."

The other capes in the neighborhood of 40° N., which have been supposed by some authors to be intended by "Cabo de Arenas,"—for instance, Sandy Hook near New York, and Cape Henlopen near Philadelphia,—are located too far to the west to answer to a cape placed in the longitude of St. Domingo, and are hardly prominent enough to answer to the bold projection of this cape, as delineated on the map of Ribero.

There is still another ground for concluding, that the "Cabo de Arenas" of Ribero and Gomez is neither Sandy Hook nor Cape Henlopen, but Cape Cod. We know for certain, that the "Baia de Sta. Maria" is the old name for Chesapeake Bay. Now this "Baia" is placed by Ribero five degrees south of his "Cabo de Arenas;" and five degrees is the true distance between Chesapeake Bay and Cape Cod, and much more than the distance between that bay and Cape Henlopen or Sandy Hook.

There are, however, some serious objections to the view, that "Cabo de Arenas" is Cape Cod. I shall show hereafter, that the names found on this map between "Cabo de Arenas" and "Arcipelago de Estevan Gomez," namely, "S. Juan Baptista," "R. de buena madre," "Montagna verde," "b. de S. Antonio," "b. de S. Christoval," are applied by subsequent authors on their maps to localities situated south-west of Cape Cod; particularly the name St. Antonio, which is given by them to Hudson River. Hence if we insist, that "Cabo de Arenas" is Cape Cod, we must admit that Ribero was greatly mistaken in putting names along the Gulf of Maine which belong to the neighborhood of New York, and in leaving out of his map the Bay of New York altogether.

But great as these difficulties may be, there would perhaps be still greater on the supposition, that Sandy Hook, Cape Henlopen, or some other southern cape, was meant by the "Cabo de Arenas." On this supposition we should find on our map no indication whatever of Cape Cod, that most prominent object on the coast, with the banks and shoals in its offing, so difficult to the navigator; and should be driven to the inadmissible supposition, that it had been entirely unnoticed both by Gomez and Ribero. My own opinion is, that the coast was correctly delineated by Ribero, but that he put some names in the wrong places. Before proceeding to vindicate this opinion, I shall adduce for evidence, in subsequent pages, some new documents regarding the voyage of Gomez and our coast of New England.

In concluding the present section, I will say a few words on the remaining portion of this map.

The southern division of the coast, from "Cabo de Arenas" to Florida, is called on our map "Tierra de Ayllon" (the country of Ayllon), the name of the well-known commander of two expeditions, by which, in 1520 and 1526, our east coast was discovered as far north as Bahia de Sta. Maria (Chesapeake Bay). The names on the east coast in the neighborhood and south of this bay, are all derived from Ayllon's expeditions.

I will only add, that the "line of demarcation," as determined by the pope and the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, is indicated on our map in the same manner as it had been on former maps, by a line drawn at a distance of 370 leagues (five degrees of longitude) west of the island of San Antonio, the westernmost of the Cape de Verde group; and that in this partition, it allots to Spain "Tierra de Estevan Gomez," including New England and Nova Scotia, and to Portugal "Tierra de los Bacallaos" and "Tierra del Labrador," including the eastern part of Newfoundland, and all east of it.*

2. ON CHART OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY ALONZO DE CHAVES IN 1536, AND OVIEDO'S DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST IN 1537.

Oviedo relates,† that in the year 1536 the emperor Charles V. issued an order to this effect: "that the charts for navigators and the 'padrones' (muster-charts) should be examined and corrected by some learned and experienced persons," whom he selected for the purpose. In pursuance of this order, a map was constructed and issued by Alonso de Chaves, representing the new Spanish discoveries, and the entire geographical knowledge of the time; in the same manner as a learned commission under the imperial order had prepared and issued, in 1527 and 1529, the maps of Diego Colon and Diego Ribero.

Unhappily neither the original, nor even a good copy of this remarkable and important map of Chaves, has come to our knowledge. But Oviedo had it before him when he wrote his most interesting description of the east coast of North America, contained in chapters IX-XI, book XXI. of his "History of the Indias;"‡ which is the fullest and best Spanish report on our coast of the sixteenth century. We may there-

* [See J. G. Kohl's work before cited, "Die beiden ältesten General-Karten," etc., pp. 11-14.—Ed.]

† Oviedo, *Historia General de las Indias*, parte segunda, tom. 1, p. 150. Madrid, 1852.

‡ Oviedo, *Historia General de las Indias*, parte segunda, tom. 1, pp. 143-152. Madrid, 1852.

fore consider this report of Oviedo as a description of the contents of Chaves' map, and as the result of the experience and views of the Spanish geographers in the year 1536. Oviedo calls this chart a modern work; and says, "that it was recently made in the *late* year 1536" (*carta moderna, que nuevamente se corrigiò el año que passò de mill é quini-entos y treynta y seys años*). It is thus evident, that he wrote the description, and the chapter of his great work in which it occurs, in 1537.

Oviedo begins his description of our east coast at the south with Cape Florida, which he calls "Punta de la Florida," putting it in $25^{\circ} 40'$ N. This latitude agrees very nearly with the true position of that cape.

The great cape on the east coast of Florida, which Ponce de Leon discovered in 1513, and which he called "Cabo de Corrientes" (Cape of the currents), is called by Oviedo "Cabo de Cañaveral" (Cape of the reeds). We do not know by whom, or at what time, that celebrated name was introduced. Oviedo puts it a little too low in 28° N.

From Cape Cañaveral to "Cabo de Sta. Cruz," a name introduced by Ponce de Leon, there is, according to Oviedo, a distance of forty-five leagues. Between both capes, he says, the coast runs to the north; but from Cabo de Sta. Cruz it begins to change its direction toward the north-east. Accordingly we must look for this "Cabo de S. Cruz" somewhere north of St. John's River,—if it is not this coast-section itself, projecting somewhat near this river.

From "Cabo de Sta. Cruz," where the direction of the coast changes, to "Cabo de Sta. Elena," the distance is, according to Oviedo, sixty leagues; and he puts this cape in 33° N. On this coast-section he designates the following places:

1. A river, called "Mar Baxa," twenty leagues north-east of Cabo de Sta. Cruz. It may be the Altamaha.

2. A river, called "Rio Seco" (dry river), ten leagues from "Mar Baxa," or thirty leagues from C. de Sta. Cruz. Perhaps the "Savannah" is meant.

3. A cape called "Cabo Gruesso" (the big cape), ten leagues north-east of Rio Seco. This Cabo Gruesso is found on many Spanish maps, but we will not venture to say what cape may be meant by it.

From Cape St. Helena to "Cabo Trafalgar" the distance is, according to Oviedo, one hundred and twenty leagues; and this cape lies in $35^{\circ} 30'$ N. This Cabo Trafalgar is found on nearly all the old Spanish charts, and must have been a very prominent headland. Some authors have supposed that Cape Lookout, others that Cape Fear was designated by it; and several old maps may be adduced in support of these different views. But following Oviedo's latitude we should conclude, that Cape Hatteras was intended, which stands only some minutes

lower. This becomes nearly certain, from the fact that Oviedo, after "Cape Trafalgar," puts down no other cape for a distance of forty leagues.

In the intermediate space between Cape Sta. Helena and "Cabo de Trafalgar," Oviedo mentions the following points:

1. "Rio de Sta. Elena," which is mentioned in connection with the cape, and, a little further on, "Rio Jordan," our Port Royal, and St. Helena Sound.

2. "Cabo de St. Roman" is put down thirty leagues from the Cape Sta. Helena in $32^{\circ} 30' N.$, which agrees quite well with Cape St. Romain. It is only twenty minutes too high. The distance of thirty leagues is rather too great, if Castilian leagues ($17\frac{1}{2}$ to a degree) are meant, which is probable. Nearly all the distances of Oviedo are too great, supposing that he gives rectilinear distances. But he may have followed in his measurement the indentations of the coast, as a mariner sailing along the shore would be likely to do.

3. Near Cabo St. Roman the "Rio de las Canoas" (Canoe River), empties into the sea. This river appears very often on Spanish maps near Cape St. Romain, and probably the "Pedee" or "Santee" is intended by it, because no other river is laid down near this cape.

4. Not far from Cabo de Trafalgar on the south-west, two rivers or inlets are mentioned: "Rio del Principe" and "Rio de Trafalgar." It is possible that some outlets of Pamlico Sound are alluded to by these names.

"All this country," remarks Oviedo, after having mentioned Cabo Trafalgar, "was discovered by Ayllon;" from which we are confirmed in the opinion already expressed, that these names (Cape Trafalgar included) originated with Ayllon in 1520 and 1526.

From Cabo Trafalgar (Hatteras) to "Cabo de San Johan," Oviedo makes it forty leagues, and between them midway places the "Bahia de Santa Maria." This distance from Cape Hatteras to "Cabo St. Johan," would take us to some point of the eastern coast of Delaware. The entrance to the "Bahia de Santa Maria" is placed by Oviedo in $36^{\circ} 40' N.$, which thus represents Chesapeake Bay, the mouth of which lies in $37^{\circ} N.$ This becomes more evident from the subsequent Spanish historians, Barcia for instance, who puts "St. Mary's Bay" in $37^{\circ} N.$, and north of Cape Trafalgar. This excludes the opinion which might be drawn from Ribero's map, that Pamlico or Albemarle Sound might have been meant by it.

The discovery of this bay was made by Ayllon in 1526, and in 1529 Ribero puts it on his map for the first time; but somewhat lower than the true latitude of Chesapeake Bay.

Oviedo represents "Rio del Espiritu Santo" (Holy Ghost river) as discharging into the western, and the "Rio Salado" (salt river) into the eastern part of the bay. The "Holy Ghost River" is probably James River. These rivers are also found on the map of Ribero, and are put down on nearly all the Spanish charts of the sixteenth century.

"Cabo de St. Johan" is put by Oviedo only one-third of a degree north of Chesapeake Bay. But at the same time he makes the distance between both points nearly twenty leagues. It is impossible to tell what island or headland on the peninsula of Delaware may have been meant by it.

The next point is "Cabo de las Arenas" (cape of the sands). Oviedo says, that it lies in $38^{\circ} 20'$ N., and thirty leagues from "Cabo St. Johan;" that is, fifty leagues from Chesapeake or St. Mary's Bay.

This points rather clearly to Cape Henlopen, though the distance, fifty leagues, carries us a little north, and the latitude " $38^{\circ} 20'$ " a little south of it. Oviedo does not describe his "Cabo de las Arenas" as a very prominent point, though all the old Spanish charts, and those made after them, place a cape bearing this name in about 40° N., and represent it as a very prominent object. They give to it nearly the shape of our Cape Cod. It is so drawn for the first time on the map of Ribero, 1529, and was, doubtless, discovered by Gomez, though not so named by him, as I have before suggested, and shall prove hereafter.

After "Cabo de las Arenas," Oviedo mentions "Cabo de Santjago" (St. James Cape), thirty leagues north of it, and in $39^{\circ} 30'$ N.; then a "Bahia de San Christobal" (St. Christopher's Bay). It appears to me impossible to say, which of our bays and capes north of Cape Henlopen correspond to these names.

Oviedo now proceeds to say: "The Rio de San Antonio is in 41° N. This river stands on the coast in a *line directly from north to south*. And whilst the coast runs north to the mouth of this river, it then begins to trend to the north-east, quarter east, for more than forty leagues."

It is impossible to give a more accurate description of Hudson River, which therefore I believe to be the S. Antonio of Oviedo. As Oviedo never mentions Verrazano, nor any of the names given by him, but often cites Gomez as his authority, I infer that the name "Rio de San Antonio" must have been derived from the account of Gomez. And this view is confirmed by Gomara, who gives to a chapter of his "Historia de las Indias," in which he reports the expedition of Gomez, the title, "Rio de San Antonio," as if this river had been one of the most important discoveries of Gomez.*

* See this chapter in Gomara, Historia de las Indias, fol. xx. Saragossa, 1553.

“From the Rio de S. Antonio the coast runs for about forty leagues north-east, quarter east, to a certain point, which has on the west a river (que tiene de la parte del Ponente un rio), named ‘Buena Madre’ (the Good Mother); and on the other side, east of the point (delante de la punta) is the bay, which they call “St. Johan Baptista.”

This description agrees very nearly with the configuration of Long Island and the neighboring coast. Long Island is not much less than forty Spanish leagues long, and Oviedo’s distances, as we have seen already, are always ample. Its southern coast trends exactly north-east, quarter east. The “certain point” at the end of this distance may be our “Montauk Point;” the river “Buena Madre,” west of this point, the entrance to Long Island Sound, and the “Bahia de San Johan Baptista,” east of this point, our Narraganset Bay. The latitude of $41^{\circ} 30'$ N. which Oviedo gives to that point, is nearly the true latitude of Montauk Point.

“From the point of the bay of St. Johan” (Montauk), Oviedo proceeds to say, “the coast trends still north-east, a quarter east, for fifty leagues, as far as the “Cabo de Arcifes” (cape of the reefs), which cape stands in about 43° N. This ‘Cape of the Reefs’ is the *principal* or *unique* point of the Northern Archipelago (la *una* punta del Archipelago septentrional); from this cape over to the ‘Cabo de Sta. Maria,’ are twenty leagues. Between these two capes is an inlet or bay, full of islands, which they call, in modern times, ‘Archipelago.’”

From Montauk Point to Cape Cod is, after the manner of Oviedo’s broad measurement, about fifty Spanish leagues; and, so far as this point, the general outline of the coast may be said to trend north-east, quarter east. It seems to me, therefore, very probable, that this “Cabo de Arcifes” of Oviedo is our Cape Cod, which may well be called a “unique point” on the coast, and which would be well named the “Reef Cape,” as being surrounded by banks, and shoals, or reefs. Oviedo’s latitude, 43° N., is only about half a degree two high. His “Cabo de Sta. Maria,” which lies “twenty leagues from the ‘Reef Cape,” and also in 43° N., would then be our Cape Ann. It may justly be said, that across from Cape Cod to Cape Ann, the distance is “twenty leagues.” The bay or inlet between those two capes, which is “full of islands,” and “which they call, in modern times, the Archipelago,” may be a section of the Gulf of Maine. Oviedo himself sometimes names this Archipelago “Archipelago de la Tramontana,” or “Archipelago Septentrional”* (the Northern Archipelago). From the manner in which he mentions it again on page 150, where he calls it “a great gulf,” he cannot mean by it any of our small bays; for

* Oviedo, l. c. pp. 143, 146.

instance, "Saco" or "Caseo Bay." He evidently intends to designate by this term, a large body of our waters, like the bay of Massachusetts, or nearly the whole of the Gulf of Maine; and hence, as has been already observed, it was probably to these waters that the Spanish name "Archipelago Tramontana," or "Septentrional," was applied. Oviedo gives us to understand, that he or Chaves had this information and these names principally from the survey and report of Gomez, who, as he says, discovered all these coasts lying between 41° and $40^{\circ} 30'$ N.* But his remarkable expression, "*they* call it in *modern times*," seems to imply, that Gomez was not his only Spanish authority for his knowledge of these coasts, but that something regarding them may have been known among the Spaniards from other navigators occasionally visiting them.

Beyond the "Cape St. Mary" (Cape Ann) towards the east (a parte oriental), comes "Cabo de muchas islas" (Cape of many islands), thirty-five leagues distant; and twenty leagues from that is "Rio de las Gamas" (Deer River). "The mouth of this river and its headlands lie in $43^{\circ} 30'$ N., and thence the coast begins to trend more to the north-east."

Though it is difficult to designate exactly the point to which the name "Cabo de muchas islas" is given by Oviedo, yet it appears not improbable, that Cape Elizabeth is intended, which is about the same distance (twenty leagues), as given by him from the broad opening of the Penobscot, and stands at the entrance of a bay filled with "many islands."†

The latitude $43^{\circ} 30'$ which Oviedo gives to "Deer River," differs only by half a degree from that of the entrance of the Penobscot,—the principal inlet or river on the coast of Maine. The "Rio de las Gamas" (Deer River) makes, on all the old Spanish maps of this region, a most prominent figure. It does not fall usually much short of the meridian of the Bermudas, which is about the true longitude of the Penobscot.

"Near the Rio de las Gamas," Oviedo says, "is the coast which they

*I have stated before, that Oviedo, in another place in his "Somnario" (see Ramusio, vol. 3, fol. 52, Venetia, 1556), says, that Gomez discovered a great tract of country as far down as about 40° and 41° N.

† [If we follow the authority, not of Ribero only, but of all the maps copied in this work, in all of which (with the single exception of the pretended map of Cabot of 1544), the "Cabo de muchas islas," wherever it is introduced, is placed at the very entrance of Penobscot Bay, we must make it, as has been before intimated, one of the headlands in the neighborhood of Owl's Head. But the distances here given between Cape Ann and the Penobscot, place "Cabo de muchas islas" at an intermediate point, and confirm the conjecture of Dr. Kohl, that Cape Elizabeth was intended by Oviedo.—ED.]

call Medanos (the hillocks), and further on, is the Río de Montañas (the mountain river), which is fifty leagues from the Río de las Gamás, and in 44° 15' N."

After this, Oviedo mentions a "Río de Castanar" (chestnut river); and "La Bahía de *la* Ensenada" (the bay of *the* inlet). "From this bay," says Oviedo, "the coast runs north, a quarter east (al Norte quarta del este), to that channel (Gut of Canso?), which separates the island of St. John (Cape Breton) from the main-land, for a hundred and twenty leagues east-south-east of Nova Scotia; and here is situated Cabo Breton in 47° 30' N." The island of St. John, he says, is about a hundred and forty-five leagues in circumference, which is rather a large measurement for Cape Breton.

Leaving Cape Breton, Oviedo gives a very short description of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, without assigning to it any name, and only observing, that the particulars of these waters and coasts are not yet well known; and that the charts and the cosmographers differ very much in their descriptions of them. "It is a wild and very cold country," he says, "and few are those who sail to it."* Thus neither Oviedo, nor his authority Chaves, appear to have been acquainted in 1536 and 1537, with the French surveys of the St. Lawrence, in 1534 and 1535, by Cartier. But he clearly and minutely describes the south coast of Newfoundland.†

"At a point not far from Cape Breton," Oviedo says, in conclusion, "the chart of Chaves, of the year 1536, comes to an end." For the remainder of the North American continent, he follows, in his description, the old chart of Ribero of 1529. And he does this so accurately, that we can recognize and identify every point and name given by Ribero on the coast.‡ From which we may conclude, that the description of our east coast, which he has drawn from Chaves, is not less accurate.

We may sum up the examination of Oviedo, and his description of Chaves' map of 1536, as follows:

Both the description and the map are much more correct, and more in accordance with the features of our coast, as represented on modern maps, than the map of Ribero of 1529.

In regard to "Cabo de Arenas," they greatly differ: Ribero gives it a prominent position, in latitude 40° N., while Oviedo places it in lati-

* Oviedo, l. c. p. 148.

† Oviedo, l. c. p. 149.

‡ Oviedo, l. c. pp. 149, 150.

tude $39^{\circ} 30'$, and gives it very little prominence. By which it would appear, that this name was given by Gomez, whose authority both authors followed, to Cape Henlopen, or some headland in its vicinity.

Oviedo and Chaves call Cape Cod "Cabo de Arcifes" (the reef-cape), which was probably the name originally given to it by Gomez, who cannot be supposed to have overlooked this extraordinary projection.

The following names, "Cabo de St. Jago," "Rio de S. Antonio," "Rio de Buena Madre," "Bahia de Juan Baptista," are placed by Oviedo and Chaves south-west of their Reef-cape. Their river "San Antonio," from Oviedo's description, and from what Gomara says, appears to be the name given by Gomez to Hudson River. The other names are given to places on the southern coast of New England:—Montauk Point, Narraganset Bay, etc.

On the north of his Reef-Cape, Oviedo describes a deep large bay, or Archipelago (Gulf of Maine); making Reef-cape (Cape Cod) a very prominent headland, an "unique point," as Oviedo has it, on the coast.

Ribero, on his map of 1529, has given to the above-named places the same latitude as Oviedo has done; but, unlike Oviedo, puts them north of "Cabo de Arenas," along the shores of the semicircular gulf, so similar to our Gulf of Maine. He has also a very prominent headland, "a unique point;" but to this headland, looking so much like Cape Cod, he gives the name, not of "Reef-cape," like Oviedo, but of "Cabo de Arenas."

From this it appears probable, that Ribero had before him a copy of Gomez's chart, which was either imperfect, or which he did not interpret correctly. He found in the chart of Gomez a good representation of the indented coast of Maine, bordered by innumerable islands; and also of a prominent headland, very much like Cape Cod. But for some reason, he took this headland to be the "Cabo de los Arenas" of Gomez; overlooking, or not having before him, the name "Reef-cape," the name by which this headland had really been designated by Gomez; and, having committed this error, he followed it out by placing north of this headland the names above mentioned, which had been placed by Gomez north of his Cabo de Arenas. These errors of Ribero were corrected by Chaves and Oviedo, who appear to have had the charts and descriptions of Gomez in a better and more complete copy.

From all that has been said, it must appear to be a matter of deep regret, that the chart of Chaves has not come down to us. Nor does it appear to have been known to the geographers of the sixteenth century, who continued to represent our east coast according to the old map of Ribero, more or less inaccurately copied. The chart of Chaves



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was probably hidden away in some inaccessible archives; while copies of the map of Ribero were dispersed throughout the world; the emperor himself, by whose order they were composed, having aided in making them known.

And although it would appear, that some subsequent geographers must have had some incidental knowledge of Chaves and Oviedo, from their giving now and then some name on their maps not found in Ribero; it was not, however, until 1852, when Oviedo's work was published by the Academy of Madrid, that his true and full description of the coast became generally known.

3. MAP, No. 17, SKETCHES 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 OF THE EAST COAST OF THE UNITED STATES, BY DIFFERENT AUTHORS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Under this head I will present a series of sketches of our east coast, to show how the materials furnished by Ribero, Chaves, and Oviedo were used by subsequent map-makers. By this it will appear, that in the northern portion of the coast of the present United States, a gulf is represented on all the maps of the time, similar to the Gulf of Maine, and south of it, a cape resembling Cape Cod.

And first I will review the seven sketches copied on our sheet, and name the works from which they have been taken. I regret that, for want of space, I am unable to add the degrees of latitude given on the originals; but in describing them I will mention, from the originals before me, such as may appear necessary.

No. 1 is taken from an interesting Spanish manuscript map in the possession of Mr. Henry Huth of London, kindly allowed by this gentleman to be lithographed for me. I do not know the author of the map, nor the time of its composition. But as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the island of Anticosti, and the western side of Newfoundland, are quite correctly drawn, it cannot have been made before the time of Cartier, who discovered these coasts in 1534. The mouth of the St. Lawrence is represented, not as a river, but as a strait, with an indistinct ending, just as Cartier, in 1534, supposed it to be. The map was therefore made, probably, in 1534, or at least from materials furnished by Cartier in that year. Our copy gives the map only from "C. Hondo" (Cape Sable) near the Bay of Fundy, toward the west.

The name of Gomez occurs twice on the map; first given to a cape or small inlet, next to the great inlet full of islands, which Ribero has depicted in the same manner, and which Chaves, Oviedo, and many

others have called "Rio Gamas," the Penobscot Bay. It is called on this map "Rio de Gomez," which may, therefore, be considered as one of the names given by the Spaniards to this principal river of Maine. Gomez appears to have explored this bay somewhat minutely, and may have given it the name of Deer River; but others may have preferred to name it after him, as being one of his principal discoveries. A cape west of the Penobscot Bay, on Ribero and Chaves, is called "Cabo de muchas islas,"—one of the headlands near Owl's-head, or, following Oviedo, our Cape Elizabeth.

South-west and south of this cape is delineated a gulf, filled with small islands, like the Gulf of Maine. This gulf at the south, in about 49° N., is terminated on our map by a prominent and pointed cape without a name, resembling Cape Cod. The rest of the coast as far down as Florida is also without names.

No. 2 is taken from an interesting manuscript chart, likewise obtained from the collection of Mr. Huth. I do not know the author; but as the river St. Lawrence, and all the discoveries made by Cartier, 1536 to 1542, are accurately represented, it must have been drawn later than No. 1, probably soon after 1542.

Our sketch gives the coast only from "Rio Fundo" (Bay of Fundy) westward. The configuration of the coast, which for us is the principal point, is accurately delineated on the copy as in the original, although I have not retained all the names.

"Rio de Gamas" is drawn in the same manner and position as on the former chart, and as on that of Ribero, and here as there unquestionably represents the Penobscot. From this a gulf filled with islands trends to the south-west, which in about 40° N. is ended by a large and prominent peninsula, the northern cape or point of which is called "C. de las Arenas."

No. 3 is also obtained from a manuscript map of Mr. Huth. A copy precisely like it exists in Germany in the archives of the Duke of Coburg-Gotha. There it has the inscription: "Baptista Agnese fecit, Venetiis, 1543, die 18 febr." (Baptista Agnese made it, Venice, 1543, on the 18th February). The map, like Nos. 1 and 2, is evidently made from the map of Ribero, and not from that of Chaves and Oviedo. Though it is a very rough sketch, still it preserves the great semicircular gulf in "the country which Estevan Gomez discovered." The gulf is terminated at the south, as on the former maps, by a prominent cape, here called "Cabo de Santa Maria;" a name which Oviedo places north of Cape Cod, intending, I suppose, to designate Cape Ann. The names

“b. de S. Antonio” (Hudson River), “Rio de buena madre,” etc., are put, as by Ribero, north of the “prominent cape.”

No. 4 is from a printed map made by “Nicollo del Dolfinato, cosmographer of his most Christian Majesty,” and is annexed to the work “*Navigazioni del mondo nuovo*” (Navigations of the new world), published in Venice in the year 1560.

It is a very rough sketch, but has clearly marked upon it a deep semi-circular gulf south of “*Tierra de los Bretones*” (Nova Scotia). The names “S. Antonio” and “S. Christofalo” show, that the same gulf is meant, which Ribero has placed in this part of the coast. It is cut off in the south by the same prominent cape, extending far eastward, and called “C. de S. Maria.”

No. 5 is a sketch in exact imitation of the features of the east coast of North America, as drawn in the atlas of Gerard Mercator, published by J. Hondius in 1619. Though the atlas bears this late date, the map itself originated at a much earlier period. It is well known that Hondius, a map-maker and map-seller, procured all the old plates of Mercator, who died in the year 1595, and reprinted them repeatedly without improving them. The map may be ascribed to about the year 1590. It designates the land discovered by Gomez as “*Norumbega*,” and has along its coasts all the old Spanish names first given by Gomez, and found on the map of Ribero, and in the same order in which Ribero has written them.

The semicircular gulf formed by the coast of “*Norumbega*” is drawn much deeper than usual; and trending to the south as far down as about 39° N., there ends in a very prominent and broad peninsula, the northern point of which is called “C. de las Arenas.” To *Norumbega* (Northern Virginia, New England) are given none but Spanish names, while south of “C. de las Arenas” in Southern Virginia, some English names appear, introduced by the expeditions made under Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 and following years.

No. 6 is a sketch taken from the “*Novus Atlas*,” published by William and John Blaeu, 2d vol. Amsterdam, 1642. Though published at so late a date, the plate must have been engraved much earlier. It contains on the coast of Nova Scotia only the Bay of Fundy, and along the coast of Maine as far down as “*Rio de Quenbequin*” (Kennebec) a few indications of the discoveries made by the French under De Monts, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. South of the Kennebec, the old Spanish names of Ribero are retained. Along the region of the coast

of Maine, the name "Norumbega" is written; and here we see again a large gulf with a prominent cape in the south, called "C. de las Arenas," in about $39^{\circ} 30' N.$

No. 7 is a copy of a delineation of our east coast, taken from a map of America, contained in the "Atlas minor Gerardi Mercatoris," published by Hondius in the year 1607. It gives to the coast about the same delineation as sketch No. 5, only in a manner somewhat more rude.

Each of these sketches will serve as an example of many others. The same things were copied and published over and over again, during the whole course of the sixteenth century. I might have given a great many more copies; but they would only repeat the same or similar delineations and names.

The results of an examination of these sketches, and a comparison of them with each other, and with the maps of Ribero and Chaves, and with the description of Oviedo, may be given as follows:

All the maps exhibit, in the northern region, a semicircular gulf, varying in its depth, which in its latitude and its configuration resembles the Gulf of Maine.

They all have a very prominent headland south of this gulf, and in the latitude of about $40^{\circ} N.$; where indeed no prominent headland exists, but where, on the contrary, we find the deep Gulf of New York receding far to the west; while a little more to the north, such a prominent headland, Cape Cod, is actually found.

To this prominent headland nearly all the sketches, agreeing with Ribero, give the name of "Cabo de Arenas;" while this name, according to Oviedo, originally belonged to a cape not at all prominent on the inner part of the Gulf of New York.

All these charts have consequently perpetuated the error of Ribero, in placing this "Cabo de Arenas," meaning by it Cape Cod, not in $42^{\circ} N.$ where it actually is, but in 40° or even $39^{\circ} N.$ Some of them have given it the name "Cabo de S. Maria," though this name is given by Chaves and Oviedo to a more northern cape, probably meaning by it Cape Ann.

As the east coast of the United States, during the sixteenth century, was visited by many other navigators after Gomez, some additional knowledge, or confirmation of what was previously known, may have reached our map-makers from these sources. These navigators no doubt carried home some report about a certain prominent headland existing in the neighborhood of $40^{\circ} N.$, or somewhat further in that di-

rection. None of them could have failed to observe this conspicuous point, as they might easily have overlooked that in the Gulf of New York. By these reports the map-makers were confirmed in holding and transmitting the traditional error, of identifying the Cabo de Arenas with this prominent cape.

Most of these navigators, like Verrazano in 1524, and Hawkins in 1565, sailed along the coast from south to north with the Gulf-stream. And having been borne by the Gulf-stream further north than by their reckoning they would take themselves to be; in short, having unconsciously arrived at 42° N. when they thought themselves to be only at 40°, and having observed a great headland lying in the latitude to which they had arrived, they might naturally have taken it to be a headland belonging to the latitude in which they supposed themselves to be, and have given it the name "Cabo de Arenas," which had been appropriated by Chaves to the more southern headland, instead of the proper name, which had been given to it by Gomez, of Cabo de Arcifes. This is exactly what appears to have been done by Ribero, who, as has been before suggested, drew Cape Cod quite correctly, but gave to it a wrong name; and then quite consistently with that error, placed north of it, along the coast of the Gulf of Maine, some names, particularly the Rio de San Antonio, which had before been correctly placed along the Gulf of New York, north of Cape Henlopen or Sandy Hook, the "Cabo de Arenas," of Chaves.

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS TO CANADA, IN 1534-1543; AND HORE'S VOYAGE, 1536.

1. FIRST VOYAGE OF JACQUES CARTIER TO THE GULF AND RIVER OF ST. LAWRENCE, IN 1534.

SOME sections of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, the exploration of which was so intimately connected with that of our State, had been visited and become known long before the year 1534.

The Portuguese and French fishermen, from the year 1504, no doubt repeatedly entered the gulf and perhaps gave it the first name it received of "Golfo Quadrado"* (the square gulf), or "the great bay." Denys in 1506, and Aubert in 1508,—early French commanders of fishing expeditions,—are said to have even made maps of this gulf.

The great Spanish, French, and English official explorers,—Gomez in 1524, Verrazano in 1525, and Rut in 1527,—no doubt observed the entrance of the gulf, but probably did not enter it, by reason of information from the fishermen, that it was an interior basin of water, surrounded by land.

The reports and charts of the regions north of Maine and west of Newfoundland, which the French and Portuguese are said to have committed to paper, are nearly all lost. Coming from private persons, and scattered through many

* This name is mentioned in Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, vol. 20. Saragossa, 1553.

little seaports and towns, they would not be generally known to geographers and cosmographers. We possess, however, one old chart, which preserves and represents the information concerning those regions gathered during the first quarter of the sixteenth century; namely, the chart of Gastaldi, of which I have given a copy in No. 11; but even this chart, though based probably on very early explorations, was not published before the middle of the century. Another chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, made before Cartier, I will give in the Appendix to this chapter, No. 18 a.

Probably the fishermen and their employers did not favor the diffusion of knowledge respecting their "Terre neuve." They, no doubt, like the governments of that time, had their secrets, and did not like to have others intermeddle with them. They wished to traffic with the Indians for furs, and to dry their cod-fish at the accustomed stations, according to old usage. They would have made, if they could, a *mare clausum* of the "Square Gulf,"—this prolific *habitat* of the walrus, the seal, and fish of various sorts. They would gladly have excluded even such of their own countrymen as did not belong to their fishing corporations, from sharing their knowledge and using their charts of these regions: just as the kings of Spain and Portugal forbade the communication of their charts *to foreigners*. We observe this reservation of the French fishing interest in every exploring expedition not their own, and the hostility of this interest toward nearly every great undertaking ordered by the kings of France. All the subsequent great French explorers, Cartier, De Monts, Champlain, and others, had to contend with this fishing interest, which threw all possible obstacles and troubles in their way. We may, therefore, ascribe to this cause, in part, the deficiency of old reports and charts of this region.

The first *official* exploring expeditions, which changed this state of things, and which were particularly directed to the waters of the St. Lawrence and the north of Maine, were those of Cartier, Roberval, and their companions under the French flag. During the course of their operations, continued for about ten years, they settled nearly all the principal geographical questions connected with this gulf, and the lower part of the River St. Lawrence; determined the shape of the coasts, the course and bendings of the river; gave names to the important bays, harbors, capes, and remarkable points; and constructed very accurate charts of them, which were soon afterwards copied in France and other countries.

The River St. Lawrence, including its gulf, lying west, north, and east of Maine, has been and still is to her inhabitants an object of considerable commercial importance. It was always a great highroad for the Indian tribes of Maine. At a later time, it served as the basis for many French exploring, commercial, military, and missionary expeditions to and through the territory of Maine, and is to-day an important outlet for the northern frontier of this State. The first effectual explorations of this river by the French must, therefore, be regarded as strictly pertinent to the history of the discovery of our State. But since it will be impossible for me to examine and discuss all the points and questions connected with the operations of the French in this region, I shall here confine myself to such only as may appear most applicable to our position.

Jacques Cartier was a native of St. Malo, a principal port of Brittany. He was born there in 1494, two years after the first voyage of Columbus to the new world. Like many of his townsmen, he was familiar with the ocean from his childhood, and accompanied, perhaps conducted, fishing expeditions to the Great Bank. On these occasions he may have

seen or heard something of the inviting regions lying west, and in the rear of these fishing-grounds,* and may have conceived the plan of exploring them more thoroughly in the interest of France.

With this view, in 1533, he addressed a letter to Philippe de Chabot, seigneur de Brion, admiral of France, proposing a voyage in the name and at the cost of the king, to continue the discoveries commenced in 1524 by Jean Verrazano.

Francis I. was then—soon after the treaty of Cambray, which gave him Burgundy and peace with Spain—in a situation favorable to such an expedition. He agreed to the proposition of his admiral and his captain of St. Malo. Two vessels were fitted out with all necessaries for an exploring voyage, armed and manned with a hundred and twenty persons, and put under the command of Cartier, and left the port of St. Malo on the 20th of April, 1534.†

Like Cortereal and many others, he directed his course to the east coast of Newfoundland; and having most favorable weather, after a sail of three weeks he arrived there on the 10th of May, near Cape Buonavista, one of the most eastern headlands of Newfoundland, and usually the “Prima vista” of European discoverers sailing to these regions, and not far from the land-fall of Cortereal in 1500.

* In the first royal commission given to him is the following: “Nous vous avons commis à la navigation des terres *par vous já commences à decouvrir.*”

† We have a report of this voyage, written probably by Cartier himself, or by one of his companions, and preserved to us in an Italian translation by Ramusio, in his 3d vol., fol. 435 seq. Venice, 1556. This was, for a long time, the only authority for Cartier's voyage. Of late, the French think they have discovered in their archives the original report, written by Cartier himself in French; and they have published it under the title “Relation originale du voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534, etc.” Paris, 1867. But it does not add much to the knowledge drawn from Ramusio.

From this cape, Cartier, like Cortereal, directed his course to the north, and was much obstructed by great masses of ice. Why he did not go at once to the south-west, to the broad entrance of the St. Lawrence, where he would have escaped the ice, we do not learn. From some allusion in his last report we infer,—what yet appears extraordinary,—that at this time he was still unacquainted with the southern broad entrance to the gulf.

On the 27th of May, he arrived at the gulf of the Castles (*Golfe des chateaux*), the present Strait of Belle Isle. He found this so full of ice, that he was not able to continue his voyage until the 9th of June. Taking an observation of latitude, he found his harbor near the mouth of the strait to be in 51° N., which is nearly correct.

Entering the Strait of Belle Isle, he ranged along the south coast of Labrador, occasionally planting names there in remembrance of some places of Brittany, or in commemoration of the events of his voyage; as for instance: “Isle de St. Catherine,” at the entrance of the strait, so named from one of his vessels; “Brest,” from the well-known port in Brittany, which name the French also carried to the coast of Brazil; “Saint Servan,” from a British saint; “Rivière Cartier,” from the commander’s name. All these names are found on old maps, but are now forgotten.

Not far from the “Port of Brest,” he met a French ship of Rochelle, occupied in fishing; a proof of what has been stated above, that the French fishermen were accustomed to enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence before the time of Cartier. He found also some aborigines employed in fishing, who were “well built, of good figure, and tall in stature.” They told him that they did not live in that region, but in a warmer country, and that they came now and then to these northern shores to catch fish and obtain food. This northern coast

appeared to Cartier so disagreeable, unproductive, and barren, that he thought "it ought to be the country which God had given to Cain," and resolved to leave it, and cross to the other side of the Strait of Belle Isle, which had here become very broad.

After a sail of twenty leagues from Brest, not far from the present Checatica Bay, he touched a cape which, from its appearance, he named "Cap Double," the present "Point Rich," on the west side of Newfoundland. From this point he sailed along the coast of the great island, in a south-south-west direction, having sometimes fine weather, and sometimes contrary winds and fogs; so that often he could see nothing of the coast. On the 24th of June he arrived at a very prominent cape, which, in honor of the Saint of the day, he named "Cape de St. Jean" (St. John's Cape), the present "Cape Anguille," the most southern point of the west coast of Newfoundland. This is the first time that we have any account of a navigator having been on the west coast of Newfoundland. This part of the coast had been neglected by former discoverers, and left unrepresented on their maps.

From Cape Anguille, leaving Cape Breton and the great entrance of the gulf on the south, he sailed westward and discovered three small rocky islets, which were covered with large flocks of birds "as innumerable as the flowers on a meadow," and therefore were named "Isles aux margaulx." They are still well known to all mariners entering the gulf, under the name of "Bird Rocks."

West of these Bird Rocks there was another island, about two leagues long, and one league broad; which, according to this description, must have been the present "Byron Island;" and then another, which was large, full of beautiful trees, woods, pleasant meadows covered with spring flowers, and

having large fertile tracts of land, interspersed with great swamps. Along its shores were many sea-monsters with two large tusks in the mouth, like elephants; and the forests were thronged with bears and wolves. This island was four leagues from the continent, and was named in honor of the admiral of France, who had favored this expedition, "Isle de Brion." According to this description, "Brion's Island" must be our large "Prince Edward Island," though the name "Isle de Brion," on some old maps, is given to a small islet, which we now call "Byron Island."

Regarding this Brion's Island, Cartier makes the following remark: "According to what I understand," he says, "I must think that there is some passage between the island of Brion and Newfoundland; and if this passage should be found navigable, it would shorten the voyage a great deal." From this remark it would appear, that in 1534 Cartier was not acquainted with the broad passage by which the Gulf of St. Lawrence is now commonly entered.

Cartier sailed along the north coast of Isle de Brion, giving now and then a name to some cape or island; for instance, "Cap d'Orleans" and "Isle Alezay," names which are still found on old maps, and which appear to have been placed near the "North Point" of Prince Edward Island. Thence he went over to the continent, entering a bay, which, from the great number of canoes filled with Indians which he saw there, he named "la baye des Barques;" and another triangular gulf, in 47° N., which he named "the Gulf of Santo Lunario" (the present Miramichi Bay). "He hoped here to find a passage like the strait of the Chateaux" (Belle Isle), and therefore named one of the capes of the bay, "the Cape of Hope." All the country round was covered with thick forests and green meadows.

In the same hope "of finding a passage," Cartier entered

another deep inlet on the north. He sailed into it for more than twenty-five leagues, found it to be a beautiful bay and country, but discovered no opening in the west. As it was now early in the month of July, he suffered much from heat; thought the region to be hotter than Spain: and therefore called it "La Baye des Chaleurs" (the bay of heat), a name which has remained to the present time.

Having convinced himself that this inlet was land-locked, he left it, sailing along the coast of the great peninsula, which afterwards was called "la Gaspésie," to the north-east and north, and arrived at another opening, where he searched in vain to find a passage, and which afterwards was called "Gaspé Bay." Here he was detained for some time by bad weather and contrary winds, and was at leisure to deal with the Indians of the place, who assembled in great numbers around his vessels. Here, also, quite near to the mouth of the great river of Canada, he formally, in the name of his king, took possession of the country, erecting on a prominent headland a large cross, with the inscription "Vive le Roy de France," which, in presence of the assembled aborigines, he consecrated and venerated, making the ceremony as solemn and imposing as possible.

On the 25th of July, "having a great wind," he left Gaspé Bay, taking two Indians with him, and sailed toward the north-east. He was now in the midst of that broad channel between the island of Anticosti and the peninsula of Gaspésie, which shows open water at the west and east, and which forms the principal entrance of the great river St. Lawrence. One would think, at the present time, that Cartier would readily have discovered this wide channel, and would have sailed at once to the west, where lay before him the open passage, for which he had searched in vain every little bay on the coast of New Brunswick. But to our aston-

ishment he failed to do this ; and, sighting the island of Anticosti, directed his course northerly to it, and sailed along its coast in an easterly direction. Why he did so does not appear from his journal, nor is any reason given for his course ; though it is easy to conjecture, that the open west was covered with fogs, or that he was driven eastward by stress of weather. He soon reached the eastern end of the island, which, from the Saint of the day, he called "Cap de St. Alovise," now "East Point ;" observing at the same time that it stood in $49^{\circ} 30' N.$ He rounded it, and proceeded along the north coast of Anticosti, "sailing in a north-western direction." He extended his voyage to $50^{\circ} N.$, and came in sight of the south coast of Labrador, where he perceived that the channel between the two coasts became more narrow. He went over to the northern side, and again to the southern, to see whether it was a channel or a gulf. Though he had contrary winds, great waves, currents, and a high tide against him, and though he was in the narrowest place of the strait, among dangerous rocks (probably the so-called Mingan Islands), still he succeeded in advancing so far westward, that he could see the country (Anticosti) turn and fall off to the south-west. Here he must have observed, what he was so eager to find, open water to the west. But now his men and his means were exhausted. He saw the beginning of a great, protracted, and perhaps difficult undertaking, the introduction to a series of discoveries. The season was already far advanced for these northern regions ; for it was in the month of August. So he assembled a council of all his officers, masters, and pilots, and it was concluded to return to France, to obtain a new outfit for another attempt.

Cartier called the narrow strait which terminated this voyage, "le detroit de St. Pierre" (St. Peter's channel). He had sounded it in many places, and found it to be very

deep, sixty, a hundred, and even a hundred and fifty fathoms ; and therefore, perhaps, he supposed it to be, not a river's mouth, but a sea-channel, a passage from the Atlantic to the western sea of Verrazano. Nowhere in his journal does he say that he expected to find, or that he had as yet heard, of a great river. He always declares his desire to find *a passage to the west*.

On his homeward voyage he sailed at first along the southern coast of Labrador, toward the Strait of Belle Isle, which he had entered in May. On the Labrador coast, he touched at a place which he named "Cap Tiennot" (or Tiéno), a very prominent headland, afterwards often mentioned, and now called Cape Montjoli. And, after a quick and prosperous passage over the ocean, he arrived at St. Malo on the 5th of September of the same year.

2. SECOND VOYAGE OF JACQUES CARTIER TO THE GULF AND RIVER OF ST. LAWRENCE, IN 1535.

The report of Cartier, made soon after his return, to the admiral and the king, of the fine-looking coasts, and a strait promising to lead to new regions in the west, was very favorably received. And on the 30th of October, 1534, the admiral gave him, in the name of the king, a new commission, by which were placed under his command three well-equipped vessels, victualled for fifteen months for a new voyage to the north-west, "to complete the discovery beyond the Newfoundlands, already commenced" (*la navigation jà commencée à découvrir outre les Terres Neufves*).

Having everything in readiness, and having received the benediction of the bishop of St. Malo, Cartier left this port on the 19th of May, 1535, with his three ships.* He took

* The report of this second voyage of Cartier is preserved in an Italian translation by Ramusio, in his third volume, folio 441, Venetia, 1556. The

with him many expert pilots and sailors of St. Malo, and several enterprising gentlemen and noblemen of Brittany, all under his command. In crossing the ocean this time he had much bad weather, and arrived late, July 7th, on the east coast of Newfoundland.

He entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as on his first voyage, through the Strait of Belle Isle, and coasting along the southern part of Labrador, he arrived early in August, at that strait, which he had before called "St. Peter's channel" (the present Canadian channel), not far east of the termination of his former voyage. On the 10th of August, the day of Saint Lawrence, he entered a little port on the northern shore, to which he gave the name "Bay of St. Lawrence." This name has disappeared from that place, which is now called "St. John's river," and was afterwards applied, we cannot say how or when, to the whole great river of Canada, at the mouth of which this little bay was situated. This extension of the name "St. Lawrence," must soon have been introduced and become general; for the Spanish historian, Gomara, in his work published in 1553, applies the name "San Lorenzo" to the entire river and gulf.

At the Bay of St. Lawrence, Cartier, seeing unknown waters before him, examined the two Indians whom he had taken at Gaspé Bay on his first voyage, and carried to France. They told him, that the water to the west was only the mouth of a large river, which, by degrees, grew more and

French original of this report had previously been printed in France in 1545. But so little attention had been paid to this interesting publication, that the whole edition was soon dispersed and lost, and there remains but one copy, which is preserved in the British Museum. In 1864, the librarian Tross, in Paris, published a new edition of the French original of this report, under the direction of, and with an introduction by, the distinguished French geographer, M. D'Avezac.

more narrow, and was called "the river of Hochelaga;" that at a place called "Canada," it was very narrow, with water quite pure; and that at a greater distance, only small boats could pass on it. Cartier appears not to have cared so much for a fresh-water river, as for a salt-water channel, and he therefore went first over to the southern coast, called by the Indians "Honguedo," afterwards named "la Gaspésie," to find a passage, but seeing none, he returned to Port St. Lawrence, searching carefully the northern coast, in hope of finding a north-west passage there. He had seen in St. Peter's channel a great number of whales; and thus was confirmed in his opinion, that there must be, somewhere in that direction, a hidden salt-water passage from one ocean to the other.

Having found no passage, he shaped his course west and south-west directly into the mouth of that inlet, which the Indians called a fresh-water river. Having now ascertained that the country which the Indians called "Naticotec" was a large island, he gave to it the name "l'isle de l'assomption" (Assumption Island), which has been since changed to the original Indian name "Naticotec;" by Europeans pronounced and written, with a transposition of its letters, Anticosti.

The first remarkable object which Cartier discovered in sailing along the northern shore of the great river of Hochelaga, was the mouth of another river, coming down from a country west-north-west, of which the two Indians had spoken to him, under the name of "the river and country of Saguenay." Cartier explored the mouth of this river, and, sounding, found it extremely deep, "more than a hundred fathoms." This observation afterwards gave rise to the opinion entertained for a long time by many geographers, that this "Saguenay" was not a river, but a passage conducting to a northern

sea. The remarkable and beautiful river Saguenay has preserved its ancient and original name to the present day.

At some distance south-west of the Saguenay, Cartier came to an island, which he named "Isle aux Coudres" (Hazel Island), which still retains this name; and at a further distance, another larger island, extremely pleasant, covered with fine woods of all sorts, and abundance of vines. From this circumstance Cartier called this island "Isle de Bacchus," which name was afterwards changed by him to "Isle d'Orléans." "Near this island the country of Canada begins."

From these last-named islands, the north-western boundary line of the State of Maine is only about ten leagues distant, and Cartier may have seen, on this part of his sail, from some elevation near the shore, some of its blue hills in the southern horizon; and if so, it was the first instance in which this State had been seen from the interior by any European.

The principal events and transactions of this voyage occurred in the vicinity of the Isle of Bacchus, where the St. Lawrence, from a broad estuary, contracts its channel to a river, near the locality where afterwards was founded Quebec, the capital of New France,—that critical position, in which the fate of the country was afterwards so often decided. Cartier found in this important geographical position a village "Stadacone," the residence of a powerful Indian chief, Donnacona, who made earnest efforts to dissuade him from ascending the river any further, saying, that he would find nothing there worth his while, and that the navigation was very dangerous. Cartier took no notice of these objections, which were accompanied by threats and other marks of ill will. He astonished and silenced his Indian friends with the thunder of his cannon; and putting the two largest vessels of his fleet in a safe harbor near Bacchus Island, called by him the Port of the Holy Cross, began to ascend

the river with the smallest of his ships, "l'Emerillon," which had been purposely prepared in France for navigating in shoal water. He took with him all his young gentlemen, and fifty mariners, and, on the 19th of September, left behind his harbor and his two ships.

He ascended this splendid river, admiring its magnificent scenery, its broad deep channel of clear water, the elevated banks on both sides, covered with gracefully grouped trees of various sorts, richly embellished everywhere with vines, and enlivened by beautiful birds. Here and there he found a village or fishing-station of Indians, who were all very peaceful, and saluted the party with eloquent speeches. On the 28th of September he arrived at a lake where the water became so shallow, that they were obliged to leave their ship safely anchored in port.

Cartier then in two small boats crossed the lake, called by him "lac d'Angoulême" (now St. Peter's Lake), and arrived on the 19th of October at the Indian village of "Hochelaga," of which his two Indians had spoken so highly. He found this place well peopled with Indians, with whom he held daily friendly intercourse by speeches and festivals. Hochelaga, the residence of an Indian chief, was pleasantly situated at the foot of a mountain at some distance from the river. Cartier with his party ascended this mountain, and enjoyed the beautiful view of the surrounding country, spread out widely before them. He discovered distant mountain ranges, north and south; saw his great river running far to the west, and observed the rapids near by, which seemed to put an end, at this point, to further navigation.

Thinking that "Hochelaga" was the most convenient place for the capital of the French province to be established, he gave to it the Christian name, "Mount Royal." Thus Cartier had now discovered and designated, and held under his

command, the three principal geographical positions of Canada, Quebec, Montreal, and the central locality of St. Peter's Lake. But as now the favorable season was coming to an end, he resolved to return, collect all his scattered forces, and put them safely into winter-quarters.

He arrived, with his company in the ship l'Emerillon, early in November at his harbor of the "Holy Cross," where his two large vessels lay at anchor. During his absence, his mariners and soldiers had built a fort and sheds. Here he passed the winter of 1535-6 in the midst of ice and snow; much troubled and distressed by a sickness among his crew, probably the scurvy, which carried off twenty-five of his men. He would have lost still more if the friendly Indians had not checked the disease, by preparing for the sick a wonderfully wholesome remedy, a decoction from the leaves and bark of a certain medicinal tree (ameda), with the virtues and uses of which they were familiar. This was the first time that history had witnessed a modern European explorer wintering in these northern regions of America.

These friendly Indians were a great comfort to Cartier and his men; and, always having amicable intercourse with them, he gained from their conversation much valuable information about the nature of the surrounding regions and their relative position. "They informed him that from the place where he had left his ship in going to Hochelaga, "there is a river that goeth toward the south-west,"—our present Richelieu,—(y a vne riuerre q̄ va vers le Surouaist),* a country in which snow and ice never appeared, and where many delicate southern fruits were found; but in which the inhabitants were continually at war among themselves. They referred, no doubt, to the line of navigation formed by Lake Champlain

* Bref Recit de la Navigation faite par J. Cartier, p. 34. Paris, Librairie Tross, 1863.

and Hudson River, and to the country of the warlike Five Nations. Cartier "thought that this was the way to Florida."

But the Indians spoke in still higher terms of the "country of Saguenay," of which they gave a very extraordinary report. They said, that though the river of Saguenay had its origin in this country, and derived its name from it, yet the best and most direct way to it was by the great river Hochelaga, and then by another confluent river, which also had its origin in the country of Saguenay. This undoubtedly referred to the Ottawa River. There, they said, were three large lakes, and also a sea of fresh-water of which no person had ever seen the end. Many wealthy nations were settled there, of a white color, clothed like the French, and possessing gold and copper. What Cartier thought of this report he does not state. He probably supposed that these lakes were the sea of Verrazano, and these nations, some of the cultivated nations of Eastern Asia. Is it possible that these Indians of Canada had heard of the Spaniards, who, some years previous, under Narvaez and Cabeça de Vacca, had been on the Lower Mississippi?

Those of Canada said also "that it was from Hochelaga (Montreal), a navigation of one month, to a country where they gathered cinnamon and cloves" (*cinamomo ed il garofano*).* Some stories, told by the old Indians, of men in distant lands with only one leg, and of others who did not eat, Cartier, of course, regarded as idle fables.

With respect to the neighboring territory of the State of Maine, and other parts of New England, we find no particular information or allusion in Cartier's report. He represents, however, his friend Donnacona, the chief of "Canada" or "Stadacona" (Quebec), as a great king, and speaks of all the Indian tribes as far down as the Saguenay and beyond,

* See notice of Cartier's voyage in Ramusio, vol. 3, fol. 453.

as his subjects. It is therefore possible that the native inhabitants of the northern part of Maine may have been under his government, and that among the numerous Indians, who gathered at Cartier's winter station near Quebec, there were Indians from the forests of Maine, by whom, on their return, the news of the French and their presents would be spread from one settlement to another.

Donnacona, this powerful and hospitable chief, and some of his subjects, were seized by Cartier in a treacherous manner, and kept on board his ship; as he was desirous of having some principal person of the new country to present to his king. He quieted the chief's alarmed subjects by assuring them, that he would be well treated and much honored on the other side of the water; that he should be brought back in a year; and by adding to these assurances trifling presents of European trinkets.

He left his harbor of the Holy Cross, May 6, 1536, with two of his vessels, having abandoned and destroyed one, which, from losses among his crew, he was not able to man. On his passage home, he made useful some discoveries, which enabled him to point out a shorter route from France to Canada. One of these discoveries was the broad channel on the south side of the island of Anticosti. This he had not before explored, and doubted whether it was a gulf or an open passage.

He also now avoided the longer northern route through the strait of Belle Isle, and passed from the gulf through the broad southern opening between Cape Breton and Newfoundland. And what seems incredible is, that he should not have known the existence of this channel in his former voyages, but should have considered it, at this time, as a new discovery. He mentions no old names in this region, but gives everywhere "new names;" for instance, to the most northern

headland of Cape Breton the name "St. Paul," which is now called "North Point." He sailed along the southern coast of Newfoundland, touched at St. Peter's Island, where he met "many ships from France and Brittany," and passed Cape Race on the 19th of June.

Thus Cartier was the first explorer who completed the circumnavigation of Newfoundland, and saw all its coasts. It had been regarded by Cortereal and others as continental, and so depicted on their maps. It is true, however, that some others before Cartier had called it "an isle;" not because they had proved it to be such, but because it was very natural in an age of discovery, to consider new countries as islands, until the contrary had been proved.

On the 16th of July 1536, Cartier, with his two ships, safely arrived in the port of St. Malo.

3. THE VOYAGE OF MASTER HORE, AND OTHER ENGLISHMEN, TO CAPE BRETON AND NEWFOUNDLAND, IN 1536.

At the time when the French, under Cartier, undertook their first explorations of the River St. Lawrence, there was in London a certain "Master Hore, a man of great courage, and given to the studie of cosmographie," who took up the old project of the Cabots to discover a passage to the west in the northern parts of America. Perhaps his "study of cosmography" had convinced him, as Cabot had before been convinced by his knowledge of the globe, that the northern route to the East Indies, if open water could there be found, would be shorter than the usual route by the Cape of Good Hope.

Master Hore encouraged and persuaded "divers gentlemen of the Innes of court and of the Chancerie, desirous to see the strange things of the world," to associate themselves

with him "for a voyage of discoverie upon the north-east parts of America." Many willingly engaged with him, and Henry VIII. favored and assisted the enterprize with his approbation.

These persons were probably stimulated to this "action" by the great and successful voyage of their French neighbors under Cartier, the rumor of which must have spread through England, and have excited there that emulation which has always been felt toward each other by these rival countries.

Two ships, the "Trinitie" and the "Minion," were manned "with about six-score persons," whereof not less than thirty were gentlemen "fond of sport." "It was," as a modern author remarks,* "a characteristically English undertaking." Master Hore, probably taking the command of the two vessels, embarked in the Trinity, which was "the admiral." Amongst others, he had with him "a very learned and virtuous gentleman, Armigil Wade." †

The two ships sailed near the end of April, 1536, toward the north-west. They were very long at sea, more than two months, and at last "came to a part of the West Indies about Cape Breton, shaping their course thence to Newfoundland," and along its coast toward the north. How far they went, is nowhere stated. But that they advanced a considerable distance in that direction, and contended a long time with the ice in Davis' Strait, is probable from the fact, that on

* Dr. Asher, in his "Henry Hudson," p. xcv. London, 1860.

† All our original information on this interesting voyage was gathered and published by the indefatigable Richard Hakluyt. In his time some of the gentlemen, who had accompanied Master Hore, were still living. Hakluyt visited as many as he could find, and once rode not less than two hundred miles to meet one of them, "to learn the whole truth of that voyage." After these inquiries, he wrote the report, to be found in his work, "The principal navigations," etc., p. 517. London, 1589.

returning to Newfoundland, they were reduced to the extremes of famine. His companions, these wealthy gentlemen, had no doubt taken care to have their ships sufficiently furnished with provisions, and they would not, therefore, have fallen into so great distress, if they had not had a long contest with the perils of the north.*

They anchored near "Penguin Island," on the east coast of Newfoundland, where their want of provisions was so great, "that they devoured raw herbes and rootes which they sought on the maine." Their extremity, at last, was so great, that some of them had begun to kill and eat their companions. "But such was the mercy of God, that there arrived just at the right time, a French fishing vessel in the port, well furnished with victuals; and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and victualling them, they left the French to their fate, setting sail to come into England;" where they arrived about the end of October. So great were the fatigues and miseries which they had endured, and some of them were so altered in their appearance, that their friends did not recognize them. The father and mother of a Mr. Thomas Buts "knew him not to be their son, until they found a secret mark upon one of his knees."

It is only just to add, that the poor French fishermen, who had been robbed by the despairing English, were afterwards indemnified by Henry VIII. to the full extent of their damage. They had supported themselves for a few months by fishing, and afterwards had safely returned. The English might have supplied themselves in the same way, if they had been as well skilled in fishing as the French.

This most unfortunate voyage of Master Hore was, for a

* M. D'Avezac also thinks, that they extended their voyage "fort avant dans le nord." *Brève Introduction*, p. xiii.

long time, the last official expedition made by the English to the north-east parts of America; although the fishing-voyages which the English commenced soon after Cabot's discovery, did not cease. They are frequently mentioned in public documents; as, for instance, in an act of Parliament of the third year of Edward VI. (1550).* Of the English fisheries on these banks, we have no particular account; and there is no evidence that they were pursued extensively at an early period. But later in the century, they became very important; for Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on his arrival there in 1583, found English merchants and fishermen very numerous, powerful, and "at the head of all the other nations." †

4. EXPEDITIONS OF JEAN FRANÇOIS DE LA ROQUE DE ROBERVAL AND JACQUES CARTIER TO CANADA, IN 1540 AND 1543.

The report of Cartier to the king of his second voyage proved very influential. He had discovered one of the grandest and most navigable rivers of the world, surrounded by beautiful scenery, and fertile tracts of land, "with copper mines," and many most convenient sites for erecting fortifications, and establishing ports and cities, and well calculated for the foundation of a new colony or empire. He also described other countries further west, suggesting the neighborhood of the region of spices, and of waters conducting to them. Still there was one essential thing wanting; for, among the

* This act is mentioned in William Bollaun, *the Ancient Right of the English Nation to the American Fishery*, p. 7. London, 1764.

† See Bollaun, *l. c.* p. 8 seq., and Hakluyt's *Voyages, Navigations, etc.*, vol. 3, p. 150 seq. London, 1600. [The English were not found on the Grand Bank until 1517; but in 1522, they had made such progress, that they had erected on Newfoundland forty or fifty stages for the convenience of their fishermen, and afterwards pursued the business extensively.—ED.]

products he brought home, there was no gold. And the poor northern Indian chief Donnacona, bore little resemblance to the chief Atabalipa, whom the Spaniards had recently plundered. What were all the beauties of Canada and Hochelaga in comparison to the riches of Peru, which, at that very time, were poured in upon Spain, and attracted the attention of the whole world to South America! The capture by French privateers of one or two Spanish vessels returning richly freighted from the south, would yield a far better profit than all that Cartier had earned, after all the hardships endured by himself and his men, in their tedious wintering amid northern snows and ice. *

Perhaps considerations of this kind made Francis hesitate for several years, before making up his mind to favor again the plans of Cartier, and to prosecute the work of discovery, conquest, and plantation in the north-east of America. At length an influential nobleman from the small district of Vimeu, in the province of Picardy, Jean François de la Roque de Roberval, who was zealous in great undertakings and maritime enterprises, and who, from his high aspirations and provincial power, was sometimes called "the little king of Vimeu," succeeded in overcoming all obstacles, and in persuading the king to renew, on a grander scale, the project of conquering and colonizing the north of America.

Roberval was placed at the head of this expedition, and by royal letters patent of the 15th of January 1540, was named viceroy and lieutenant-general of the new countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Belle Isle, Saguenay, Labrador, and other parts of this wide territory. While Cartier, the active discoverer, who best knew the country, received only a subordinate appointment.

The expedition was authorized to carry over to the great river soldiers, priests, men and women, and all that was nec-

essary for the planting of a colony, and establishing a government in the name of the king, over all the regions north of 40°. These countries were considered by Francis to be the north-eastern end of Asia.* He now gave to them the general name of "New France," or at least officially confirmed it.

Cartier was named commander of all the ships equipped for this enterprise, with the title of "captain-general and master pilot," and was commissioned to continue his discoveries in the far west, while Roberval was appointed to establish a colony for the lower parts of the river, and organize its government.

Roberval lost much time in procuring heavy artillery, and other things which he thought necessary for the establishment of his vice-royalty; and Cartier, having sooner completed the outfit of his five ships, left St. Malo on the 23d of May, 1541, without waiting on the slower movements of his chief.†

The whole undertaking, from beginning to end, was unfortunate. On the ocean, Cartier was delayed by contrary winds and bad weather, and did not arrive until the end of August at his old station, near Holy Cross harbor. He did not take back to his subjects their captured chief, as he had promised; for Donnacona and his companions, after having been baptized and presented to the king, had died in France. Cartier did not establish himself in his former quarters, but took a position not far from them, and nearer to the present Quebec, where he built another fort, and gave to it

* This appears in the Royal commission given to Cartier, where these words occur: "grand païs des terres de Canada et Hochelaga, *faisant un bout de l'Asie du côté de l'Occident.*" See the commission in Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, p. 412. Paris, 1612.

† See a translation of the official French report on this voyage, preserved by Hakluyt, in the third volume of his "Voyages, navigations, etc.," p. 232 seq. London, 1600.

the name of "Charlesbourg Royal." Leaving there most of his men, and sending back two of his ships to France, he proceeded immediately, with some enterprising French gentlemen, to ascend the river, and to make arrangements for a further exploration of the country of Saguenay, beyond Hochelaga, and the rapids which he had seen in 1535. He found three cataracts, or rapids; succeeded in passing the first and second (the "courant de Ste. Marie" and the "rapides de Lachine"); but not being able easily to overcome the third (the "Sault de S. Louis"), he returned to his station at "Charlesbourg," where he passed the winter of 1541-2. He waited some time in the spring for the arrival of the Viceroy Roberval, who was to bring the supplies necessary for establishing a strong and stable colony. But having no news from him, and his provisions failing, his men weakened by disease and the hardships of winter, and the Indians being more excited and threatening than ever, he resolved to return to France. Accordingly, toward the end of May, 1542, he commenced his homeward voyage, and on his way met the tardy Roberval in the harbor of St. John,* in Newfoundland. But neither he nor his men could be persuaded to return to the place where they had suffered so severely; and they continued on to France, where they arrived at St. Malo, Oct. 21, 1542.

Roberval, probably with some of Cartier's companions, pilots, and charts, proceeded to the great river, and established himself, with his officers, gentlemen, soldiers, priests, missionaries, planters, women, and the whole apparatus of his viceroyal colony, at a fortified place not far from Quebec, called by him "France Roy." From this station he made some exploring expeditions into the surrounding country, and may have even reached the borders of Maine.

* So Hakluyt. Others say, "in the Strait of Belle Isle."

He sent also one of his mariners, a very expert pilot, named Alphonse de Saintonge,* to search for a north-west passage north of Newfoundland. But Saintonge went on the old route of the Cabots and the Cortereals no further than about 52° N., and returned without having effected any new discovery.

The same may be said of Roberval himself. His expedition added nothing new to the store of geographical information gathered by Cartier on his two voyages. He soon appears to have come into trouble, and, in the year 1542, to have gone home for relief and succor, leaving a portion of his men at "France Roy," their winter station, where they suffered from hunger, scurvy, and the Indians, as much as their predecessors. But in the spring of 1543, Francis sent Cartier to bring back the remnants of this unfortunate expedition, with which he returned to St. Malo, after an absence of eight months.*

It was more than half a century from this time before the French made any effectual attempts at settlement in Canada; although some authors have asserted, that Roberval renewed his efforts in that direction.

The full and satisfactory reports which Cartier gave of his two voyages, his well-written description of the countries he discovered, his useful remarks, his correct observations of latitude and longitude, his ably composed maps and charts, all prove him to have been a man eminently qualified for the

* Jean Alphonse de Saintonge was a very distinguished French captain, who formerly had traveled to Brazil, in French as well as Portuguese vessels. Hakluyt (vol. 3, p. 237 seq.) communicates excellent sailing directions for the Gulf and River St. Lawrence made by this navigator. See more of him in a note of M. D'Avezac in "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie," p. 317 seq. Année, 1857.

† See M. D'Avezac, in the Introduction to his edition of Cartier's second voyage.

task of exploration and discovery. He described, in an eloquent and truthful manner, a great section of the interior of North America, defined the configuration of the sea-coasts, the course of the great rivers in the north, north-east, and north-west of Maine, and shed much light upon the region beyond it. Would that a seaman, like Cartier, had given us as much light about the sea-coast of "Norumbega," about Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Casco Bays, their capes, headlands, and islands, as is given by Cartier's writings and charts about the Bay of Chaleurs, the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and the island of Anticosti!*

It is sad, that France did not make a better use of such a talented and enterprising man. Francis I, in the years subsequent to these voyages of Cartier and Roberval, was occupied with bloody wars against the emperor of Germany and the king of England, and died in 1547. Cartier was forgotten, and appears to have remained, during the rest of his life, unoccupied, renouncing navigation, and spending his time in winter at St. Malo, and in summer at a country-seat, called Limoilou, which he owned near that town. After 1552, we lose sight of him altogether, and may therefore infer, with M. D'Avezac, that he died before having attained his 60th year.†

As to the further career of Roberval, opinions are still more diverse. But I will not repeat them here, as his services as a discoverer and geographer are of little importance.

Under the reign of the successors of Francis I, namely,

* From a letter written by a relation of Cartier to an English gentleman in 1587, it appears that in this year, a chart of the whole River St. Lawrence, drawn by Cartier's own hand, was still in existence, and in the possession of a Frenchman of the name of Cremeu. See this letter in Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 236, edition 1600.

† See M. D'Avezac's *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 98. Année, 1864.

Henry II, Francis II, and Henry III, the French nation was disturbed by internal revolutions and bloody religious wars; and in the sufferings of Old France, the New France, on the other side of the ocean, was forgotten. There was neither money nor heart for the effectual continuance of discovery and colonization in the immense regions of the north-east of America. Nay, even the reports, books, and papers written on the old expeditions of the Verrazanos, Cartiers, and Robervals, were so entirely neglected by their countrymen, that we owe their preservation entirely to foreigners, the Italian Ramusio, and the English Hakluyt, who obtained, translated, and published these records of the maritime glory of the French.

“La Nouvelle France,” for a long time after Cartier and Roberval, was nothing but a name; still found, it is true, on every map of the sixteenth century, and with the good outlines and configuration which Cartier had given to it, and described in the geographical works of the time, as he had reported it. But these maps and works show no progress of knowledge whatever. The great river of Canada, for more than sixty years, was invariably drawn from a point only as high up as the rapids near Hochelaga, where Cartier’s progress was arrested in 1535 and 1541.

All the activity of the French in the north-east, during this period of internal disturbances, was confined to the fishing-banks of Newfoundland. To these banks, the fishermen of the little ports of Brittany and Normandy continued their yearly expeditions after Cartier, in the same manner as they had done before. And it may be, that to them we are indebted for some new names which we find on maps after the middle of the sixteenth century, which were not on those of Cartier.

We shall show hereafter, that this continued action of the

fishermen of Brittany and Normandy gave rise, not only to Cartier's expeditions, but to another series of Royal expeditions, which at last put the French in full possession of the north-east of America, and made them there one of the principal powers, threatening for a time to overwhelm the territory of New England. But these events belong to the end of the sixteenth century—the happier reign of Henry IV. Before coming to this period, we have other important incidents to relate.

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER IX.

1. ON CHART, No. 18a, OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE, BY GASPAR VIEGAS, 1534.

In the imperial library at Paris, there is a Portulano, composed of five or six sheets of parchment. Every sheet contains a chart, depicting a section of the world. The principal charts represent the regions on the Mediterranean Sea, and are all executed with great care. Among them is a sheet, of which we give a copy in No. 18a.

The names on all the charts of this Portulano are Portuguese, and on one of the sheets the name of the author, "*Gaspar Viegas*," and the date of his work, "1534," are carefully written in embellished letters.*

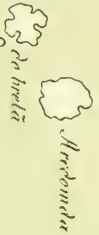
I know nothing of Gaspar Viegas, nor could my friends in Paris give me any information respecting the author, or his map. That part of the sheet containing the present map is so defaced, that the names on it are scarcely legible; but the general configuration, and the outlines of the coasts represented upon it, are clear. It is so interesting in connection with our subject, that I have introduced it here.

The chart represents Cape Breton, a part of Nova Scotia, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Newfoundland. It places in the midst of the ocean some islands which do not exist at all, but which, notwithstanding, were laid down on many old Portuguese and Spanish charts, under the same names, as "Aredonda," "Do bretan," "de Juan Estevanez," etc.

I have here given the names as they were copied by M. D'Avezac, and I will begin the examination of them and of the coasts represented, at the north-east coast of Newfoundland.

Though we know nothing of the first name in the north-east "S. fco.," nor its latitude; still it appears certain, that it must be some northern point of Newfoundland. But the Strait of Belle Isle is not found on the chart. Newfoundland is not depicted as an island, but as a large

*The celebrated French geographer, M. D'Avezac, first drew my attention to this work, and kindly communicated to me a sketch of it. A fac-simile was afterwards taken in Paris, of which our map, No. 18a, is a copy,



Gaspar

Viegas

1534.

Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence by Gaspar Viegas 1534.

peninsula, and part of the continent. This indicates, that Newfoundland was first proved to be an island by Cartier's survey of its "back-side," or its western coast, in 1534, and by its complete circumnavigation in a subsequent voyage.

Some of the Portuguese names on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, are reproduced on this from former charts, and are well known to us as "C. de Boavista," "C. Frey Luis," "Ceiria," etc. Some others not mentioned on former Portuguese charts, are new to us, as "Baia das Rojas," "Rio Real," etc. Viegas may have taken them from the reports or charts of Portuguese fishermen.

The south-eastern point of Newfoundland has its old Portuguese name, "C. Rasso" (Cape Race). Its southern coast has its true direction from west-north-west, to east-south-east; and the great bay in the midst of it, now called Fortune Bay, is accurately depicted, and also Placentia and St. Mary's Bays, east of Fortune Bay; though they are not represented in their true proportions.

The western half of the south coast of the island, proceeding from Fortune Bay, has on our map no great bays, in conformity with the actual condition of the coast. And the Portuguese names given to points on this section, as "S. Maria," "S. Andre," "C. da tormenta," "C. de piloto," "XI virges," etc., are nearly all of them new to me. They were probably given to the respective places by Portuguese fishermen.

The south coast ends with "C. da volta" (Cape of return), which is probably the name of our present "Cape Ray," the southern projection of the island upon the grand entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The opposite Cape of this great channel has no name given to it, though the island of Cape Breton, and the Gut of Canso, are plainly enough indicated on the chart.

On the western side of the Gut of Canso, which is the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, the following names occur: "C. do Bretan," "S. p^o" (San Pedro), "S. Paulo," "R. da gente." These names were intended for the island east of the Gut of Canso, and were written by the map-maker on the place where they stand, because there was more room for them than in the place where they belong.

"C. de Bretan" (Cape Breton) is a name found on many old charts, first applied to the cape, and afterwards extended to the whole island, which now bears that name. "S. Paulo" is also a name often met with on the east coast of Cape Breton. Cartier in the report of his voyage of 1535 affirms, that on this occasion he planted here this name. He was not, however, quite correct in this statement, the name having been previously attached to it on such old charts as this of Vie-

gas. He only adopted and confirmed the name previously given. At present it is attached to the well-known rocky island, "St. Paul's," standing in the midst of the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and is its principal land-mark for vessels entering it.

The entrance to the gulf has nearly its true proportion, but not so the gulf itself. It is far too small; and is depicted as closed in the north-west, where the Strait of Belle Isle should be shown. The principal southern entrance to the gulf had been represented, as I have before observed, on many former maps; for instance, on that of Ribero, made after Gomez.* But on no former chart had the Gulf of St. Lawrence been so clearly and correctly indicated, as on the map we are examining; and this is the principal reason for introducing it here. It is the best introductory map for the voyages of Cartier, which we have been able to find. It was made in Portugal in the same year in which Cartier made his first exploring expedition; but it was finished before the results of Cartier's expeditions could have become known to Viegas, or any other person in Europe.

I can give no explanation of the names written on the coasts surrounding the gulf, "Rio fremosa," "Rio da traveça," "Rio pria," "Costacha," and several others. They go to prove that Portuguese and French fishermen had circumnavigated the gulf long before Cartier, which indeed is rendered probable by other reasons.

The long inlet or river at the north-west of Cape Breton, running east and west, and having similar proportions with the Bay of Chaleurs, is probably that bay, to which some names were added on the original, which are now illegible.

The only indication of the mouth of the great river of Canada on our map is an inlet in the north-west of the chart, to which the name "Rio pria" is given.

Newfoundland is represented as a very great country, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to which no name is given, as a rather small gulf. These circumstances may explain Cartier's proceedings on his voyage of 1534. We should suppose that he might have been acquainted with maps like this before us, or that of Ribero of 1529, and therefore have been aware of a channel and a gulf between Cape Breton and Newfoundland. Still we find that in his voyage of 1534, instead of using this broad passage to the gulf, he entered it by the Strait of Belle Isle; and when on his return he passed out of the main entrance, proclaiming that he had discovered a new and shorter route to France, we cannot resist the inference, that he did not know of this broad southern

*See our map, No. 16.



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channel. He must have supposed, that the gulf to which the Strait of Belle Isle conducted, was distant from a smaller gulf near Cape Breton, which had been drawn on Ribero's chart, and reproduced on that of Viegas. When, therefore, he passed out of the main channel, he was surprised to find that both channels conducted to one broad gulf, of which he had previously no knowledge.*

2. CHART, No. 18, OF CANADA AND THE EAST COAST OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM A MAP OF THE WORLD MADE IN 1543.

M. Jomard, in his "Monuments de la Géographie," furnishes a facsimile of a large and excellent representation of the world, to which he has given the title "Mappe-monde peinte sur parchemin par ordre de Henri II, Roi de France" (Map of the world drawn on parchment by order of Henry II, king of France). M. Jomard puts its date at "about the middle of the sixteenth century." M. D'Avezac, after a careful examination of the map, has come to the conclusion that 1542 must be adopted for its date.† M. D'Avezac therefore thinks that the map was made by order and at the cost of Francis I, though perhaps for the use of Henry II, who was then the Dauphin.

It is said that, in 1542, a learned Portuguese, "Don Miguel de Sylva," bishop of Viseu, having been banished from Portugal, had come to France, and brought with him several good official Portuguese and Spanish charts and maps. If this is true, it suggests the source from which the unknown author of this map procured the excellent and true delineations, which he has given us in his general map of the world, of the coasts of East India, China, Australia, and several parts of America. These concurrent events—the arrival in the same year, 1542, of new maps from Canada on the one hand, and from Portugal and Spain on the other—may have given occasion in France for the composition of a new and splendid atlas of the world for Francis and the Dauphin. But still, I think we should allow the compiler a year to arrange these abundant materials, prepare and publish his great work, and must therefore determine the year of its publication to be 1543.

The map is not only one of the most brilliant, but also one of the most exact and trustworthy pictures of the world which we have in the first part of the sixteenth century. It gives accurately all that was

* [This grand entrance to the gulf is about seventy-five miles wide in its narrowest part from Cape Ray to North Cape, the northern point of Cape Breton.—ED.]

† See M. D'Avezac's *Inventaire et classement raisonné des "Monuments de la Géographie"* in "Bulletin de l'Académie des Inscriptions." *Séance du 30, août, 1867.*

known of the world in 1543, especially of the ocean, and the outlines of the coasts of different countries. It is a sea-chart, and contains very few of the geographical features of the interior of countries, except in Europe; supplying their place with portraits of kings, pictures of the natives, and the natural productions of the countries, the trees, animals, and other objects of interest. But on the sea-coasts there is nothing fanciful. The author of the map must have been a well-instructed, intelligent, and conscientious man. Where the coasts of a country are not known to him, he so designates them. For his representation of countries recently discovered and already known, he had before him the best models and originals. The central parts of America around the Gulf of Mexico, and even East India and Southern China, are drawn with admirable accuracy.

No. 18, the map now under consideration, is reduced from a fragment of M. Jomard's copy, representing the east coast of the United States and the river and gulf of St. Lawrence. The original chart is covered all along the shores with a multitude of names. Those which are applied to the coast of Maine, I have given in full; on more distant coasts, I have omitted those which are of little consequence to us, and on which I have no explanations to make: noticing only those which are better known to history, and which may serve as a guide to my reader.

The names on the east coast of the United States are Spanish, and must have been taken from Spanish originals. We find in the south, "La Florida," "Cape St. Helene," "C. St. Romain," "Bay de St. Marie" (Chesapeake Bay), and others.

Of the three great gulfs on the east coast, two are clearly expressed, namely, that of Georgia in the south, and the Gulf of Maine in the north. No trace of the Gulf of New York is found on the chart.

The names on the coast of New England and Nova Scotia are also of Spanish origin. No evidence appears that the report or chart of the French commander, Verrazano, had been used in constructing this chart. Not even the island of "Claudia" appears, which later English and German map-makers still retained at the time of its composition. It is probable that the chart of Verrazano had disappeared from the marine archives of France; and this supposition confirms the statement of Hakluyt, that Verrazano carried his chart to England, and presented it to Henry VIII.

The often mentioned "Cabo de arenas," here translated "C. des sablons," is placed as usual in 40° N. It has large sand-banks before it; which strengthens my opinion that by this "Sandy Cape," Cape Cod was designated, surrounded as it is by George's sand-banks and Nan-

tucket shoals; while in the vicinity of Cape Henlopen or Sandy Hook, there are no such great and dangerous shoals and banks.

The gulf to the north-east of "Cape des sablons," as far as Nova Scotia, represents the Gulf of Maine, and has evidently been copied from the chart of Ribero, No. 16. It has exactly the same configuration, the same chain of islands characteristic of this gulf, the same great river-mouth running north and south, and also the same Spanish names, in a French version; "G. de St. Christophle," "R. de St. Anthoine," "M. verde" (green mountain), "R. de bonne mere," "Baye de St. Johan Baptiste," "Les montaignes," the "Arcipel de estienne Gomez," and "C. des isles." Beyond this on the east, "los medanos" (the hillocks); and on the coast of Nova Scotia, "Les montaignes" (the mountains), and "R. de la volté," or "buelta" (river of the return).

Besides these old Spanish names, introduced by Stephen Gomez and Ribero, our chart has many others along the coast, not to be found on Ribero's or any prior Spanish chart known to us. These new names are from south-west to north-east, as follows: "Y^s des loups" (the islands of the wolves), "Les escorey" (?), "Les germaines" (?), "Coste R. ontra" (?), "La playne" (the plain), and "Aurobagra," as M. Jomard has given it. This remarkable name stands near the largest bay of our coast (Penobscot Bay), at the same place where subsequent maps have the name "Norumbega." From the similarity of these names, we might suppose them to be the same, and that M. Jomard carelessly substituted "Aurobagra" for the word "Norobagra" in the original. The name "Aurobagra" runs up to a cluster of houses, or a castle, in the same place where we find represented, on subsequent maps, the large but fabulous "city of Norumbega."

It is impossible for us to say whether all these new names, the localities of which I cannot exactly determine, may be taken as indications of new discoveries made by French seamen on our coast.

Beyond Penobscot Bay, and on the coast of Nova Scotia as far as "Cape Breton," which is represented as a very small island, the new names are still more numerous. The name "Terre des Bretons," seems to be given to the whole of Nova Scotia, and no indication whatever exists of the Bay of Fundy.

The most important new feature of this map is, that the waters and countries in the rear and at the north of Maine are, for the first time, correctly exhibited. The gulf and river of St. Lawrence are depicted with great truthfulness, according to the discoveries of Cartier and Roberval in 1534 and 1542, and according to their charts. Our map shows that Cartier made very good observations on latitude, longitude, and distance. The Gulf of St. Lawrence and all its principal bays, head-

lands, and islands, are given in their right places and with their true configuration, as is also the River St. Lawrence, as high up as the first rapids. The territory of Maine, on the peninsula between the great river and the Atlantic, has also its true position and extent.

Neither the gulf nor the river of St. Lawrence has a name on this chart. The name "St. Laurens" is given to a small bay in the north, where Cartier placed it on his first exploring expedition. The river was at that time styled, "the great river of Hochelaga," which was applied to it by Cartier.*

The name Hochelaga (or Ochelaga) is given to the country north-east of the river; and further on is laid down the remarkable river "Le Saguenay," described by Cartier. The name "Canada," though not as yet generally adopted, makes a large figure on our chart. But I can only slightly allude here to the history of these names and objects the details of which belong more properly to a history of Canada.

A portrait is given of the principal commander of the expedition to Canada in 1542, "Monsieur de Roberval," standing in the midst of this wild country, at the head of his little troop of French soldiers. Among the pictures placed on the coast of New England, are those of a wild bear and of a unicorn.

The North Atlantic Ocean is styled, "La Mer Occane," and the southern section of it, "Mer d'espaigne." The northern section, nearer our coasts, is named "Mer de France." The coast of Maine is also distinguished by a canoe with Indians paddling along the shore; and the coast and waters adjacent to it are well delineated. The banks of Newfoundland are indicated by two long lines of points, where whale-fishing is going on.

The French, after Gomez and Verrazano, probably came near our coast several times and planted their French names, which soon superseded the original Spanish.

3. ON CHART, No. 19, OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, FROM THE ATLAS OF NICHOLAS VALLARD DE DIEPPE, 1543.

No. 19 is a chart of Canada and the east coast of North America, copied from a manuscript atlas now in possession of Sir Thomas

*Thus "El gran riv" is still called "El gran riv de Ochelaga" by Herrera, in his description of America, published in 1601. The name "St. Lawrence River," must, however, have come into use very soon after Cartier. In 1553 it was used by the Spanish historian Gomara. In his History of the Indies, printed in 1553, fol. 7, he describes Canada, and then speaks of the great river St. Lawrence (gran riv dicho san lorenzo).



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Phillips, Bart., of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham. This English gentleman, well known for his large collection of rare and curious books, MSS., and historical documents, had the great kindness to allow me, in 1854, to take a copy of this map.

The atlas has this inscription: "Nicholas Vallard de Dieppe dans l'année, 1547." This inscription is thought by some to denote the author of the map; by others, simply its owner in 1547. The celebrated French geographer, Barbié du Boeage, in 1807, read a paper on this atlas at a public session of the French Academy, in which he expressed the opinion "that the atlas had been drawn at Dieppe, in 1547, by a person of the name of Nicholas Vallard."* Sir Frederick Madden, "who had an opportunity of examining the atlas, thought that it was not made by Vallard, although it bore his name and the date 1547; † but that the name was only a mark of ownership." This is also my own opinion.

We know but little of Vallard, except that he was a Frenchman. Some have called him a French geographer and map-maker. But it is obvious from internal evidence, that this atlas could not have been made by a Frenchman, but only by a Portuguese. There are very accurately depicted in the atlas certain discoveries made by the Portuguese in Australia, which were kept secret by the king of Portugal, and of which Frenchmen probably could have had no knowledge at that time. And again the French names in the atlas, as I shall show more particularly hereafter, are either given in a Portuguese translation, or so corruptly written, as to render the opinion of a French authorship entirely inadmissible.

The question, how a document like this, made in Portugal and containing Portuguese secrets, could be brought from Lisbon, and fall into the hands of a Frenchman, has been answered by the conjecture, that it was taken to France by Don Miguel de Sylva, bishop of Viseu, a faithless servant of John III, of Portugal. This bishop had been a secretary and a favorite of the king of Portugal, but had left his place and country in a treacherous manner about 1542, "carrying with him certain papers of importance," with which the king had intrusted him. He passed through France to Italy, to receive in Rome the cardinal's hat in 1543.‡ Among the documents thus taken from Portugal and left in France, this atlas, or at least the Portuguese original of it,

* See a translation of this paper, in R. H. Major's *Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, Introduction, p. xxxv.

† See Major, l. c. p. xxvii.

‡ See R. H. Major, *Early Voyages to Australia*, Introduction, p. xlv. seq. London, 1859.

is supposed to have been one; besides which there were other precious Portuguese charts, which are now deposited partly in French, partly in English collections. A French amateur and painter copied the Portuguese original, and embellished it with figures and scenes from life; and this French copy fell into Vallard's hands. At the beginning of this century it came into the possession of Prince Talleyrand, and then attracted the attention of the French geographer, Barbié du Bocage,* who described it as above mentioned, in his paper read before the members of the French Academy. The work was afterwards obtained by Sir Thomas Phillips, who is the present owner.

The title given in this atlas to the section now under review, is "Terre de Bacalos." This is the old name applied to these regions before the middle of the sixteenth century, and was for some time used by the side of the new name "Nouvelle France." The former title may have been added by Vallard, the owner of the atlas.

In the north, the map begins with "Labrador," our present Greenland, and gives to this country, as well as to the entrance of Davis' and Hudson's Straits, in 60° N., the configuration and features which they usually have on old Portuguese charts.

Next follows "Terra Nova," our present Labrador and Newfoundland, with many names affixed, which are partly Portuguese and partly French, as far south as "C. de Rax" (Cape Race).

The best parts of the map are the waters and coasts north of Maine, and the outlines of the gulf and river St. Lawrence. Like our map No. 18, made for Henry II, but better and more accurate than that, they are evidently drawn from Cartier's discoveries and surveys. The gulf and river of St. Lawrence have a Portuguese name, "Rio do Canada." Prince Edward Island, at the south of the gulf, is better delineated than on former maps. Nearly all the names from the Strait of Belle Isle along the south coast of Labrador, and along the northern shore of the River St. Lawrence, are evidently taken from Cartier's reports and charts, though some of them are apparently much corrupted by the Portuguese writer. We find from east to west, "Belle Isle," "brest," "C. trenom" (instead of Cape Tieno, as Cartier has it), "G. lorens" (instead of la baye de St. Laurens), "Rio douche" (instead of Rivière douce), "le Saguenay," "Ille de coudre" (instead of Isle aux coudres), "Ille dorliens" (instead of Isle d'Orleans), "canada," and "tadacone" (instead of Stadacone), near Quebec, "lago de golesme" (instead of lac d'Angoulême), "ochelaga" (instead of Hochelaga), near Montreal.

Some of the names along the River St. Lawrence, "totomagly," "es-

* See Major, l. c. p. xxviii.

tadaeoc," "agochonda," "canoche," etc., are not found in Cartier's reports, though they may have been on his charts.

From these names it appears to be quite certain, that the original atlas was composed by a Portuguese; who, however, must have copied from the French charts of Cartier, at least for the outlines of the country of Bacalaos; thus also proving, that these French charts must have reached Portugal soon after Cartier's voyage of 1535. The Portuguese of course were eager to gain a knowledge of the prosecution of the discoveries, which they had begun in these regions with the voyages of the Cortereals, and where their fishing operations were so extensive and valuable.

Several interesting scenes are depicted on the northern shore of the river of Canada. Among them, near Quebec, is a fort mounted with cannon, and a French settlement, where is a group of Frenchmen surrounded, at a little distance, by astonished Indians. In front of this group, the figure of the commander stands forth prominently. Among them are soldiers, planters, monks, missionaries, together with several women, apparently of religious orders, and also wives of French peasants. Before them are some dogs playing, as if they were quite at home in this distant and strange country.

These representations refer, not to Cartier's visit in 1535, because he had with him at that time only mariners, soldiers, and explorers; but to the later visit of Roberval and Cartier, in 1541-1542, when they were accompanied by women, planters, missionaries, and the materials for founding a colony. By the "commander," on our map, is therefore probably intended the royal viceroy Roberval, who had been before pictured on another map of Canada (No. 18).

Roberval did not return home before the year 1542, the year in which these Portuguese maps are said to have been carried to France; and it may well be doubted, whether he and his company could have been depicted in Portugal, before this date, in the manner here represented. And the French would have been more desirous of honoring their Grand Seigneur Roberval by such delineations, than the Portuguese. By adopting the suggestion of M. Barbié du Bocage, "that this atlas is not the Portuguese original, but only a copy of the stolen Portuguese document made in France,"* we may safely conjecture, that these pictures, not found in the Portuguese original, were added by the French artists, who were fond of embellishing their maps in this manner.

The principal objects on our map are the gulf and river of Canada. But it gives very little new light on the geography of the sea-coast of

* See Major, l. c. p. xlv.

Nova Scotia and New England. At the south-west of Newfoundland, we find "C. Breton," with a fair delineation of this cape; and beside this, the name "Rio S. Pol," no doubt the "Cape de St. Paul," so called by Cartier on his second voyage in 1535. A large channel and island are depicted south of it; a misrepresentation, probably, of the "Gut of Canso." The "Rio grant" (Great River), is a name found on most of the old maps of Nova Scotia. At this point, then, we are still in that country; and so far as the geography of Nova Scotia is concerned, our map shows no improvement. West of this the entrance of a large bay is indicated, perhaps the Bay of Fundy. Then comes "Rio primero" (first river), perhaps the first to be met with in arriving from Nova Scotia on the coast of New England. At some distance west comes "Rio do gamas," a Portuguese misreading for "Rio de las gamas" with its large mouth filled with islands (Penobscot River and Bay). Not far from this comes "C. Sta. Marie;" and near this is a small semi-circular bay, full of islands, which looks like Casco Bay, and bears the name "arcipelago." After this follow the usual names given by Gomez in these regions, "montaña," "b. de S. Juan," and "R. de la buena madre," changed by the Portuguese author to "Rio de buena madeira" (the river of good timber). The whole coast from "Rio dolozo" and "Rio do gamas," as far south as "C. de Croix," is bordered with small islets, and has the shape of the Gulf of Maine; which was, therefore, probably intended. "C. de Croix," which is made very prominent, and put in latitude 40° 20' N., with a small bay west of it, undoubtedly denotes Cape Cod; having supplanted the old name of "Cabo de Arenas," now placed next to it on the south. From this point to "B. Sta. Marie" (Chesapeake), is but a short distance; while the waters and coasts near New York, as we formerly suggested, appear to be wholly omitted from the map. This part of the map is one of those manifold misrepresentations of the exploration of Estevan Gomez, introduced first in the map of Ribero, and after that repeated in endless variations.

South of the Bay of Sta. Marie (Chesapeake Bay), as far down as Florida, we find the customary Spanish names, which originated in the expeditions of Ponce de Leon and Ayllon.

4. NO. 20, ON THE ENGRAVED MAP OF THE WORLD, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY SEBASTIAN CABOT, IN 1544,—AND THE VOYAGE SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT, IN 1494.

Our map, No. 20, is copied from a fragment of a very large engraved map of the world, consisting of several sheets, found recently, I believe about the year 1855, in Germany, from which it was taken to



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France and deposited in the imperial library at Paris. The celebrated French geographer, M. Jomard, through whose instrumentality it was procured, embodied a fac-simile of it in his great work, "Monuments de la Géographie." I furnish here only that part of the map which has a special relation to the object of our researches.

The map contains, besides its delineation of all parts of the world, numerous and long inscriptions, written in the Spanish language, and translated into Latin. One of these inscriptions, No. XVII, is as follows:

"Sebastian Caboto capitán y piloto mayor de la S. C. C. M. del Imperador Don Carlos quinto deste nombre y Rey nuestro señor hizo esta figura extensa in plano anno del nascim^o deñro Salvador Jesu Christo de MDXLIII annos" (Sebastian Cabot, captain and pilot major of his sacred imperial majesty the emperor Don Carlos, the fifth of this name, and king, our lord, made this figure extended in plane, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1544).

In this inscription, the assertion is plain enough, that the celebrated Sebastian Cabot "*made*" this map in the year 1544. Who makes this assertion, we do not know. By some, it is supposed, that Cabot speaks here himself: others have thought, that it must be another person, and that neither the above inscription, nor the other legends of the map, were composed by Sebastian Cabot.* I agree with the latter opinion.

These inscriptions all speak of Cabot in the third person; and they contain assertions, opinions, and expressions which scarcely could be ascribed to him, as I shall endeavor to make clear, when I come to speak particularly of them, and show that these inscriptions were probably interpolated by the editor or publisher of the map, or some person employed by them.

The inscription, No. XVII, asserts, that Cabot "*hizo esta figura*" (made the figure). What this means, and what kind of agency it ascribes to Cabot in the construction of the map, is not clear. Does the inscription pretend that Cabot himself engraved the map? We have never heard that Cabot, like the German Mercator, and the Belgian Ortelius, engraved maps with his own hand. It is very probable, that the inscription means nothing more, than that the map was drawn and engraved after some original manuscript map, supposed to have been made by Sebastian Cabot.

The year 1544 is given as the date when the map was engraved; and

* Mr. Bancroft, for instance, in his articles on the Cabots in Appleton's American Cyclopaedia, and also Mr. Charles Deane in his "Remarks on Sebastian Cabot's Mappede," p. 6, Cambridge, 1867, are of this opinion.

this date is confirmed by internal evidence. The map furnishes a correct delineation of the River St. Lawrence, as high up as the first rapids. This delineation was first made by Cartier and Roberval in 1542, and was not known in Europe previous to 1543 or 1544.

Again, our map contains an exact copy of the well-known chart of California, made in 1541, by the pilot Domingo del Castillo.

That the map could not have been made much after 1544, is probable from the fact, that California, as here represented, does not reach higher up than about 35° N., the extent of its discovery made in 1541, by Alarcon and Castillo; and that from this point, a blank space is left for the more northern discoveries of Cabrillo in the years 1542, 1543, which, however, must have been known in Europe soon after 1544.

This date is also confirmed by the outlines of the west coast of South America, where the coast south of Chili is laid down as far as about 40° S., which was the extent of Spanish discoveries and conquests under Valdivia in 1542; while from that point toward Magellan's Strait, our map presents a perfect blank. Still, again, the great island of Chiloe was not discovered until after 1544, and is not, therefore, indicated on our map. And finally, Sebastian Cabot was, at this date, 1544, and not much later, chief pilot of the king of Spain, as he is styled on the map.

From these circumstances we are brought to the conclusion, that the engraving and publishing of this chart are justly placed in the year 1544.

Neither the publisher of the map, nor the place of its publication is indicated, which is a singular, perhaps a suspicious circumstance. Nearly all good maps of the sixteenth century contain both the name of the publisher and the place of publication. Ortelius in his great work, "*Theatrum orbis terrarum*,"* gives a catalogue of nearly two hundred maps of the sixteenth century, most of them engraved; and they have, almost without exception, the name of the publisher, the place of printing, and the year of publication. Why have these been omitted on this map? Did not the publisher and printer like to be known?

From the fact that the inscriptions and names of the map are written in Spanish, and also because Charles V, in one of the inscriptions, is called "*Nuestro señor*" (our lord), we might be induced to think, that the map was engraved and published in Spain. But other considerations render this supposition improbable.

Long before the date of this map, there were, in Spain, very able mathematicians and map-makers; but they made their charts for the

*Edition Antverpiæ, 1609.

king of Spain, or for his hydrographical bureau, and for the use of the Spanish navy. Such charts were kept in manuscript, because the Spanish officials were desirous of preventing their discoveries from being known. In the year 1527, only seventeen years before the date of this map, the English merchant, Robert Thorne, in his well-known letter to Doctor Ley, ambassador of Henry VIII. to the Emperor Charles, says, that "in Spain, none may make Cardes but certain appointed and allowed masters, as for that peradventure it woulde not sounde well to them, that a stranger shoulde knowe or discover their secretes." And in sending to his countryman a very rough and small chart of the world, Thorne entreats him not to show or communicate this chart to the other courts of Europe, "because it might bee a cause of paine to the maker." Is it probable that seventeen years after this, the policy of the Spanish government would have been so changed, as to allow a complete and detailed chart of the world to be engraved, printed, and published in Spain in the name of the royal chief pilot?

All the first engraved maps of the world, particularly of the new world, were published elsewhere than in Spain, and principally in Italy and Germany. Not one of the editions of Ptolemy, to which the first maps of the modern discoveries were attached, was published in Spain. Ortelius, in his catalogue above quoted of two hundred maps and charts of the sixteenth century, has not mentioned a single map representing America, or any parts of it, as having been engraved and published in Spain. The two maps of America which were first printed in Spain, so far as I know, are those added, first, to the Spanish work of Pedro de Medina, "*Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de Spaña*," published in 1549; and, second, to Gomara's history of the Indies, published in 1554. These, however, are not sea-charts, but only general outlines of the new world in a very small compass, gathered from well-known foreign publications. The publishing of such small charts might have been easily allowed by the Spanish government in the middle of the sixteenth century, without incurring any danger of betraying its secrets.

Oviedo, in the second part of his great work on the history of America, which he wrote several years after 1544, mentions the map of Ribero made in 1529, and of Chaves made in 1536; but does not allude to a map of Sebastian Cabot, as having been published in Spain.

The copy of the map of 1544, which I am examining, was found in Germany; but several copies of maps, ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, formerly existed in England; and one is mentioned by Ortelius as having been seen by him in Belgium. These may have been copies, or perhaps different editions of the map engraved in 1544, as they all have

a general resemblance. But though seen in other countries,* not a single copy is known to have existed in Spain, or to have come from there.

We therefore come to the conclusion, that the Cabot map was neither engraved nor published in Spain, but perhaps in Germany or Belgium. In Belgium, particularly in Antwerp, many Spanish books were early printed, and there, as well as in Spain, they might call the Emperor Charles "nuestro señor." There, too, they could take more liberty with Spanish secrets; though even there, the publisher may have had his reasons for not mentioning his name, or the place of publication.

If it should appear probable, for the reasons adduced, that this map was not published in Spain, but in some other country, as Belgium for instance, it is rendered extremely doubtful, whether Cabot, who was then residing in Spain, had any agency in it. Is it to be supposed that he would direct the work from so distant a country as Spain, examine proof-sheets, correct errors, and do other necessary acts in the publication? This doubt is confirmed by the contents of the map, such as the configuration of the countries, the orthography of the names attached to them, and other circumstances, which go to show that Cabot could not have prepared or inspected the work.

In the inscription, No. XVII, the map is called a marine chart (*carta de marear*); but it is not strictly this, but something between a chart and a map. For in regions where the interior was known, as in Europe and Asia, the map gives the rivers, mountains, and cities belonging thereto.

But the shape and outlines of these portions of the old world, although covered by a series of names, are not accurately given. They were much better represented on several maps of the middle of the sixteenth century, particularly on some French and Italian maps. Even the coasts of the best and earliest known of all the seas, the Mediterranean, are here much misshapen and misplaced. Even Spain itself, and also Great Britain, the countries in which Sebastian Cabot passed the greater part of his life, are very carelessly represented: as, for instance, Ireland is made as large as England and Scotland together. In Spain, we find places like "Guadelupe" mentioned, but not the important harbor of Corunna. In Great Britain, several small places are indicated, but not Bristol!—that commercial centre, in which the Cabots lived, and from which their exploring expeditions proceeded.

*These engraved maps, ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, and reported to have been seen in England and Belgium, are enumerated in Charles Deane's *Remarks on Sebastian Cabot's "Mappe-monde,"* pp. 3, 4. Cambridge, 1867.

In connection with Bristol I may also observe, that this map gives to Iceland the longitude of the Shetland Islands! and places it directly north, instead of north-west of Scotland. The route from Great Britain to Iceland had been, from time immemorial, familiar to British ships, in their yearly traffic. That Iceland was situated north-west, and not north of Great Britain, must have been known in Cabot's time to every sailor in Bristol. How then can we account for it, that Cabot, on a maritime chart, should have made so great a mistake with respect to an island so well known?

The ill success of the author in delineating the oldest countries, does not lead us to anticipate any better results in his attempts in the new world. I may however add, that his latitudes and drawings of the new world are, in some instances, better than those of the old world, as in those of Mexico, Yucatan, Florida, and some others.

The language of the map is partly Latin and partly Spanish. The Latin is not always correct or elegant.* But it is more surprising, that the Spanish terms and names are corrupted and disfigured in such an extraordinary way, that sometimes it is nearly impossible to make out what the author means. I will give some instances:

España is called "Hispaia"; the island "S. Miguel," "S. Migel"; the island "S. Juan Estevanez," "de Juaninos" (?); Bimini is written "binimi": the "Laguna of Nicaragua," "Laguna de Nicaxagoe."

The Spanish phrase, which occurs on the map, "por aqui no puede passar" (here one cannot pass), is written *pora quinopede pasar*. Another Spanish phrase, "aqui se desembarco Pamfilo de Narraez" (here landed Pamphilo de Narraez), is written thus, *aqui de san barco panjlo de narraez*, etc.

Such errors furnish strong proof that Cabot had no agency, either in writing the map, or correcting it, or in any way superintending its publication; but on the contrary, that some ignorant compiler had copied an original manuscript in a very careless manner, and had written, in bad Spanish, his construction of the language. Still, in the inscription, No. XVII, the map is styled, "a faithful and most learned guide" (*fida doctissimaque magistra*)!

The old maps, it is true, often have a quaint style of their own; a mixture of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, etc.; but such barbarous language and such false orthography as are seen on this map of 1544, are never found on the maps of Ribero prior to this date; nor on the

* [Chytraeus, in copying these inscriptions, takes care to say, that he does this, "non propter latininitatis, quæ non magna est, elegantiam." Varior. in Europa Itiner. Delicia, p. 599.—ED.]

French charts some years later, where everything is comparatively correct.

On this map, in the region of Carolina, a tiger-like animal is drawn, which, with a sweep of his tail, completely covers up, or brushes out, a large section of an important coast.

It would appear to be incredible, that a distinguished mariner and a mathematician, like Cabot, should not have been shocked by such a rough and stupid proceeding; and that he should not have corrected the draftsman, who could prefer an elaborate picture of the tuft of a tail, to a correct drawing of the coast-line.

This may suffice for the present in considering the question, how far Sebastian Cabot may be regarded as having made this map; or rather, it may serve to show, how utterly improbable it is, that it was either originally drawn by him, or executed under his direction or superintendence. I will now endeavor to analyze the particular contents of the fragment of this map, of which we have given a sketch in No. 20.

In the high north, there is depicted a large tract of country, the coast-line of which ends in about $67^{\circ} 30' N.$, with the inscription, "costa del hues norueste" (coast running west-north-west). This is the latitude in which Cabot's voyage of 1498, according to his own statement, ended. It appears from this, that it was designed to indicate here the *ne plus ultra* of this voyage. However, in giving this latitude of $67^{\circ} 30' N.$, he is, at the same time, stated to have said, that there the coast had been, for some distance, trending to the east. I have tried to explain above, that this coast could have been no other than that of Cumberland Island in Davis' Strait, and that therefore, with Humboldt and some other authors, we should look for the termination of Cabot's second voyage on the shores of this island. On the other hand, Mr. Biddle puts the highest northern latitude reached by Cabot in Fox Channel, on the shores of Melville peninsula; while our map puts it on the shores of a country which has the form of the Greenland of all the early maps,* and makes there the coast turn to the *west-north-west*. Our map appears, accordingly, to be in contradiction to the statement ascribed to Cabot, that, in the high north, he was arrested by a coast trending to the east.

Between that nameless arctic country (Greenland) and the next large portion of territory at the south, the present Labrador, the map shows a gulf in about $58^{\circ} N.$ This gulf, at least in its eastern portion, must

* Compare the configuration of this arctic country, which is nameless on our map, with the configuration given to "tierra de Labrador" (Greenland) on our maps, Nos. 16 and 19.

be the beginning of Davis' Strait. It runs on this map, however, not like Davis Strait north-north-west, but nearly due east and west, like Hudson's Strait; nor is it as broad as Davis' Strait. This strait, instead of opening in the west as a spacious sea like Hudson's Strait, is represented as discharging itself in a fresh-water river (*rio duce*). This delineation of the entrance of Hudson's Strait does not support the opinion of some authors, who have thought that Cabot passed through Hudson's Strait, and discovered the broad open water of Hudson's Bay.

The great tract of country south of Davis' and Hudson's Straits (*Rio duce*), is a disfigured and contracted picture of the present peninsula of Labrador, which, with portions of Davis' Strait, was delineated much better in 1504, after the chart of Cortereal, as appears on our map No. 8.

In the essay upon this map, No. 8, I have said, that it was very creditable to Cortereal to have given so true a picture of the coasts of Labrador, Greenland, and Davis' Strait. In comparison with that map, we may well ask, is it to be supposed that Cabot, who had twice visited the coast of Labrador, and gone high up into Davis' Strait, should, in 1544, have furnished a chart of those regions so incorrect and imperfect, as the one we are examining?

Between Labrador and Newfoundland on the south, the Strait of Belle Isle, as surveyed by Cartier in 1534, is clearly depicted. The cape at its northern entrance, is called "*Cabo del gado del mare*"* (*Cape of the Cod-fish*); and it may interest us to know, that here we have another Cape Cod.

The cape at the southern entrance is called "*Cabo de Gamas*" (*Deer Cape*), and the numerous islands are arranged in lines, four and four, along the south coast of Labrador in a fantastical manner, an unwarrantable invention of the author of the map, having probably no other authority than the report of Cartier, "that along this coast were many islets."

The gulf and river St. Lawrence are truly represented according to the surveys and reports of Cartier and Roberval, whose charts could not have appeared in Europe before 1542. But the French maps of the time are more complete and in better style, as is shown in our copies, Nos. 18 and 19. In the present map, the French names are sadly changed and corrupted; as for instance, "*baya del loreme*" (?), "*Rio de S. quenam*" for Cartier's "*Rivière du Saguenay*," etc. Near that part of the river where Cartier puts his "*premier sault*" (first rapids), our map has the corrupted Spanish phrase, "*pora quinopede*"

* The map has incorrectly "*maro*."

pasar" (here one cannot pass); and some other corrupted names, as "tuttonaer," and "estadas."

Newfoundland is here erroneously broken up into a group of islands of various sizes, in accordance with an antiquated notion of this region. Cabot would certainly have been better acquainted with Newfoundland than to have so described it. The names given to it are the same as contained on the Cartier maps, especially the Portuguese, whose orthography the author seems to have adopted. We find no names attached to it such as we may suppose Cabot would have given. The names "St. Gregor," "Cape of England," etc., on the south of Newfoundland, which are seen on Cosa's map of 1500, and which Cosa may have taken from the chart of Cabot's first voyage, do not appear at all on this map.

South-west of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Nova Scotia may be recognized. Here, too, occur the famous inscriptions, "prima vista," and "prima tierra vista" (the land first seen). These words are evidently attached to the northern point of the island of Cape Breton; and this inscription has led some esteemed authors to designate that locality as the part of North America first discovered by the Cabots. These learned authors are strengthened in their opinion by the fact, that the island which the Cabots discovered near their first land-fall, and named *Y^a de S. Juan* (St. John), is here placed near this "Prima vista," and bears the name given by the Cabots. It is apparently what we now call Prince Edward Island. But I will leave this subject at present, and return to it hereafter.

South and west of "Prima vista" and Cape Breton, stretches a long line of coast, first in a south-western, and then in nearly a due western direction, through thirty degrees of longitude. There can be no doubt that this is intended to represent the coast of Nova Scotia and New England. On my examination of Cosa's map and for other reasons, I came to the conclusion, that Sebastian Cabot, on his voyage of 1498, surveyed this coast, and depicted, with much clearness, the Gulf of Maine and also Cape Cod on the chart which he brought home, and which Cosa copied in 1500. The author of our present map appears not to have used this survey of Cabot; but has copied the whole coast-line from Ribero's and other Spanish charts, which were themselves copied from those of Gomez. For the illustration of Cabot's own voyages, this map of 1544 is not as valuable as that of Cosa of 1500.

But the author of our map, if he copied Ribero and Gomez, has done it in a very careless and imperfect manner. He places the entire coast-line of Nova Scotia nearly two degrees too far south, and does not give so good a view of the Gulf of Maine as that presented in Ribero's

map; though he has not omitted the long chain of small islands, by which the coast of Maine is particularly characterized.

He has inserted upon this coast many Spanish names, principally those which were adopted by Ribero from Gomez, though he has omitted some of them. Four or five of them *he gives in duplicate*, namely the following: "baya de S. Christoval," "riv de San Antonio," "Rio de buena madre," "montagnas," which are placed in the centre of this coast-line, and then again in the same manner, and in the same order, at the west end. This doubling of names can be nothing else than an extraordinary blunder, or a mark of great negligence in the preparation of the map. We can, therefore, attach but little importance to these names as defining localities, and I shall pay but little attention to them.

I will, however, try to designate some of the places passing from east to west:

Along the coast of Nova Scotia some names are placed which I have not seen on any other map, as "C. Madabida" (?), "baya pequena" (a small bay), "rio dabol" (?), "eacomedas" (?), and after this "rio fondo" (deep river), an oft-recurring name, which probably indicates the Bay of Fundy.

After some other insignificant names appear the following: "rio de peros" (river of dogs), and "Costa de Don Marti" (coast of Don Marti), which evidently belong to the coast of Maine. I cannot tell from whom these new names were obtained by the author of this map. Was it from some Spanish visitor, a certain "Don Marti," for instance, unknown to us?

Near "Don Marti" is that large river which Gomez discovered and laid down on his map, and which the Spaniards called "Rio de Gamas" (Penobscot Bay). It is called on our map "baya fernosa," probably a mistake for "baya hermosa" (the beautiful bay).

Then comes that detestable duplicate of a series of old Spanish names of which I have spoken, which here are placed in the centre of the coast-line without any authority, and then repeated at its west end, after the example of Spanish maps. To make room for these names, it seems to have been found necessary to give an undue extension to the coast-line. This may explain why "Cabo de muchas islas" and the "arcipelago" (of Gomez) are so far distant from the "beautiful bay."

Between the "arcipelago" and "C. de muchas islas," we find a "baya de S. Maria," which, perhaps, is Saco or Casco Bay. It is filled with small islands, and appears to have been added by the maker of the map on his own authority. After "arcipelago," we find "Capo de arecife" (reef cape), the name which Oviedo seems to have given to

Cape Cod, but which here is attached to another point not at all prominent. The names on the map are in such a state of disorder, and show so much negligence in the author or copyist, that we have lost all confidence in him and his work.

Then follows "baya de S. Juan Baptista," and the other Spanish names found in this region on Ribero's and other Spanish maps.

At the end of the coast-line, near the "baya de S. Christoval," we reach the aforesaid tuft of a tiger's tail, which effaces in so shocking a manner some thirty miles of the coast.

In latitude about 40° N., appears the pointed cape, represented on old Spanish maps under the name of "Cabo de Arenas," which I think was intended for Cape Cod, although the cape is not found in that latitude.

The map contains no trace of the coast of Rhode Island or of New York, and no evidence appears that the author knew anything of that excellent description of our east coast given by Oviedo in 1537, nor of the interesting map made by Chaves in 1536, by command of the emperor. We may therefore properly ask again, is it credible that Cabot, the chief pilot of Spain, should not have been acquainted in 1544 with these excellent works; or that having these in view, he should have delineated the coasts in the erroneous and wretched style in which they are drawn on this map?

South of Cape Cod I have selected for our map only a few well-known Spanish names. The copy ends at the south-west with the mouth of the Mississippi, then called by the Spaniards "rio del espiritu santo."

I should observe that the term "Terra incognita" is placed on my copy a little too far east. On the original it is more west, and even runs over from North America to Asia through a blank space left between the two continents, of which the author seems to have been uncertain, whether they were connected by land or separated by water.

Besides what I have above described, the map contains a great number of long legends or inscriptions, added to the sections of the several continents. These inscriptions are not new; but were well known before the publication of this map of 1544. They were copied, with a few and unimportant variations, by the German traveler, Nathaniel Koehlf, or, as he is usually called by his Latin name, Chytræus, from another edition of this map of Cabot, which was published in 1549, and which was still exhibited at Oxford after the middle of the sixteenth century. They were then published by him in his curious and often quoted book, "Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae." From this book these inscriptions, ever since the time of its publication (1594),

have been known to the learned. They contain nothing new or very remarkable, even for the time of the composition of the map in 1544, and cannot be considered as an important authority or source of information on the early history of discovery. They repeat, concerning Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro, and several other discoverers and conquerors, only what had already been said many times before. And this is done in a very general manner, and in a pedantic style, as if intended for the curious, or for the use of schools. From Sebastian Cabot, who lived so near the times of these events, and was so prominent an actor in them, and was personally acquainted with most of the celebrated men named in these inscriptions, it would be reasonable to expect some pertinent observations or personal anecdotes regarding these men and their performances not found elsewhere, even if they were in the most brief and summary form. But we have nothing of the kind in these inscriptions. They are of the most meagre character; they convey no historical or geographical information, such as we should expect from the hand of a master, and especially from the great cosmographer of his age, which Sebastian Cabot is admitted to have been. On the contrary, the inscriptions are full of legends about sea monsters, people with one foot, or one eye, or immense ears, in short, all the old fables related by Adam of Bremen and other authors of the middle ages. The stories may have been believed by Martin Behaim, and perhaps also by Columbus, when he was first entering on his cosmographical studies in the last half of the fifteenth century. But to see them embraced and reproduced in the middle of the sixteenth century by a man so enlightened and ingenious as Sebastian Cabot, would be rather astonishing.

In the inscription "No. VII," where the River La Plata and Cabot's expedition to it are described, it is said, that along this river a nation had been found which had feet and legs like an ostrich. In No. IX, where the waters of Iceland are described, it is related, that there had been seen in those waters a fish of the species "moræna," a veritable sea-serpent, and so colossal that it would attack a vessel and snap up the sailors. "Spectres or ghosts speaking in the air" are also mentioned in the inscription on Iceland. But in describing that country, and Newfoundland, and the northern regions generally, no allusion whatever is made to a north-west passage, or a route to China, the favorite idea of Cabot, cherished through his whole life.

In the same manner in No. XIX, where the seas surrounding Russia and Siberia are described, nothing is said of a north-eastern passage to China, which soon after 1544, and toward the end of his life, became a settled conviction of Cabot. The inscription No. XII treats

of a monstrous nation, who have ears so large that they cover the whole body. Nothing of this kind occurs in the writings of Fernando Cortes, or of Oviedo, who both wrote before the year 1544.

In the chapters on East India, we hear nothing regarding the history of the discoveries of the Portuguese, but very much regarding widows burning themselves with their deceased husbands. And then we have an archaeological treatise on the question, where in the world (*ubi terrarum*) the island "Taprobana," so much spoken of by the ancients, is to be found, and whether it is Ceylon, Sumatra, or Madagascar.

What has all this archæology and mythology to do with a "marine chart" destined for mariners "to sail after?" Ought not a chief pilot, like Sebastian Cabot, to have given better sailing directions to the Spanish seamen? No other chart, pretending to be a *Portulano* or *Derrotero* of the sixteenth century, has come to my knowledge, in which fables like these have been related, to gratify the curiosity of the common mind.

There is only one subject in all the nineteen inscriptions of the map, which appears worthy of Cabot, that is the variation of the magnetic needle, that great discovery of Cabot, which is treated of and explained in the inscription No. XVII.

Sebastian Cabot is described by Peter Martyr, and others who conversed with him, as an agreeable and modest man. But wherever he is mentioned in these inscriptions, it is with some pompous description like this: "*navigandi arte astronomiaque peritissimus*" (in the art of navigation and in astronomy the most experienced man). Also in the inscription No. XVII, where it is stated that the map was made by Sebastian Cabot, he is called "*astrorum peritia navigandique arte omnium doctissimus*" (of all men the most learned in astronomy and in the art of navigation). These expressions would appear to go beyond his customary modesty, if we are to believe that it is Cabot himself who here speaks. It looks rather like the recommendation of a map-seller, who wishes to procure a large sale, under color of a great name; like the speculator, complained of by Humboldt, who had published, against his will, some maps under his name, to which he had contributed nothing else. Such also is the following complimentary expression connected with the above, which runs thus: "Therefore, you may use this hydrographical chart as the most faithful and the most learned mistress (*fida doctissimaque magistra*), in sailing to any part of the ocean, wherever you should have the mind to sail." I cannot, therefore, but concur in the opinion both of Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Charles Deane, "that Cabot himself evidently did not write these inscriptions."

I think I have given in the foregoing analysis, a true description of this newly discovered document; yet some highly respected and distinguished geographers, in former as well as in later times, have based upon it the theory of a voyage of Cabot, entirely at variance, both in regard to the time of its performance, and the point of the continent first seen, with the opinion usually adopted, and which in this essay I have assumed to be correct.

In the inscription No. VIII, which treats of Newfoundland, it is said: "This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ M.CCCC.XCIII (1494), on the 24th of June, in the morning at five o'clock, which country they called 'primum visam;' and a large island adjacent to it they named the island of St. John, because they discovered it on the same day."

There can be no doubt, that the author or publisher of the map believed that a voyage of discovery was really made by Cabot in 1494. This date cannot be a misprint, because it is given twice in the inscription, once in the Spanish language, and again in a Latin version. That this date had already occurred on former copies or editions of this, or a similar, engraved map, ascribed to Cabot, for instance on one in the year 1549, is evident from the quotation and copy of the inscriptions made by Kochhaf, as before mentioned, who read on the map at Oxford "the year 1494," and who noted this date in his book.

The locality of this "primum visam" or "prima terra vista," is given on our map of 1544, as I have before stated, at the northern point of Cape Breton.

The same locality appears to have been indicated on another map of Cabot, so called, existing in the sixteenth century in England. For a map composed by Michael Lok, in 1582 (our No. 13), has the name of "J. Cabot," and the "year 1497" annexed to Cape Breton, which he is supposed to have copied from a map of Cabot in England. These maps not having been preserved, we have no means of judging of their authenticity or value.

But in regard to the character and worth of the map of 1544, recently found, I have clearly expressed my opinion, that it is full of errors, inaccuracies, and misrepresentations, which being made so near to the occurrences described, are wholly unpardonable. They did not exist on prior maps, and are convincing testimony that they could not have been the work of Sebastian Cabot. These faults must destroy the authority of this document for the establishment of any historical fact.

But as some eminent and esteemed geographers entertain a different opinion, I may be allowed to submit some remarks, not founded on

the document referred to, but derived from other sources, on the probability of a voyage having been made by Cabot at the date 1494, and of Cape Breton having been his first land-fall.

1. Sebastian Cabot is stated to have said, that he and his father, with the people of Bristol, and the court of Henry VII, were greatly excited by the glorious news just received in England, of the great discovery by Columbus, who arrived in Lisbon, from his first successful voyage, in March, 1493. The "news of his success" would come somewhat later to England. If Cabot had discovered the continent of North America on June 24, 1494, he must have sailed early in the spring of that year. In that case there would scarcely have been a full year for arousing the cautious Henry and the Bristol men to action, and the Cabots to study the subject and make their arrangements for the voyage. This is a very short time, particularly if we take into consideration, that after having received their letters patent and commission, in the beginning of the year 1496, the Cabots were delayed a whole year before they were able to commence their voyage.

2. The Bristol men are said by the Spanish envoy, Don Pedro de Ayala, in a letter to Spain written in 1498, to have made, at the instigation of the Cabots, exploring expeditions every year, for nearly seven years, to discover new countries in the west. If a great country had already been found there in 1494, it would have been quite unnecessary for the Cabots to persuade the Bristol men to continue these exploring expeditions after that time.

3. Sebastian Cabot is said, on good authority,* to have been born in the year 1477; consequently in the beginning of 1494, he would have been but about sixteen or seventeen years of age. What geographical knowledge or reliable opinions could a boy of this age have? How far could he assist his father on a dangerous naval expedition to the unknown west, and in command of a ship? Would it not have been presumptuous in him if, at such an age, he had accompanied his father in 1494, to say: The continent of North America was discovered by my father Giovanni and by me!—a boy sixteen years of age!

4. The *first* or *preliminary* exploring expeditions for discovery were generally short excursions; and for good reasons, such as the uncertain nature of the projects, and consequently the difficulty of obtaining the requisite means of conducting them. They usually commenced such voyages with one or two light and small ships; and after having made a discovery, or even obtained a distant glimpse of some new country, they were eager to return and proclaim their success, and to obtain a

* Among others, by Humboldt.

reward, and a larger outfit for more thorough explorations. We observe, therefore, that in the history of discovery, the first exploring expeditions continued but a very short time; whilst in the second undertaking, a large fleet and more ample supplies have enabled the adventurers to remain longer abroad, and to make more thorough surveys. But if we adopt the year 1494 for the first exploring voyage of the Cabots, we find that in the two subsequent years, 1495 and 1496, no voyage at all was performed; and that in 1497, what would then be their second voyage, was a very small undertaking with only one little vessel, the *Matthew*, from which they returned quickly after an absence of only three months. Such inactivity in the Cabots, the king, and the Bristol men, after the apparently great success of 1494, with the small outfit and quick return in 1497, would be perfectly out of analogy with the usual course of things, and wholly unaccountable. If, on the contrary, rejecting the theory which supposes a voyage to have been made in 1494, we come to the conclusion, that the first successful exploring expedition was conducted in 1497, and that the great expedition of 1498, for which Sebastian Cabot was furnished with several ships and three hundred men, with which he explored a tract of coast of more than one thousand leagues in length, and from which he returned after more than half a year's absence, was not his *third*, but his *second* undertaking, then everything is clear and in harmony with the usual and natural course of events.

5. A part of the above reasoning affects the locality, as well as the date, given on our map to the first discovery of North America. But there are other circumstances which appear to make this locality particularly doubtful. The northern point of Cape Breton, which on our map is made the "Prima terra vista," lies in a position somewhat secluded and hidden. It is the southern cape of the comparatively narrow entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It has east of it the long southern coast of Newfoundland, and several points and sections of the coast of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. It would require considerable skill in a navigator coming from England, to make his first land at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, without sighting Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, or Cape Breton Island. This could not have happened in one case out of a hundred. And even if this had occurred to the Cabots, their "prima vista" would not probably have been the northern point of Cape Breton, but the small island of St. Paul near it, which is generally the first land made by sailors entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

6. The entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence has about the same latitude as the south of England. The beaten track for the Bristol navi-

gators was the route to Iceland. The Cabots are said from the beginning to have directed their attention to the north-west on that route. The supposition that on a voyage in 1494 to the north-west from Bristol they made their land-fall in 47° N. (the latitude of the northern headland of Cape Breton Island), would involve the supposition, that on the alleged voyage they had been driven from their intended course by severe storms into a more southern latitude. A land-fall and a "prima vista" on the shores of northern Newfoundland or Labrador, according to our supposition, is much more in harmony with the intentions of the Cabots, and the direction of their route.

7. If it is difficult to carry the Cabots into the southern entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1494, it is just as difficult to bring them out again. If, in this year, they entered the gulf, they must have seen open water before them at the west, north, and south-west, and have been tempted to sail that way, and to explore the entire gulf to find a passage to their desired Cathay. But we find neither in their reports of their voyage, nor in the charts belonging to it, the least trace of a large opening or gulf. If to this it should be answered, that the voyage of 1494 was not an expedition for finding a north-west passage, but only a hazardous exploring expedition without a certain fixed aim, even in this case, the Cabots would not have forgotten, on a future voyage, the open water at their "terram primùm visam" on the northern headland of Cape Breton. And Sebastian Cabot, on his voyage of 1498, which is an admitted search for a north-west and west passage, on descending from his high latitudes, and rounding Newfoundland, would, without doubt, have entered again this opening, seen in 1494, and would have more carefully explored it. But he did nothing of the kind. On the contrary he sailed along the entire east coast of North America, always looking out for open water to the west, without finding it.

If it should be suggested, that on this voyage he was hindered from further exploration by storms, fogs, or other obstacles, still he must have remembered this opening at other times in his long life. If he himself had no opportunity to visit it again, he would certainly have described it to Gomez in 1525, and directed him to explore it for a western passage, to find which was the principal object of his voyage. But in the reports of this voyage of Gomez, we have no trace whatever of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Gomez passed it without looking into it. In fact, throughout the entire first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and more particularly the principal entrance to it, which the Cabots are said to have found in 1494, was so little known, except perhaps by Portuguese and French fishermen, that even Cartier, in 1534, appears to have been ignorant of it. He en-

tered the Gulf of St. Lawrence through the Strait of Belle Isle, and, sailing out from it through the principal southern entrance in 1535, considered this to be a new discovery.

Ortelius, as I have before stated, when in 1570 he prepared his celebrated map of America, had seen a map of the world made by Sebastian Cabot. On his map Ortelius laid down an island on the coast of Labrador called St. John, in about 57° N. He did not give that name to Prince Edward Island. Now if Ortelius had seen, on his map of Cabot, the names "St. John" and "Prima vista" affixed to the northern point of Cape Breton and to Prince Edward Island, as represented on our map No. 20, I think he would have taken notice of them, and introduced them on his map. But not having done this, we infer that he did not find them on his map of Cabot, which, in other respects, also may have been different from ours.

Any argument to prove that Cape Breton was Cabot's "Prima vista," from the adjacent Prince Edward Island having been called St. John, may be dismissed at once. The name "St. John" was also given to Prince Edward Island by the French, and Cabot may have taken it, not from his own survey, but from French maps, from which he also took the whole configuration of the gulf and river of St. Lawrence.

8. Cabot, the alleged author of this map, in the inscription No. V., speaking of his discovery of the first land on his first voyage, says "this country is sterile," and "has an abundance of white bears," and other wild animals, which he describes. This applies much better to the coast of Labrador, than to any part of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, or Prince Edward Island. At the sight of these countries in the month of June, the Cabots would have been more struck by the abundance of their trees, and their fresh green aspect, than by their sterility. And concerning the "abundance of white bears," they are rarely seen south of the St. Lawrence.

9. The Venetian mercer, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, who in Cabot's time was living in London, in a letter to Venice, dated August 23, 1497, speaking as an eye-witness of the return of John Cabot from his voyage of this year, describes his reception as follows: "Vast honour is paid to him;" he is styled "the Great Admiral," "he dresses in silk;" and adds, "these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides."*

According to the opinion of those who contend for the voyage of

* See this letter reprinted in Proceedings of the annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 21, 1865. Mr. Hale's report, p. 21. Cambridge, 1866.

1494, and the great discovery made at that time, the above description of John Cabot's reception must refer to a second voyage. Now if John Cabot made such a sensation among the English on his return from his second voyage, when he could have exhibited no other results than had been already obtained on his first voyage, what reception would they have given him on his return from his first voyage, when the decisive and great discovery was made, which revealed to his mind the eastern headlands of "the country of the Great Chan?" That event and the year 1494, would not have been forgotten by them, and would have been a marked one in their annals. But we hear of no such announcement or reception whatever in that year. No foreign ambassador, no English annalist has made any report of a sensation created by the return of a discoverer in 1494; while all our reports, and the notices of foreigners as well as Englishmen, about the Cabots, refer to the years 1497 and 1498, except those wretched charts of 1544 and 1549. The great sensation of 1497 can therefore refer to nothing else but to a first success.

10. Many of my objections to the date and locality of the first discovery of the continent of America, contained on this map of 1544, are founded on the conviction, that Cabot could have had very little to do with this document. But even if this position should prove false, if Sebastian Cabot really examined and approved the contents of the map, and furnished to the engraver the date and locality in question; still it would not be safe to adopt them against all the opposing authorities. It has been suggested by Asher, that Cabot, in 1544 and 1549, was already an old man, and may have been of feeble memory;* and in speaking of events which had taken place in his early youth, half a century before, he may have made erroneous statements. Several of his statements, made during his life, were contradictory to each other. He stated, for instance, to the English Edén, that he had been born in Bristol, and at another time to the Venetian Contarini, that his birth-place was Venice. Every day's experience teaches us, that we all, with respect to the dates of events in our own lives, are very apt to make blunders. Humboldt quotes both Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus as having made erroneous statements with respect to dates of their own voyages.†

From these considerations I repeat, that the voyage of 1494, and the locality of the "prima vista" in Cape Breton, appear to me to be

* Asher's Hudson, p. lxxviii.

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, p. 145.



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doubtful; though I will not pretend to speak decisively on the subject. The materials, documents, and authorities for judging on all the questions connected with the voyages of the Cabots, are so scanty and meagre, and the whole matter is so difficult and intricate, that the time to speak positively about them has not yet come. Every year, in recent times, has contributed evidence to complete or correct some point of their history; and further researches in the archives of Europe will undoubtedly throw more light upon this obscure subject.*

5. ON CHART, No. 21, OF THE NORTH-EAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY DIEGO HOMEM, A PORTUGUESE, IN 1558.

Diego Homem was one of those distinguished Portuguese map-makers of the middle of the sixteenth century, of whom Dr. Asher says, "that they were privileged individuals, who received from the arriving explorers such new communications as might serve to correct the charts, and who made admirable use of their opportunities." "Such men," he adds, "as De la Cosa, Sebastian Cabot, Ribero, and Homem, are among the Spanish and Portuguese chart-makers." †

Homem composed several maps of the world, sea-atlases and "portulanos," which are still preserved in the collections of Germany, England, and France. In these works he depicted America at different periods, and in different ways. We know little of his birth, life, or death. Though a Portuguese by birth, he appears to have resided at Venice during a large part of his life, where several of his maps appear to have been composed and dated. The Venetians, envious of the Spaniards, Portuguese, and other nations of the west of Europe, watched with eagerness the progress of their discoveries. The Venetian ambassadors, on all sides, sent home reports of all new successes in this direction. Several of the first discoverers and sea-captains, employed by other nations, were Italians, who frequently returned home after their expeditions. The Cabots had emigrated from Venice. Ramusio, one of the first and most eminent collectors of original reports of voyages and discoveries, lived in Venice, and there published his works. Several of the earliest maps of America were printed in Venice. Here, therefore, was a favored center of geographical intelligence; and Homem was probably attracted by these circumstances to that city.

* See the most just and modest expressions on this point made by M. D'Avezac in "Bulletin de la société de Géographie," p. 233 seq. Decembre-Juillet, Année, 1857.

† See Dr. Asher's Introduction to "Henry Hudson, the Navigator," edited by the Hakluyt Society, p. cl. London, 1860.

The representation of the north-eastern portions of America, given in No. 31, is contained in a large and beautiful atlas made, as an inscription on one of the sheets informs us, by Diego Homem in 1558.* This interesting work has been preserved in the manuscript collections of the British Museum, under the signature, "Addenda, No. 5415 A." The atlas is often quoted by Dr. Major.† It is a beautiful production, and, in many respects, very interesting to the history of discovery.

The section which we give here has some features not to be found on other maps, and some indications of discoveries perfectly new at the time when the map was composed.

I will now describe the map and explain its contents, beginning at the north-east, and proceeding to the south-west.

In the north-east corner of our sketch, the south of Greenland is depicted with the same accuracy in regard to its outlines, as in the first Portuguese charts, drawn soon after the voyages of Gaspar Cortereal; as appears, for instance, on our map No. 8. It ends in the south, not far from 60° N., the true position of Cape Farewell. It is called "Terra agricule" (the country of the laborer, or Labrador). I have before observed, that this name is often given to Greenland on very old maps, and was afterwards transferred to the present Labrador.

In the highest northern quarters, above the name "Terra agricule," we find the name "Desertum busor," probably "busorum," the "desert of the Busi." In the northern regions of Europe and Asia, the old geographers and map-makers of the middle ages had placed the deserts of fabulous nations, which afterwards were carefully transferred to the desert countries of the new world, where they were sought for, and sometimes thought to be found. A people called "Busi" is mentioned by the old historian, Adam of Bremen, in chapter 223 of his Ecclesiastical History; where, speaking of the countries north of the Baltic, he enumerates all the nations said to exist there: "the Amazons, most beautiful women, who live without men;" "the Cynocephali, who have the head in the midst of their breast, bark like dogs, and are often seen as captives among the Russians;" "the Albani, who, on their birth, are grey-haired and white, like old men;" and many other monsters "often met with by navigators," among them the "Busi," who "being pale-yellow or somewhat greenish, are so called from their color."‡ Like other fabulous nations, these "Busi" were transplanted

* "Diegus Homem, cosmographus fecit hoc opus anno salutis, 1558."

† See p. lxiij of his Introduction to "Early voyages to Terra Australis."

‡ See Adami Bremensis histor. Eccl., p. 139. Lugd. Batav., 1595. Du Fresne, in his "Glossarium medice et infimæ Latinitatis," translates "busus" or "busius," by the old Saxon "Gealu," "gelvus," "helvus," meaning yellowish.

to America. So far as color is concerned, the name may be properly applied to the Esquimaux of Greenland.

South-west of Greenland is indicated the entrance to Davis' and Hudson's Straits, in 60° N., to which the Portuguese had been conducted in the course of their discoveries. Having observed whales in that region (one is represented swimming about in the locality of Hudson's Bay), they naturally concluded that there must be a large body of water lying in the west.

At the entrance of these straits, in 60° N., lies "I. da fortuna," probably identical with the "y. da tormento," or the "y. de la tormenta" (island of storms), which is placed on the map of Reinel (No. 9), and the map of Ribero (No. 16), adjacent to it. It is, perhaps, "Resolution Island," and was probably discovered by Gaspar Cortereal, or some other Portuguese. "The Portuguese, after the time of the Cortereals," says Dr. Asher,* "continued their surveys of the northern coast; most likely for no other purpose than to discover advantageous fisheries. They seem to have advanced slowly, step by step. . . . With the ancient maps, we can trace their progress. In 1544, they seem not yet to have reached the mouth of Hudson's Strait. In 1558 (the date of our chart of Homem), their geographical knowledge extends beyond the mouth of the strait."

The names of places on the east coast of Labrador and Newfoundland, are generally Portuguese, with the exception of a few French names about the Strait of Belle Isle. The west coast of Newfoundland is left undefined. Homem must have overlooked or ignored the fact, that Cartier sailed along this coast, and made an actual survey of it in 1534.

The south coast of Labrador has French names, taken from the charts or reports of Cartier, and presents numerous small islands, more than are actually there. But Cartier, in his report, said expressly, that they were numberless, and so the map-makers depicted them. The whole draft of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is necessarily taken from Cartier, though our Portuguese author has badly changed and corrupted the names of his French original.

Our author appears to have had a great passion for islands, and a strong belief in north-west passages, from the Atlantic to the Western Ocean. He cuts up the whole of northern New France into large islands, and converts several branches of the St. Lawrence into sea-channels and straits. He puts down a strait in every place where Cartier, in his report, had said he had looked for one, even if he did

* In his Introduction to Henry Hudson, etc., p. xcvi.

not find it. Thus he makes the "Bay of Chaleur" long and open, as Cartier supposed it would prove to be. He also represents, on the northern as well as the southern side of the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, certain straits which Cartier said he had looked for in vain. He describes the whole country north-west of this river as very narrow, and intersected by channels; probably on the representation of Cartier, that the Saguenay, and other feeders of the St. Lawrence, were very deep at their mouths, and frequented by whales. This part of the map well illustrates a passage in Ramusio, in which his language corresponds with the representations of the map, namely: "From the reports of Cartier, we are not clear as yet, whether New France is continuous with the terra firma of the provinces of Florida and New Spain, or whether it is all cut up into islands; and whether through these parts, one can go to the province of Cataio, as was written to me many years ago by Master Sebastian Cabot, our Venetian."* As this work was printed in Venice in 1556, Homem had probably read and thoroughly pondered this passage.

He has changed the great lake of fresh-water, of which the Indians spoke to Cartier, into salt-water. In the great sea, depicted upon his map in the north and west of New France, and called by him "*Mare leparamantium*," there appears to be a combination of the notions or reports on Hudson's Bay, which the Portuguese had gained near the above-mentioned "*I. da fortuna*," and of the reports on the great North American lakes, given by the Indians to Cartier at the rapids of the St. Lawrence, near Montreal.

I have not been able to ascertain the meaning or etymology of the name "*Mare leparamantium*," nor to find it on any other map; and, therefore, think it may be introduced like other mythical names, as "*Desertum Busorum*," or be some sea-monster that I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. The beginning of this word "*Leparamantium*," seems something like the famous German "*Lebersee*,"† mentioned by Adam von Bremen, in the chapter in which he speaks of the "*Desertum Busorum*."

In the central part of the map, south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and south-west of Newfoundland, Homem delineates a large peninsula, similar to the territory of Nova Scotia, but of larger extent. The peninsula terminates at the north-east in a cape called "*C. de bertuens*" (Cape of the Bretons), and at the south-west in a rectangular cor-

* Ramusio, Discourse at the beginning of the third volume of his Collections, fol. 4. Venice, 1556.

† See on this word, Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, pp. 63, 402, 404.

ner and cape, to which is given the name "beu sablom" (Sable Bay) Cape Sable is probably intended. Between these two points, the southern coast of the peninsula runs east-north-east and west-south-west, agreeing exactly with the coast of Nova Scotia, which is undoubtedly meant. The names annexed to it, "Ribera de S. Joam," "Ribera gram," "Ribera de jardins," and the rest, are partly Portuguese and partly French; but the greater part are not found on other maps.

At "beu sablom" the coast turns north at a right angle, like the coast of Nova Scotia, in latitude about $43^{\circ} 30' N$. After some distance comes a group of islands, which may be those at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, "Brier I.," "Long I.," "Grand Menan," etc., though these last are much further south than those without names on this map. Beyond this group of islands, two branches of a gulf extend northerly toward the Bay of Chaleur, but their termination is undefined and represented as unknown. I think that this is intended for the Bay of Fundy, and is the first attempt to depict it.

Hodem does not mention the sources from which he derived his sketch of Nova Scotia; but it is apparent that he had for models good French or Portuguese charts taken from actual survey, especially for its south coast and western end. It is better drawn than on any chart previous to 1558, or on any subsequent to it for many years. It is better than the celebrated map of Mercator in 1569, as in our map, No. 22, or that of Ortelius in 1570. We may justly call it an improvement on the map of Gastaldi (No. 11), which was the commencement of a more accurate representation of Nova Scotia, and was copied from similar, but older and poorer materials than this map of Homem.

None of the great official explorers, so far as I know, had surveyed or described Cape Sable or the Bay of Fundy. Neither Verrazano nor Gomez make any allusion to them in their reports; and Cartier and Roberval did not go so far south. No doubt the Breton and Norman fishermen extended the discoveries of those great official explorers into this region (in the same manner and for the same purpose that the Portuguese fishermen did those of the Cortereals northerly toward Hudson's Bay), and as I have said in my description of Gastaldi's map (No. 11), probably had their harbors of refuge on the coast of Nova Scotia. The fishing has always been very good along this whole peninsula, particularly at Cape Sable, where, in former, as in modern times, an abundance of cod-fish has been found.* North of Cape Sable, also, along the coast toward the Bay of Fundy, the fishing has always been produc-

* See Dény's, "Description géographique de l'Amerique septentrionals," tom. 1, p. 63, Paris, 1672; and Halliburton's Nova Scotia, vol. 1, pp. 189, 190, Halifax, 1829.

tive. Cape Sable is, in many respects, a most prominent object; being situated at the extreme point of a large tract of country, and rendered remarkable by its sandy beaches, quite unusual in Nova Scotia, and its "white cliffs distinguishable at a distance of five leagues."* If such a prominent point were overlooked by official explorers, it would not escape the observation of the numerous fishermen searching for their prey; and would become famous among them. This cape, as we learn from our map, had received its name before 1558, derived from its sandy cliffs and banks. And the other names along the coast of Nova Scotia were not the inventions of Homem, but taken from the best authorities; and from the information and charts of the fishermen, as can be proved regarding some of them. Many of them have retained their place from that day to this. Where Homem, for instance, puts the name "golfo de petis" (a name half Portuguese and half French, which probably should be "petits"), we find on subsequent maps of Nova Scotia, "La petite Rivière," and on quite modern charts the name "Petits Island," a little east of Cape Negro. And not far from the place where Homem has put "la beau bai" (probably "la belle baye"), we find on modern maps the name "Port Joli," which has the same signification.

But on the west coast of Nova Scotia, Homem does not appear to be so well informed as on the south coast; his latitudes are too high, and the configuration of the coast is misshapen. It seems as if he followed here the uncertain reports of fishermen or of Indians. In the long nameless lagoon, which he puts at some distance north of "beu sablom" (Cape Sable), we may recognize "St. Mary's Bay," which has nearly the same size and extent. North of this, after a group of islands (Grand Menau, (?) etc.), the upper part of the gulf is divided into two arms, extending into the interior of the country, terminating our author does not know how or where, and therefore leaves them unfinished. I think that here the two branches of the Bay of Fundy, at its easterly end, are intended, namely, Mines' Basin and Chignecto Bay, although on the map their location is too far north, toward the Bay of Chaleur. Still the map indicates that as early as 1558, the Portuguese and French fishermen, those pioneers of north-eastern discovery, had found their way to the interior of the Bay of Fundy; a fact which might have been anticipated, without such proof.

And the reason that we do not find this remarkable bay distinctly laid down on maps of the sixteenth century is, not that it was unfrequented by these fishing pioneers, but that geographers were ignorant

* See Haliburton, l. c.

of those sources from which Homem drew his information, and from the loss of many early maps on which it may have been represented.

The old French name first given to this bay, "La Baye Françoise," had no doubt been in use among the French fishermen, although De Monts and Poutrincourt thought, when they entered it in 1604, that they were making a new discovery. In placing this name on their maps, they probably did nothing new, but only confirmed what was already in use.* The draft which they made of it was, however, not much better than that made by Diego Homem in 1558.†

From Nova Scotia and the east coast of the Bay of Fundy, which is by far the most interesting part of our map, I now proceed to examine the coasts west and south-west of Nova Scotia. And to make the examination more intelligible, I will begin at Florida, in the south, where we find points and places long before delineated on Spanish maps, as "C. de St. Ellena," "C. de S. Roman," and, in 37° N., the "B. de Sta. Maria" (Chesapeake). Between this and the next inlet, a peninsula is formed, which in its configuration is much like a prolongation of the peninsulas of Delaware and New Jersey. The "Cabo de arenas" is about in the latitude of Cape Henlopen. North of the inlet at "C. deserto" and near the "B. de St. Jago," the coast begins to turn to the east for about ninety leagues, quite well agreeing with the description which Oviedo gave of this part of the coast before the middle of the sixteenth century, according to the chart of Chaves. I think, therefore, that Homem must have had before him this chart, which unhappily we have not.‡

Arriving at a very prominent point, near which is written the name "C. de las muchas islas," the coast abruptly turns to the north, forming a large peninsula, resembling that of New England. The prominent cape near the above name I suppose to be Cape Cod. The configuration of the coast is correctly drawn; but the name of the cape appears to be misplaced; for Oviedo says clearly enough, that Cape Cod was called "Cabo de arrecifes" (Cape of the reefs), and he puts the "Cape of many islands" much further to the north on the coast of Maine, as do Ribero and all the old maps.§

* Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, p. 454 seq. Paris, 1612.

† See this map in Lescarbot, l. c.

‡ See our remarks on Oviedo's description, and the map of Chaves, Appendage to chap. VIII, No. 2.

§ (From the fact that on the old maps referred to, the name "C. de las muchas islas," is placed north of "Cabo de arrecifes" (Cape Cod); that is, on a part of the Gulf of Maine, and would therefore be misplaced on the map under examination, if put on or south of Cape Cod, we are led to suggest whether, contrary to the first appear-

Beyond Cape Cod the coast runs far north, and is bordered all along by a chain of small islands, and indented with large inlets; and is clearly to be distinguished as the coast of the Gulf of Maine. Over this whole peninsula of New England the flag of Spain is spread.

The large gulf, which in this manner is formed between Nova Scotia and Cape Cod, must be taken to be the Gulf of Maine, extending in the north into the Bay of Fundy. The entrance to the gulf is too narrow, the distance between "beu sablon" (Cape Sable) and "C. de las muchas islas" being far too short.

We may sum up the chief results, gained from an examination of Homem's map, which, in connection with our subject, is the most interesting we can produce from the middle of the sixteenth century, in the following brief terms:

The coast of the Gulf of Maine is here represented much more truly, trending toward the north; while on nearly all former maps it is incorrectly made to run east and west.

The peninsula of New England, for the first time, has its true configuration; though the names added to it are incorrectly given.

The Bay of Fundy is here indicated for the first time, though only by a few uncertain lines; sufficient to show quite clearly, that it was known to, and visited by, French and Portuguese fishermen before the middle of the sixteenth century.

The great country of Nova Scotia, adjoining Maine on the east, is here for the first time correctly delineated; especially Cape Sable, whose name, with its vicinity, was already well known.

6. ON A CHART, No. 22, OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,
FROM A MAP OF THE WORLD BY GERARD MERCATOR, IN 1569.

Gerard Mercator, whose German family name was "Kramer,"* was born in 1512, of German parents, at Rüpelmundo in Belgium, where his mother was on a visit to her friends. He spent his childhood in the Duchy of Jülich in Germany, which he regarded as the home of his family.† He studied mathematics, history, and geography with the greatest zeal at Löwen, where the learned German cosmographer,

ance, it may not be really intended by Homem for one of the projecting points on the coast of Maine to which it may be most appropriately applied, either to Cape Elizabeth or Owl's Head, each of which is remarkable for its numerous islands.—ED.]

* Not "Kaufmann," as some have said.

† Mercator says this of himself in the dedication of his great atlas (edit. 1585) to the Duke of Jülich. The dedication is prefixed to the map of France.



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Gemma Frisius, was his teacher. He acquired the art of engraving and making scientific instruments. Thus qualified, he gave nearly his whole life to geography and map-making.

The first map of Mercator, as of many other composers of maps, was one of Palestine; the second, of Belgium. His next attempt was to make a terrestrial and a celestial globe. But being a Protestant he became involved in trouble with the Spanish government of Belgium, and emigrated, with other citizens of the country, soon after 1552, to Duisburg, on the lower Rhine in Germany, where he settled under the protection of the Duke of Jülich, "natural master," as he calls him, of his parents and himself. He continued to reside there, with his numerous family, till his death in 1594, always occupied in the study of geography, the composition of maps, and the construction of mathematical instruments for the emperor, and other prominent persons.*

After much study and reading he completed, in Duisburg in 1569, that great and much admired map of the world, in which he combined, in one grand view, upon eight large sheets, all his geographical knowledge of the globe. This map, with the assistance of three sons, his pupils, he not only drew, but also engraved. It was considered at the time as a wonderful work, and was the foundation of his fame as a cosmographer.

For the composition of this great map, Mercator had collected many printed and manuscript maps and charts, and many reports of voyages of discovery. These he carefully studied and compared, selecting from them those only which he thought the most reliable. He gave to his map a new projection of his own invention, and one extremely convenient to navigators, which, ever since, has been called from him, "Mercator's Projection." This useful and ingenious invention was applied for the first time on the chart here introduced; and although for a century it encountered opposition by its novelty from ignorant navigators, it came at last into general use on sea charts; and its advantages are now generally acknowledged and adopted.

* Respecting his life and works, see Lelewel, "Géographie du moyen âge," tom. 2, p. 181, Bruxelles, 1852; and Gualterius Gimmius, "Vita Gerardi Mercatoris," in Mercator's atlas. Duisburgi, 1595. A very excellent life of Mercator has been written by Dr. A. Breusing, a distinguished mathematician and geographer in Bremen, who had the kindness to lend me his manuscript, which will soon be published, and from which I have chiefly taken the above facts. Dr. Breusing clearly proves, that Mercator was a German, and that he regarded himself as such, and not a Belgian, as has been incorrectly stated by many former writers. M. D'Avezac, the admirable French author, agrees with Dr. Breusing, and calls Mercator "le Grand Géographe Allemand" (the great German geographer). See D'Avezac, "Coup d'œil historique sur la projection des cartes de Géographie," p. 10.

By this invention, and this large chart of 1569, Mercator became eminent, and was considered the most distinguished cosmographer of his time. His friend Ortelius, whose name is often associated with his, and who shared his laurels, repeatedly calls him, in his great atlas, the first edition of which was published in 1570, "nostri sæculi Ptolemaeus" (the Ptolemy of our age), and "Geographorum nostri temporis coryphæus" (the coryphens of the geographers of our time); and mentions his chart of 1569, in the following terms: "sua nunquam satis laudata universalis tabula" (his never enough praised universal chart).

But this work, so admired and copied by contemporaries, was eclipsed by later improvements, and fell into neglect. Most of the copies were thrown aside and destroyed in the progress of time, until at last in 1852, only one copy, preserved in the imperial library in Paris, was known to be in existence.*

M. Jomard, in his great work "Monuments de la Géographie," has reproduced all the large sheets of the work, and given lithographic facsimiles of them in the size of the originals. From one of these our fragment, No. 22, is a reduced copy.

On the whole, Mercator's work is most interesting and accurate in the delineation of the old world, particularly of Europe, with which he was best acquainted. In regard to Africa, and southern and eastern Asia, he does not appear to be so well informed.† In the chart of America several parts are not so well represented as they had been in previous manuscript maps of the time; but other sections are so strikingly well delineated, and so superior to all that existed in former maps, that we seek with astonishment, but in vain, for the sources from which he derived his information.

The chart bears many signs of the great and often unnecessary application of our studious cosmographer; for he has reproduced the fabulous islands of "St. Brandan," "Y. Verde," "Arredonda," etc., traditional among the learned, and which were laid down on many charts before the time of Columbus. These are placed in the Atlantic Ocean, together with the Azores and Bermudas, the only islands of all he has named really entitled to a place there.

Mercator was, like his contemporaries, a great admirer of the chart of the Zeni, which had been published about ten years before his own, and whose work he attempted to harmonize with that of other early map-makers, and to embody in his map. His mode of proceeding was singular, and had an influence on the geography and discovery of his time;

* So Lelewel supposed in his "Géographie du moyen âge," tom. 2, p. 183, note 338.

† The same remark has been made by others.

for believing his charts to be accurate, navigators took them for a guide.

He copied exactly from the Zeni's chart the entire representation of Greenland with its latitudes, as given upon the engraved map of 1558, without suspecting that these latitudes were not given in the original of 1380, but were, as we believe, afterwards added to the map of 1558. Adopting them as reliable, he consequently put the southern point of Greenland "Trin prom" (Cape Farewell) nearly under the arctic circle, while in reality it lies six degrees further south.

South of this Greenland of the Zeni, he depicted the true Greenland ending in latitude 60°, with its true configuration as described on the old Portuguese and Spanish charts, and called "terra Agricolæ," or "Labrador," to which he gave the name "Estoilant," as had been done on the map of the Zeni. Between these countries he made a broad strait: and thus Mercator has laid Greenland down twice on his map, once with its correct configuration, but the wrong latitude of the Zeni's chart; and again, in the true latitude of Cortereal and his followers, but with a wrong delineation.

West of Greenland he placed the large island of Iceland, to which he added some of the names found on the Zeni's map, as "Foglasker," "Skalhöldin," "Westraborð," etc., though he did not give it the latitude and configuration of the Zeni, and must therefore, I think, have followed some later map of that island. He also restores to his chart a rock between Iceland and Greenland, which Gunnbiorn is said to have discovered six hundred years before. The rock, in Mercator's time, had entirely disappeared under accumulated masses of ice; yet he restored it and placed it, nicely engraved, on his chart by the name of "Witsarc," which is the name of a mountain, placed in the chronicles of the Northmen, on the coast of Greenland, but not introduced on the map of the Zeni. I cannot imagine where Mercator heard of it, unless from correspondents in Iceland.

South-west and south of Iceland, Mercator has produced an exact copy from the Zeni's map of the islands "Icaria" and "Frislant," with their names. He had not ascertained as yet that this "Frislant" was no other than the "Farøe Islands," much enlarged and wrongly situated, as we now know. He regarded "Frislant" as a great island existing on the south of Iceland, and put the little group of the Farøe Islands in their proper position, as they are found on modern maps; and thus, as in the case of Greenland, he has represented this group twice; once in its true size and longitude, and again incorrectly, as copied from the Zeni.

The country "Drogeo," which is placed in the south-western corner

of the map of the Zeni, Mercator regarded as an island in the midst of the Atlantic, and has so laid it down. In fact, this name Drogeo denotes the present north-eastern termination of New England, and is placed by Malte Brun and Lelewel, on their maps, exactly on the coast of Maine.

But the best portion of Mercator's work, and a real and valuable improvement upon all former maps, is his delineation of the large peninsula of Labrador, lying south-west of Greenland. On all former maps, that region was ill-shapen and most incorrectly drawn. But here, under the name of "Terra Corterealis," it receives its proper shape, with a full and just development, which had not been given to it on any map prior to 1569. He makes its eastern coast run south-east and north-west, as it really does from about 53° to 60° N. In the north he plainly shows the narrow entrance of Hudson's Strait, and at the west of it a large gulf, called by him "Golfam de Merosro." This remarkable gulf may be an indication of either Hudson's Bay or only the Bay of Ungava. I think that the latter was meant; first, because the "Gulf of Merosro" has the longitude of the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, which is also the longitude of the Bay of Ungava; second, because the said gulf is represented as closed in the west. The western coast of the Bay of Ungava runs high up to the north, where Hudson's Strait is often filled with ice. This may have led the unknown discoverers, the informants of Mercator, to suppose that it was closed in the west. If they had looked round Cape Wolstenholm into Hudson's Bay, they would have perceived a broad bay and open water before them.

Mercator does not indicate, so far as I know, the sources from which he derived these remarkable improvements for his chart, which were not known by Homem in 1558, and of which there are only slight indications on the Cabot map of 1544. He adopts the Portuguese names for his "Terra Corterealis," namely, "Golfam de Merosro," "Y. dus demonios," "Cabo Marco," "Ilha da fortuna," "Baia dus medaus," "Rio de tormenta," "Ylhas de caravillo," "Baia de malvas," etc. Some of the names are not new, but had been long known, though not always put in the same position. We know of no official Portuguese exploring expedition made to these regions between the time of Homem (1558) and Mercator (1569); and therefore the suggestions of Dr. Asher, for the solution of this problem, have a high degree of probability. He says:* "The Portuguese fishermen continued their surveys of the northern coasts," commenced by Gaspar Cortereal in 1500, "most likely for no other purpose than to discover advantageous fisheries. They

* See G. M. Asher's *Henry Hudson*, Introduction, p. xcvi. London, 1860.

seem to have advanced slowly, step by step, first along the shores of Newfoundland, then up to the mouth of Hudson's Strait, then through that strait, and at last into Hudson's Bay," or as I think into Ungava Bay. "With a certain number of ancient maps, ranging from 1529 to 1570 before us, we can trace this progress step by step. In 1544," the time of Cabot's map, "the Portuguese seem not yet to have reached the mouth of the Strait; and in 1570," or as I think 1569, the date of our Mercator's map,* "they have reached the bay," Hudson's, or at least Ungava Bay. "We can, therefore, state with the greatest certainty, that Hudson's Bay," Hudson's Strait as far as Ungava Bay, . . . "had been discovered before the publication of Ortelius's atlas, which took place in 1570," or better, before the publication of Mercator's chart, which took place in 1569. "But we are not equally certain, that the discovery falls within the years 1558 to 1570," or better, 1569, "because we have only the negative evidence of Diego Homem's chart to support the latter assertion. The fact itself is, however, probable enough."

Diego Homem was living in Venice several years after 1558. He therefore may have made other charts of later date than that preserved in the British museum of 1558, and may have represented upon them the latest discoveries of his countrymen; and it is therefore possible that Mercator may have had before him a chart of Labrador by this Portuguese; though it would appear from other sections of his chart, that he was not acquainted with Homem's map of 1558.

South of "Terra Corterealis" are Newfoundland, still called "Terra de Bacallaos," and "Nova Francia." The latitudes for Newfoundland are partly correct; for instance, Cape Race in $46^{\circ} 30' N.$, is nearly in its true latitude. The names along the east coast of Newfoundland remain as they had been from the time of the Cortereals, with the addition of a few French names from the voyage of Cartier.

Mercator has made a good use of the charts of Cartier and Roberval, which, in 1569, furnished the only materials for the construction of a map of New France. Fully and correctly, with slight exceptions, he adopts all their names along the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. It is the best draft which one could have for illustrating and understanding the voyages and proceedings of Cartier, not excepting even the French copies of the charts of this explorer, which I have examined in former essays. The only neglected part is the western shore of New-

*Dr. Asher does not mention Mercator's map of 1569. He had before him the map of Ortelius of 1570, who was only a follower and copyist of Mercator, but adopted his views.

foundland, which, with the assistance of Cartier, might have been made more accurate.

The principal affluents of the St. Lawrence, the Saguenay, the St. Maurice, the St. John, and the Ottawa, are all indicated with nearly their true features, which he could have thus delineated only by proceeding on a correct hypothesis. On the Ottawa, left without a name, there is written the following inscription: "Hoc fluvio facilius est navigatio in Saguenai" (by this river the navigation is easier to Saguenay), that fabulous country in the north-west, from the riches of which Cartier hoped so much. To the west, at the head of this river, in about 60° N., appears a part of a large lake, with the inscription: "Hic mare est dulcium aquarum, cujus terminum ignorari Canadenses ex relatu Saguenaiensium aiunt" (here is a sea of fresh-water, the end of which, say the Canadians, according to the report of the Saguenay people, is unknown). The high latitude would lead us to think, that Lake Superior was referred to, though of course it may have been Lake Huron. The manner in which the St. Lawrence has been drawn west of Montreal proves, that neither Cartier nor Mercator had any knowledge of Lake Ontario.

South of New France and Newfoundland we come to Nova Scotia; for a description of which, Mercator might have learned much from the Portuguese chart of Homem of 1558, our No. 21. But it is evident that he had no knowledge of it, nor is Homem mentioned in the celebrated catalogue of cartographers given by Ortelius.

Mercator has drawn the coast of Nova Scotia, New England, and, in fact, the entire east coast of the United States, nearly corresponding with the French chart of 1550, our No. 18. He has given to these countries the same configuration and latitudes as are seen on that map, and must have had a copy of it before him. The names on this coast, which are mostly of Spanish origin, are very much corrupted, and sometimes are scarcely intelligible. Some of them have a Portuguese appearance; as in the inscription given to Nova Scotia: "Esta he a terra dus Bretones" (this is the country of the Bretons). Many old acquaintances from the map of Ribero—names introduced by Gomez—are found among them; but are placed in such different positions, varying sometimes for hundreds of miles, that it is impossible to say what harbor or locality is intended; for instance, the name "Rio primero" is placed on Mercator's map on the west of Cape Breton, while on the map of Vallard, our No. 19, it is on the west of Nova Scotia.

Near the name "C. da lexus (?)," not far from "rio hondo," a rectangular cape is depicted. This was probably meant for Cape Sable. There is no other indication of the Bay of Fundy, although it had been

placed in 1558 on the map of Honnem. Verrazano's "island of Claudia," which seems to flit from place to place along the whole coast according to the will of the cartographers, is placed on our map near the cape last mentioned.

At the great river of Norumbega (rio grande), we arrive on well known and sure ground. This great river with its broad mouth is, no doubt, the "Rio de las Gamas" of Ribero and Gomez, and our Penobscot Bay and River. The coast of Maine is indicated, as usual, by a long chain of islets. To the territory of Maine, the famous name of "Norumbega" is given, and in the midst of it, on the east bank of the great river, a splendid capital, "Norumbega," is depicted. Mercator gives to his "Rio grande" of Norumbega, two branches or forks, which—curiously enough!—happen to be nearly correct.

The cape to the west of the great river of Norumbega, usually called "Cabo de muchas islas," has on our map the name, "Cabo de lagus islas" (?). Then comes a bay, "Orsmora" (?); after this, "arciel de estevan gomens" (instead of Arcipelago de Estevan Gomez). It is evident that our excellent Mercator had no accurate knowledge either of the name of Gomez himself, or of the names given by him to this coast.

All the following names of Gomez and Ribero have been corrupted in a similar manner: so that they can scarcely be recognized or explained. These names of Gomez had now grown very old; they had been copied by many authors; and copies became more degenerate the further they were removed from the date of the original. So that Mercator's map has exactly its weakest part, and has the fewest new and good things to tell us, on that section of the coast which interests us most, namely, the coast of New England.

From the "terra dus Bretones," for about twenty degrees of longitude, the coast-line runs due east and west in about 42° N. Then, not far west of the river Norumbega, it turns to the south-south-west, forming that semicircular gulf, lined with little islands, which points out the Gulf of Maine, ending at the projecting "Cabo de arenas." This cape on Ribero's map, stands in latitude 40° N.; on Mercator's, it is two degrees south, in 38° N.; on the French chart of 1550, our No. 18, in $39^{\circ} 30'$. However, from the manner in which Mercator depicts the reefs and banks near this cape, it is evident, that in other respects he follows the French chart. He gives to these banks the same two little crosses, and the same configuration, which are to be found on the French chart.

Except this "Cabo de arenas" (Cape Cod ?) nothing is to be found on our chart of the peninsula of New England, or of the gulf and harbor of New York; nothing of all that Verrazano discovered, except his island "Claudia," misplaced far to the east.

As our chart has duplicated the Farøe Islands, Greenland, and Davis' Strait, so has it given us two States of Maine, one under the name of Norumbega, in the right place, and another under the name of "Drogeo," misplaced, and swimming far to the north, as an island in the midst of the ocean.

That part of the east coast which lies south of "Cabo de arenas," had been represented much better on former Spanish charts. We scarcely recognize in $34^{\circ} 30' N.$, the Baia de Sta. Maria (Chesapeake Bay); the name of which has been here omitted. But he has given not far from where it should be, some indication of a bay, under the name "del principe," which is a Spanish name always given to one of the rivers entering the Chesapeake Bay.

The only thing on the map which, in this part of our east coast, we can praise as meritorious, is the long mountain range following the coast-line at some distance in the interior. Mercator is the first, I think, who delineated the chain of the Alleghany Mountains, and gave to them their true distance from the Atlantic; and he has done this in a very happy manner. He makes them run in their southern section, from the south-west toward the north-east; and in the north of Norumbega, he gives them an eastern direction. This northern branch may be in part conjectural, but in part may have been taken from Cartier's report, who, as I have said, saw from the St. Lawrence the mountain range that borders the northern portion of Maine. The southern portion of the Alleghanies was discovered by De Soto on his grand expedition to the Mississippi Valley in 1538-1543. And Mercator must have studied the reports of this expedition, which were for a long time the only source of information on the southern region of the Alleghanies; deriving from it the names which are found on his map, namely, "Mocosa," "Apalchen," and others.

The great and well-deserved authority which the "Ptolemy of the sixteenth century" enjoyed, gave him numerous followers and copyists. The picture of America given in his chart of 1569, was at once copied by his friend Ortelius in 1570, and afterwards by innumerable others. His successors, Wytfliet (1597), Quaden (1600), Hondius, and others, would sometimes change, or add something to, Mercator's drawings and names. But one thing, the "Rio grande of Norumbega," pleased them so much, that they allowed it to remain. And so we see that the Fenobscot, with its two branches coming in from the east and west, and with the fabulous city "Norumbega" on its banks, makes a great figure on all the subsequent charts and maps just mentioned; and also on those of John Dee (1580), of Hakluyt (1589), and several others. It is everywhere the same figure which Mercator partly bor-

rowed from former Spanish maps, and partly drew from his own resources.

It is a remarkable fact, that while the icy seas and coasts of Greenland, Labrador, Newfoundland, and Canada were depicted on the maps of the sixteenth century with a high degree of truth, our coasts of New England and New York were badly drawn, so late as 1569. Though these countries had been known in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and had been visited by navigators and sometimes colonies from Norway, Spain, France, and England, still their geography was little understood, and their cartography was very defective, and so remained through nearly the whole of the sixteenth century. And when at the end of this century, and the beginning of the seventeenth, the modern French and English discoverers, Gosnold, Pring, De Monts, Weymouth, Hudson, Smith, and others, arrived on these coasts, they had to begin the work of exploration anew. Hudson, when in 1609 he sailed to the south of Cape Cod, and entered the Gulf of New York, was perfectly justified in saying, that he entered "*an unknown sea.*"*

But the results of these later discoveries, and the improved charts brought out by them, belong to another period of time, and, perhaps, may be considered in a subsequent volume. For the present, I conclude my series of cartographical illustrations with this chart of Mercator. Between 1569, the year of its composition, and 1583, the time of Gilbert's expedition, the interval which separates the present volume from its successor, I find no other map or chart, manuscript or printed, having any relation whatever to our subject, or adding anything new to the stock of our knowledge of the coast of Maine.

* See Asher, l. c. p. 68.

CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION OF THE SPANISH EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

1. EXPEDITION OF LUCAS VASQUEZ DE AYLLON TO THE COUNTRY CHICORA (CAROLINA), IN 1526.

LUCAS VASQUEZ DE AYLLON, as I have said before, returned to Spain, probably in 1521, from his exploring voyage of 1520, to report his success and induce the government to assist him in the conquest of Chicora, his newly discovered country. He represented it as fertile, rich, abounding in pearls and other valuable productions, suitable for settlement, and inhabited by a good sort of people of clear understanding, and governed by a king of gigantic figure. He succeeded in concluding with the government an agreement (*una capitulacion*), the articles of which were signed on the 12th of June, 1523.*

The royal decree gave him permission to fit out, arm, and man at his own cost as many vessels as he thought necessary. He was to return with them to "Chicora" (Carolina), and continue the discovery and exploration of the country as far as eight hundred leagues to the north :† and if in this navigation he should find a strait going to the west, he was to enter and explore it, and procure an exact knowledge

* See these articles in Navarrete, *Collecion de los viages*, etc., tom. 3. p. 153 seq.

† "Nauegareis ochocienta leguas." Navarrete, l. c.

of all the regions, whether islands or continent, and report upon the number of the former, and the extent of the latter;* and should also ascertain the nature of the country, and what valuable productions, useful to commerce, it might contain.

After this, the country was to be settled, and in all its parts were to be erected such fortifications as might be necessary for the protection of commerce. To Ayllon was given, at the same time, the title of "Adelantado of the country of Chicora;" under which name a very large portion of the eastern coast may have been comprised. This title, and the privileges connected with it, were made hereditary in his family.

From these facts it is evident, that the plan of this enterprise embraced the whole of the east coast of the United States, and also, as in the case of Gomez, the discovery of a north-west passage. Ayllon was also enjoined that if he should discover this passage, he should be careful not to interfere with the possessions of Portugal, embracing the Spice Islands.† Hence it will be perceived, that this voyage was intended as a grand exploring expedition, and might extend even to a circumnavigation of the globe.

It was stipulated that Ayllon should sail as early as the spring of 1524, and complete his expedition within three years from the day of his departure; but this last condition he was unable to fulfil.

He returned to St. Domingo, and spent there not less than two years in making his outfit, until he was admonished and even urged by the council of the Indies to make more haste with his expedition. We are not informed of the causes of this delay; but it appears that there were dissensions between him and his former associates, Matienzo and Caballero, who

* See this in Navarrete, l. c. p. 151.

† Navarrete, l. c. p. 155.

claimed to have as much right and title to the northern conquest, as Ayllon himself; and pretended that he had made false representations to the king on the events connected with the first discovery in 1520.*

At last, in the spring of 1526, the armament was ready. It consisted of six well-provided vessels with five hundred sailors and soldiers, and some women; and from eighty to ninety horses; in furnishing all which, Ayllon is said to have spent not less than 100,000 ducats. It was as large an armament as that with which Cortes had set out for the conquest of Mexico.†

The expedition sailed from Port de la Plata, in Hayti, in the middle of July, 1526,‡ and arrived at St. Helena Sound, called "the River Jordan," on the coast of "Chicora," where it came to anchor.

But the whole expedition was a series of misfortunes. Ayllon may have been, as Oviedo describes him, a "distinguished scholar, a virtuous cavalier, and a person of good intellect;" but he probably was neither an experienced navigator, nor a fit commander. Herrera says, "he did not know how to govern his people, nor they to obey him;"§ and the chief pilot of his fleet, Diego Miruelo, who led the expedition to Chicora in 1520, was also unsuccessful in his arrangements. Of him Barcia relates, that his naval operations were executed in so unsatisfactory a manner, that he went mad, and died from grief.||

* Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 8, cap. 8.

† Gomara and Herrera make it consist only of three vessels. But Oviedo gives the numbers above mentioned.

‡ So says Navarrete, after the manuscript of Oviedo. Herrera puts the expedition in 1525; Gomara and Barcia in 1524. The authors last named, seeing in the royal decree that Ayllon had promised to sail in 1524, probably supposed that he did so, not knowing his hindrances.

§ Herrera, l. c. cap. 8, "ni el sabia govarnar, ni ellos obederle."

|| Barcia, *Ensayo cronologico de la Florida*, p. 8.

The first in the series of mischances was the loss of the admiral's ship (la Capitana); which, on entering the river Jordan, grounded and became a total loss, with all her cargo and provisions, though the crew were saved. The other vessels being smaller, entered the port without danger.

A part of the soldiers were put on shore, under the conduct of their officers, to explore the interior of the country. The vessels, meanwhile, were sent north, to make a further survey of the coast, which they "*examined extensively*,"* and, in a short time, returned with the news, that they had found in the north, at the distance of about forty or fifty leagues, a much better country, to which they had given the name "S. Miguel de Gualdape."

The company on shore were glad to hear this, for they had already begun to suffer from sickness and want of provisions; and the women and the infirm were at once transported in the ships to "S. Miguel de Gualdape." The rest marched along the shore to the same point, where they erected the royal standard, and constructed houses.

They found the country to be level, and full of lagoons, with a large river (Rio caudaloso) abounding in fish. But the entrance thereto was obstructed, and the ships could pass the bar only at high tide. I suppose that this is the present Cape Fear River; but I will not discuss here the particulars of a question which belongs to the special history of the coast of Carolina.

We are more particularly interested in the "extensive survey" of the coast north of the Rio Jordan (St. Helena Sound), which the ships of Ayllon completed soon after their arrival in the country; and it is much to be regretted, that we have not more full information on this part of the enterprise. We do not know how long they were out, and only

* "Los buques fueron examinando prolixamente." Oviedo.

hear, that they examined the coast in detail (prolixamente) through forty or fifty leagues to the anchorage-place at "S. Miguel de Gualdape." But as this could scarcely be called an extensive examination, it is probable that they surveyed the coast much further north.

This idea would be more in accordance with the plan and instructions of Ayllon, by which he was to go along the coasts "for more than eight hundred leagues," and to look out for a north-west passage. The harbor of San Miguel being alone mentioned, would not imply that no other places were discovered on this occasion. It was, no doubt, the commencement of an extensive exploration of the coast, which Ayllon had intended to make, and was not a mere search for a good anchorage, which had been found before, and only afterwards proved to be insecure.

We should infer from the chart of the imperial cosmographer, Ribero,* in 1529, that more was accomplished than is communicated in the historical reports. This chart represents the outlines of the coast, according to original surveys, as far as it had been discovered up to that time; and is even more authentic than the accounts of Gomara, Oviedo, and Herrera. It was made only four years after the voyage, and is the oldest document on the expedition; while some of the narratives of the above-named historians were written twenty, and others sixty years after.

On this chart we find laid down all the regions discovered by Ayllon in 1526. They are indicated under the name, "Tierra de Ayllon," which covers all the eastern countries south of 40° N., namely, the present States of Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Georgia.

In the southern part of this territory, near 32° N., we find Ayllon's "C. de S. Elena," and a little further to the north

* See map, No. 16.

of it, his "Rio Jordan." Thence the coast runs north-east, exhibiting several inlets and capes as high as 40° N., where we find the far projecting "C. de Arenas."

From the manner in which Ribero writes the name "Tierra de Ayllon," it is clear that he includes under it all the coasts south of "Cabo de Arenas." This cape and its neighborhood appear to mark the division between "Tierra de Ayllon" and "Tierra de Gomez," and might be ascribed either to the one or the other. I have already given my reasons for believing that it must be ascribed to Gomez; at all events, we may be sure that south of 35° or 36° N., the discoveries of Ayllon begin, and that the delineation of that coast, and also the names given on the chart, must be considered as being made after the survey and chart of the pilots of Ayllon in 1526. We know of no other explorer who sailed along this part of the coast between 1526, the date of Ayllon's expedition, and 1529, the date of Ribero's map.

We find a little north of Rio Jordan, in not quite 33° N., "C. de S. Roman" (Cape Romain), in its true latitude.

Farther on, in about $33^{\circ} 30'$ N., occurs "Rio del Principe." It may be Georgetown entrance. This name, "Rio del Principe," occurs on many subsequent Spanish charts, but at length disappears.

In about $34^{\circ} 30'$ N. we find "C. Traffalgar;" a name which remained conspicuous during the whole Spanish era, and is still found on some charts of the last century. It is generally thought to be Cape Lookout: but to me it appears to correspond better to Cape Hatteras.

In 35° N. is a great bay, with many islands before it, called "B. de Sta. Maria" (St. Mary's Bay). The latitude and configuration given to it, its islands and many entrances, would indicate that Pamlico Sound was here intended; but for other reasons and from a later exact description of it, we

consider it certain, that it is the entrance of Chesapeake Bay.

As I consider it essential to the history of Ayllon's expedition, and a true understanding of the map of Ribero, to settle this question, and to gain at St. Mary's Bay a fixed point south of New England, I will here anticipate a little the order of events.

The "exact description of St. Mary's Bay," to which I allude, is that given by Dön Pedro Menendez Marques, who, in 1573, made a very minute survey of the coast of Florida, and after describing its more southern capes and inlets, comes to "Bahia de St. Maria," of which he speaks in the following terms: "This bay has at its entrance a breadth of three leagues," which is exactly the distance between the two well-known capes at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay.* "You enter into St. Mary's Bay toward the north-north-west;" which is in fact the trending of the main body of Chesapeake Bay. "At the entrance of St. Mary's Bay on the south side, near the land, are found soundings from nine to thirteen fathoms; but on the north side, only from five to seven fathoms." Our modern surveys show that the southern Cape Henry has deeper soundings than the northern Cape Charles. "But two leagues out to sea, you find the same depth and soundings, both north and south, and more sandy bottom than within the bay. Passing through the channel you have from nine to thirteen fathoms, and on both sides, within the bay, are numerous rivers and ports, where ships can be moored." This needs no comment; the whole description, and particularly that of the soundings, leaves no doubt that Chesapeake Bay, and no other, can be here intended.

* See Barcia, "Ensayo Cronol.," etc., p. 146 seq. Madrid, 1723.

Both the latitudes of St. Mary's Bay given in the foregoing description, "37° N." and "37° 30' N.,"* apply to Chesapeake Bay, but the former is more correct.

In the course of my examination, I shall have occasion to make use of this result, and to speak more at large on the interesting survey of Menendezin 1573. I will now return to Ayllon and his unfortunate crew, whom we left at their anchorage in S. Miguel de Gualdape (Cape Fear River).

Want of provisions soon forced them to make further excursions into the country. Autumn was wearing away, and winter was drawing near. Many Spaniards sickened and died, and among them, Oct. 18, 1526, Ayllon himself, the chief commander.

One of the officers, Francisco Gomez, succeeded him in the command of the army and fleet, but was not acknowledged by some of the officers. Disobedience, dissensions, and revolts followed. Some of the soldiers disbanded, marched into the interior of the country, and lost their lives in battle with the Indians, who defended their homes against their assaults.†

At last, only one hundred and fifty men, out of the five hundred which had set out on this enterprise, remained alive; and these, discouraged and exhausted, returned to S. Domingo, where they arrived in a miserable condition, after a stormy and dangerous passage.

The widow and son of Ayllon afterwards solicited the Spanish government to continue to them the grant made to him; but we do not know that they effected anything for the continuance of the enterprise.‡

* See Barcia, l. c. pp. 119 and 148.

† Herrera relates (l. c.) that on one occasion not less than two hundred Spaniards were slain by the Indians.

‡ Barcia, l. c. p. 9, says, that the son of Ayllon tried to do something for a new expedition to Chicora, but was not able to raise the necessary funds, and died in despair.

2. THE EXPEDITIONS OF FERNANDO DE SOTO, DIEGO MALDONADO, AND GOMEZ ARIAS, 1538-1543.

After the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon in 1512, many thought that this country was only a large island. When, in 1519, the exciting news of the conquest of Mexico by Cortes reached the Spanish governors and settlers of the Antilles, several "conquistadors" and adventurers hastened to the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, to seek there for a country similar to the realm of Montezuma.

In 1519, Alonzo Alvarez Pineda, in the service of Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, surveyed a great part of this northern coast, and in 1520, Pamfilo de Narvaez was sent out on the track of Cortes by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, with eighteen vessels. In the same year Pineda sailed again to Panuco, in the north of Mexico. And in 1521, the old governor of Porto Rico, Ponce de Leon, once more undertook an expedition to his government of Florida, where unhappily he lost his life, leaving a son his heir and successor, who did not, however, follow the career of his father.

By all these expeditions, principally however by those of Pineda, it was proved, that Florida was not an island, but a peninsula joined to a great continent in the north, and that there existed no passage from the Gulf of Mexico either in the north-east or north-west. The same fact was also proved in the search on the shores of the Atlantic by Ayllon; who, on his second expedition, in vain sought a strait to the west as high north as Chesapeake Bay.

When it was ascertained that the Gulf of Mexico was a closed basin, Cortes, who was now the governor of all these regions, and assumed to be the head of all enterprises connected with them and the north of Florida, now directed his

attention to the subject of a north-west passage. In a letter dated Oct. 15, at the city of Temistitan, he wrote to the Emperor Charles,* that he was quite certain that a strait existed between the Atlantic and the South Sea, and that he was determined to solve the problem. "Though expenses crowded upon him," he says, "though he thought the enterprise would cost him more than 11,000 ducats; still he had given orders to fit out several vessels, some to cruise along the Pacific shore to the north, and others concurrently *along the coast of Florida to the Bacallaos*. This grand exploring scheme of Cortes embraced, accordingly, a search of the coast of New England, which, however, was never carried into effect. For Cortes, soon after 1524, found urgent occupation in the south. The search along the Pacific was undertaken, and resulted in the discovery of the rocky peninsula of California, and its long gulf, sometimes named after him "the Sea of Cortes."

Though Pineda did not bring home very encouraging accounts from the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, where he saw nothing but sandy islands and shores, still it was thought by some enterprising Spanish captains, that there might be found, in the interior of the country, another Mexico or Peru. And hence two expeditions were undertaken in that direction; one under Pamfilo de Narvaez, in 1528; the other and most important, under Fernando de Soto in 1538-1543.

The expedition of Narvaez was most unfortunate, and productive of no good results. It was confined wholly to the Gulf of Mexico, and ended in the loss of his own life and that of most of his companions.

The expedition of De Soto in 1538-1543 was more extensive and more interesting. But before proceeding to a par-

* See this letter in Ramusio, vol. 3, fol. 294. Venetia, 1556.

ticular narrative of it, I will give a brief account of some expeditions which were made during the period of more than twelve years between the voyages of Ayllon and De Soto.

It is not impossible, that during this period some parts of our coast may have been descried and sailed along by Spanish vessels. Nay, it is scarcely credible that it should not have been so. Soon after the discovery of the Gulf-stream navigation by Alaminos, in 1519, many Spanish vessels sailed on the track of this navigator. On the one side, in the south, the commerce and navigation of Havana, on the coasts of the Bahama channel, had begun to be flourishing. On the other side, in the north, the Spaniards, after the time of Gomez, had begun to take a large share in the cod-fisheries of the Banks of Newfoundland. "These banks," says Asher, very appropriately,* "were at a moderate distance from the Spanish colonies in the West Indian Archipelago. It is therefore but natural for us to imagine, that the Spaniards sometimes included both points in the same voyage." It is also very probable, that some of those vessels, sailing along the east coast of North America, may have been occasionally forced out of their way, and driven upon our shores. If we were better acquainted with the history of Spanish shipwrecks, we should probably learn, that the connection of Spanish navigation with our coast was not wholly interrupted during this period.

I may also remind the reader of the sentiment expressed by Gomara, who incidentally remarks, "that many voyages of discovery had been made to the Western Indies, *particularly to the north*, of which we have received no record." †

It must, however, be confessed, that we know nothing for

*See Asher, Henry Hudson, Introduction, p. C.

† See this observation in Gomara, *Historia General de las Indias*, fol. 20. Saragossa, 1553.

certain regarding such expeditions. Not a single log or journal of any Spanish vessel, sailing through our waters during this period, has been preserved. And it is also worth the mention, that Oviedo, who wrote his history of Spanish shipwrecks in the West Indies in the year 1535, does not mention any shipwreck as having happened on our coasts.*

From our only happening sometimes to hear incidentally of similar disasters, even in later times when the published reports respecting our coast were more numerous and complete, we can easily explain how these early events may have failed to have reached these general historians. In the year 1584, when Sir Walter Raleigh's captains, Amadas and Barlow, came to the shores of Virginia, they learned from the Indians, that about twenty years before (1564), a great vessel, belonging to a Christian nation, had been wrecked on the coast. And again, in the year 1607, when the English captains Popham and Gilbert arrived on the coast of Maine, the Indians of this country came out to them "in a Spanish shallop," probably the boat of a Spanish vessel † that had visited the coast, or had been wrecked there. How many may have been the accidents of this kind, of which no report had ever come to European ears!

There is, however, one event of considerable interest to us, and well ascertained, which occurred during this period, at no great distance from our coasts; namely, the discovery of the island of Bermuda. This took place probably in about the year 1526,‡ by the Spanish captain Juan Bermudez, from

* See Oviedo, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. 20. "De los infortunios y naufragios. Sevilla, 1535.

† [Strachey mentions *two* shallops, *Historie of Travaile*, p. 165. Edited by R. H. Major. London, 1849. A "Biscay shallop" and articles of European clothing are mentioned in Archer's account of Gosnold's voyage, at "Savage Rock" (C. Neddock), in 1602, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3d series, vol. 8, p. 73.—ED.]

‡ The exact date of this discovery is given neither by Herrera, nor, so far as I know, by any other Spanish author.

whom it received its name, though it was also called by the Spaniards, "La Garça."

Soon after this island was discovered, the king of Spain desired to plant a colony there; and in 1527, Hernando Camelo, a Portuguese from the Azores, offered to make a settlement. He concluded with the Spanish government a contract, by which he engaged to carry over to the Bermudas cattle, seeds, plants, and men, and to establish, within four years, a settlement of Portuguese and Spaniards; and in consideration of this service, he received the appointment of governor of the Bermudas.

The reason for this anxiety of the king of Spain, that a plantation should be effected at the Bermudas, is given by Herrera as follows: "That nearly all his West Indian fleets passed the vicinity of uninhabited islands, and that it would be a great advantage for them to have a hospitable station on their route. He hoped, also, that by the cultivation of the Bermudas, the swamps on them might disappear, which were considered to be a cause of the bad weather and of the great gales usually prevailing about those islands." Had such a Spanish colony been established at the Bermudas, growing out of the colonies at the Azores and Canaries, it would probably have given rise to another Spanish plantation on our coast. But Herrera, who tells us all this, adds, that "notwithstanding all the promises of Camelo, and all the advantages conceded to him by the king, no colonization of the island was effected; and that up to his time, 1600, he could find no record of any renewal of the attempt."* And as for the Bermudas' gales, they of course were not done away with.

How intimately the Bermudas are connected by their position with the history of the discovery of our coast, became

* Herrera, Dec. IV, lib. 2, cap. 6.

still more evident at a later time, when they were rediscovered by the English on their expedition to Virginia; and then planted by an English colony.

On the chart of Ribero, only three years after their discovery, the Bermudas are placed in their true latitude, 32° N., and nearly at their true distance from our coast. They may be used sometimes as a way-mark, in examining the position of certain localities on our coast.

I now return to the expedition of De Soto, 1538-1543. In the course of three years he marched over a large portion of our southern country, exploring and taking possession of it for the crown of Spain. From his landing-place on the west coast of Florida, he proceeded first to the north-east, and came to that part of the east coast which Ayllon had visited in 1526, and among the Indians of the region now known as South Carolina found Spanish arms and iron implements. Some of his companions suggested the reasonable idea, that a settlement might be made on this part of the coast for the benefit of Spanish navigation and commerce. But De Soto's imagination was occupied with schemes which he thought more profitable, and much grander. A conqueror of Peru, he could not descend to so small a matter as founding a colony for merchants. He thought of the conquest of another Peru, and another Atabalipa, to be accomplished in the interior of North America. Leaving, therefore, the oceanic route and the sea-shore, he marched into the interior, at first in a north-north-western direction, probably along the Savannah River. On this route he came to a great mountain-range, running parallel with the coast. He and his company were the first Europeans who had seen this range of mountains in its southern section; the northern section, on the northern frontier of Maine, had been seen at a distance by Cartier in

1535. De Soto gave them the name of "mountains of Apalache," which found a place on the maps of the middle of the sixteenth century.* The obstructions which he found in the passes of these mountains turned him toward the southwest and the Gulf of Mexico, where he had left his fleet under his captain, Diego Maldonado. His most northern terminus on the Alleghany range, may be put in about $30^{\circ} 40'$ N., not far from Clayton.†

From the Gulf of Mexico, De Soto set out again with fresh courage in a north-western direction; and after traversing a large part of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi, reached the banks of the "Great River of Florida" (the Mississippi), at some point in its interior section, which was then seen for the first time by Europeans, though its mouth had been known to the Spaniards since the expedition of Pineda in 1519, under the name of "Rio del Espiritu Santo." De Soto explored this river to a point as high as about the mouth of the Ohio; and having experienced great hardships there, and encountered many perils in conflict with the savage tribes, and performed many gallant exploits, this heroic conqueror died without having gained the objects of his enterprise, and was buried in the waves of the great river which he had discovered. A part of his company, after many other adventures, and after a toilsome and arduous march still further west to the "country of the wild cows," at last sailed down the Mississippi to the gulf, and proceeded to Mexico, where the miserable remnant of this ill-fated expedition arrived in the summer of 1543, after an absence of five years. De Soto appears to have gone as far north as 38° ; and in this space, though he had failed to find

* See our map of Merceator, No. 22.]

† [In Georgia, at the base of the Blue Ridge, about 180 miles from Milledgeville.—ED.]

the salt-water of the South Sea, had made a discovery almost as grand in the magnificent River Mississippi. As he saw its great affluents pouring in on one side and on the other, he must have become impressed with the idea, that they could come only from the territory of an immense continent, extending to high northern latitudes. In like manner the discoverer of the St. Lawrence must have become impressed with the vastness of the continent in which its tributary rivers had their origin. And thus both Cartier and De Soto must have learned, that the great Western Ocean of which they were in pursuit, must be very far distant; and that, contrary to the former views and the delineations of the old maps, the western half of North America must have the vast dimensions which they are now known to possess; thus securing to the States on the east coast a spacious and adequate back-ground.

The names introduced by De Soto, and the information imparted by him in the reports of his discoveries, furnished the ground-work of the geography of the whole south of the United States, and the principal source of knowledge regarding these regions, for more than a hundred years.

The closing expedition of De Soto gave rise to extensive voyages, which, reaching as far as the New England coasts, are specially interesting to us, although unhappily we have but little information regarding them. These expeditions were undertaken by his wife, the accomplished Isabella de Bobadilla. During the absence of her husband, she resided at Havana, and had charge of the government of Cuba. Her anxiety for the safety of her husband, kept her continually on the watch for him; and at last, troubled and distressed by his long absence, she fitted out an expedition under command of De Soto's faithful captain, Diego Maldonado, to go in search of him. The principal account of this voyage is given

by Garcilasso de la Vega, who says that Maldonado, in 1540, having explored the coast of the Gulf of Mexico for his absent chief without success, extended his search in 1541, with his companion Gomez Arias, along the eastern coast as far as the country of Bacallaos.*

This short and meagre report of Garcilasso is adopted by Herrera† as well as by Barcia; ‡ and though they add nothing to our information regarding it, we can, with such authorities in its support, scarcely doubt its truth. And if the truth of this voyage of Maldonado is admitted, it is obvious from its object as a searching expedition, that it must have required a very close inspection of our coasts. Maldonado is reported to have said "that he could not think the land had devoured his chief and master De Soto and his companions, and that somewhere something must be found of them." In searching for this "something" of the remains of a lost expedition, he would not be satisfied with a general observation in looking after these castaways on the broad ocean, but would closely inspect every cape on which a distressed crew might have left some signs, and every harbor and inlet where they might be still living, or where he might obtain some information regarding them from the natives.

That this expedition in 1541 "as far as Bacallaos," must have involved a thorough search of our coast, may be also inferred from the circumstance, that Maldonado, in 1542-1543, returned directly to the gulf without visiting again our east coast. He appears to have thought, that he had done his best in that region, and satisfied himself that De Soto could not have wandered so far away.

* Garcilasso, l. c., libro sexto, cap. 20, "no dejaron correr toda la Costa, por la vanda del Oriente hasta la tierra de Baccallaos."

† See Dec. VII, lib. 7, cap. 12.

‡ Ensayo Cronol. del secl "Anno 1541."

From all these circumstances we are strongly inclined to the opinion, that Maldonado's voyage was one of the most careful and thorough explorations of our east coast ever made by the Spaniards, of which any account has come* down to us.

It is, therefore, not a little to be regretted, that we are not favored with his log and journal. Perhaps we may ascribe to him the Spanish names on our coast which we occasionally find mentioned by Spanish historians, geographers, and map-makers of that time, for which we have no other authority.

I also infer from the quiet way in which Cortes* and other writers speak of the voyage from Havana to Baccallaos along our coast, that this may have been a regular track for the Spaniards, instead of an exceptional instance.

The bearing of our examination of these early Spanish undertakings in the southern section of the east coast of the United States, during the long period from Columbus to De Soto, upon the history and geography of our northern section of the same, may be thus briefly stated:

By these expeditions, while the true outlines and trending of the southern section of this coast became better defined and understood, it necessarily followed, that at the same time new light would be thrown upon the northern section, as connected with it.

The entire navigation of the whole east coast was, by these expeditions, made easier and more familiar.

Several localities in the neighborhood of the northern section of our coasts, as Chesapeake Bay, the Bermudas, and other localities, were either first discovered by these expeditions, or had their position more definitely fixed, and have since proved as way-marks for the true interpretation of the old charts of our coast.

* In his above-quoted letter to the emperor in the year 1524.

In several of the expeditions referred to, occurring during the period in question, our north-eastern coasts were specially had in view, and were distinctly included in their original plan. The scheme of Cortes in 1524, and of Ayllon in 1526, were, equally with that of Gomez in 1525, intended for the discovery of a north-west passage. Once at least, during this period, our northern coast was actually reached in Maldonado's search for De Soto in 1541.

There is also a probability that some parts of the northern section of the east coast of the United States were frequently, during this period, at least sighted, if not actually visited by the Spaniards, from the circumstance that their vessels and fleets so often followed the course of the Gulf-stream, and also that the Spanish Basques were then accustomed to resort yearly to the Banks of Newfoundland.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EXPEDITIONS UNDER RIBAUT AND LAUDONNIERE TO FLORIDA, AND THE SPANISH AND ENGLISH UNDERTAKINGS CONNECTED WITH THEM, IN 1562-1574.

1. THE TIME BETWEEN DE SOTO AND RIBAUT, INCLUDING THEVET'S DESCRIPTION OF MAINE.

THE French expeditions to North America, which commenced soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, were directed to the southern section of our east coast, the early discovery of which we have considered in a former chapter.

These voyages were in several ways connected with the great English expeditions subsequently undertaken to "Virginia" both "Southern" and "Northern." The French captains tried new oceanic routes to our east coast, which were afterwards followed by the English. Their pilots brought to "Virginia" Captain John Hawkins, one of the most famous of English navigators. Their writings and their charts upon the part of the east coast explored by them were carried to England, and spread information, and awakened a general excitement in regard to these countries. Thus the French captains, Ribault, Laudonnière and others, prepared the way for Gilbert, Raleigh, and Grenville, by whom the work of discovery was carried forward, both in the northern and southern sections of our east coast, until it was at length completed in its central portion of New England and New York, by the discoveries of Gosnold, of Pring, of Weymouth, of Hudson, and Smith. It will, therefore, be instruc-

tive to give a short account of these French explorers, who may justly be considered as the precursors of the later English adventurers, and to point out the facts in their history which had an influence on the subsequent expeditions of the English to Virginia; omitting, however, those specialties which belong exclusively to the history of the Southern States.

I will first briefly review the events which occurred between the expeditions of De Soto at the south (1540-1543), and of his contemporaries Cartier and Roberval at the north (1534-1543), and the French expeditions under Ribault and others in 1562. During these twenty years, we do not know that any official expeditions were made to the east coast. We do not hear of the arrival there of a single vessel. The Spaniards may have been deterred by the sad fate of De Soto and his companions; though one would suppose that the accounts of pearls and other riches of "Cotifachique," the region along the Savannah described in the reports on De Soto, would have attracted adventurers to the place. Some Spanish movements for a further exploration of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi were agitated; but Ayllon and De Soto had no successors on the east coast for many years. Nor do we know of any English expeditions having been undertaken to our east coast, or the West Indies, during that time.

But in 1562, all this was changed; and the French then commenced their expeditions to our east coast. This action aroused the Spaniards, as well as the English, to renewed adventures in these regions.

The sovereigns of France, however, were too much occupied by foreign wars and domestic troubles, to give attention to these remote undertakings. But private individuals, during the middle portion of the sixteenth century, stimulated by Catholic persecutions at home, became very active in pros-

cuting voyages to the new world, to establish Protestant colonies on American soil. Some of the French sea-ports became strong-holds of the Huguenots. Their most prominent supporter, Coligny, was high admiral of France. These Huguenots looked toward the new countries as the proper field in which to secure a retreat from persecution, and to found a new religious commonwealth. Probably many of the French "corsarios" following the track of the Portuguese and Spaniards to the West Indies and the coasts of Brazil, were Huguenots, and in cruising against the Catholic kings of Spain and Portugal, the French Huguenots would be less scrupulous than the Catholic subjects of France.

The first scheme for a Protestant colony in the new world was suggested by Admiral Coligny in 1554, and intended for the coast of Brazil, to which an expedition, under Durand de Villegagnon, was sent with ships and colonists. This expedition arrived at the Bay of Rio Janeiro in 1555, and founded there the first European settlement. It was followed the next year by another expedition. But the whole enterprise came to an end by divisions among the colonists, occasioned by the treacherous, despotic, and cruel proceedings of its commander, a reputed Catholic. The colony was finally subverted by the Portuguese, who, in 1560, sent out an armament against it, and took possession of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro.

This Brazilian scheme of the French Huguenots is made particularly interesting to us by the fact, that André Thevet, a celebrated French traveler and cosmographer, who was one of that company, was thereby induced to visit and describe our east coast, and particularly the coast of Maine.

After having entered the order of the Franciscans, and completed his studies, he commenced his career as a traveler by visiting Asia and the Holy Land; on his return from

which, in 1554, desiring to see the new world, he embarked in 1555 with Villegagnon. In 1556* he returned to France, and the vessel in which he took passage appears to have sailed along the entire east coast both of South and North America, as far north as the "Baccallaos." This appears from several passages in his two well-known works: "Les singularitéz de la France antarctique, autrement nommé Amérique" (the singularities of antarctic France, otherwise called America), and "La cosmographie universelle," which he wrote after his return, and after having become "Aumonier" of Catharine de Medici, and historiographer and cosmographer of the king of France.

Thevet says in these works, that in 1556 he sailed along the entire coast of Florida, then comprising the whole east coast of North America, and in the course of this voyage visited also the coast of Norumbega. In his "Cosmography," he gives the following highly interesting description of his visit to this region:

"Having left La Florida on the left hand, with all its islands, gulfs, and capes, a river presents itself, which is one of the finest rivers in the whole world (une des belles rivières qui soit en toute la terre), which we call 'Norumbegue,' and the aborigines 'Agoncy,' and which is marked on some marine charts as the Grand River (meaning Penobscot Bay). Several other beautiful rivers enter into it; and upon its banks the French formerly erected a little fort about ten or twelve leagues from its mouth, which was surrounded by fresh-water, and this place was named the Fort of Norumbegue.

"Some pilots would make me believe, that this country (Norumbegue) is the proper country of Canada. But I told them that this was far from the truth, since this country

* See upon this, Jocher, Gelehrten-Lexicon, vol. 4, p. 1130. Leipzig, 1751.

lies in 43° N., and that of Canada in 50 or 52° . Before you enter the said river appears an island (Fox Island) surrounded by eight very small islets, which are near the country of the green mountains (Camden Hills?), and to the Cape of the islets (Cabo de muchas islas?). From there you sail all along unto the mouth of the river, which is dangerous from the great number of thick and high rocks; and its entrance is wonderfully large. About three leagues into the river, an island presents itself to you, that may have four leagues in circumference (Long Island, now Islesboro'), inhabited only by some fishermen and birds of different sorts, which island they call 'Aiayascon,' because it has the form of a man's arm, which they call so. Its greatest length is from north to south. It would be very easy to plant on this island, and build a fortress on it to keep in check the whole surrounding country. Having landed and put our feet on the adjacent country, we perceived a great mass of people coming down upon us from all sides in such numbers, that you might have supposed them to have been a flight of starlings. Those which marched first, were the men which they call 'Aquehuns.' After them came the women, which they call 'Peragruastas,' then the 'Adegestas,' being the children, and the last were the girls, called 'Aniusgestas.' And all this people was clothed in skins of wild animals, which they call 'Rabatatz.' Now considering their aspect and manner of proceeding, we mistrusted them, and went on board our vessel. But they, perceiving our fear, lifted their hands into the air, making signs that we should not mistrust them; and for making us still more sure, they sent to our vessel some of their principal men, which brought us provisions. In recompense of this, we gave them a few trinkets of a low price, by which they were highly pleased. The next morning I, with some others, was commissioned to meet them, and to know

whether they would be inclined to assist us with more victuals, of which we were very much in need. But having entered into the house, which they call 'Canoque,' of a certain little king of theirs, which called himself 'Peramich,' we saw several killed animals hanging on the beams of the said house, which he had prepared (as he assured us) to send to us. This chief gave us a very hearty welcome, and to show us his affection, he ordered to kindle a fire, which they call 'Azista,' on which the meat was to be put and fish, to be roasted. Upon this some rogues came in to bring to the king the heads of six men, which they had taken in war and massacred, which terrified us, fearing that they might treat us in the same way. But toward evening we secretly retired to our ship without bidding good-by to our host. At this he was very much irritated, and came to us the next morning accompanied by three of his children, showing a mournful countenance, because he thought that we had been dissatisfied with him; and he said in his language: 'Cazigno, Cazigno Casnouy danga addagriu' (that is, let us go, let us go on land, my friend and brother); 'Coaquoeca Ame Couascon Kazaconny' (come to drink and to eat, what we have); 'Arca somioppach Quenchia dangua ysmay assomaka' (we assure you upon oath by heaven, earth, moon, and stars, that you shall fare not worse than our own persons).

"Seeing the good affection and will of this old man, some twenty of us went again on land, every one of us with his arms; and then we went to his lodgings, where we were treated, and presented with what he possessed. And meanwhile great numbers of people arrived, caressing us and offering themselves to give us pleasure, saying that they were our friends. Late in the evening, when we were willing to retire and to take leave of the company with actions of gratitude, they would not give us leave. Men, women,

children, all entreated us zealously to stay with them, crying out these words: 'Cazigno agnyda hoa' (my friends, do not start from here; you shall sleep this night with us). But they could not harangue so well as to persuade us to sleep with them. And so we retired to our vessel; and having remained in this place five full days, we weighed anchor, parting from them with a marvellous contentment of both sides, and went out to the open sea."

Though Thevet is not esteemed as a very reliable author, still I think this description of Penobscot Bay is the best we have had, except that given by Gomez on his chart of 1525, and copied on the map of Ribero in 1529. His description is very accurate, indicating a longer stay, and is altogether, with the Indian words contained in it, so remarkable, that I have given it in full.*

If Thevet is right in his statement, that his countrymen had, before his visit to Penobscot Bay in 1556, erected there a fort, this must have been the first settlement of Europeans ever made on the coast of Maine. It may have been a little French station for fishing, and for the fur trade.

Penobscot is the only portion of the whole east coast of America which Thevet has described in such detail. The other rivers, the capes, and islands of Maine and Nova Scotia, which he incidentally mentions, are not easily identified, and his observations on them are not of any value. He says that he sailed from Norumbega to Newfoundland, and even to Labrador; and thence he appears to have returned to France by way of the Azores.

* See André Thevet, "La cosmographie universelle," tom. 2, fol. 1008, 1009, Paris, 1575; also, "Les Singularitez de la France antaretique," fols. 143, 145, 158, 161, Anvers, 1558. The description of the "River of Norumbega," as given by Thevet, has been copied in many geographical works; for instance, in Wytfliet, "Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum," p. 97, Lovanii, 1597.

Thevet, several times in his works, mentions the French pilot Guillaume le Testa as a mariner "with whom he often sailed," and it is not improbable that he commanded the ship which took Thevet, in 1556, along the coast of Florida to Norumbega, and that the whole credit of this voyage should be given to him. He is also known as the composer of a *Portulano*, preserved in the collections of the Depot de la marine in Paris.*

Thevet's description of Penobscot Bay, and his remarks on the coast of Maine are the last, so far as I know, contained in any work before the year 1578, the beginning of a new period.

For a long time after Thevet, the authors who have described the northern parts of the east coast of the United States, mention nothing except the "Rio de las Gamas," or "the great river of Norumbega." The celebrated Spanish historian Herrera, in his description of the West Indies, first published in Madrid in 1601, after having described the coast of Florida as high north as St. Helena Sound in 32° has the following: "Beyond St. Helena, there are as yet no other settlements; though the coast has been discovered and sailed along by several nations at different times. There are many rivers and harbors on the coast; but because they are not very well known, I will not mention them, except the Rio de las Gamas, otherwise called the great river of Sta. Maria, which is very great and winding, and stands about in the middle of the coast, toward the Bacallaos, from whence the great river of Ochelaga (St. Lawrence), enters the country, which has been repeatedly explored by foreigners."†

* See Major, "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," p. 30. London, 1859.

† See Herrera, "Descripcion de la India Occidental," p. 20. Madrid, 1601.

2. FIRST EXPLORING EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN JEAN RIBAULT
FROM HAVRE DE GRACE TO THE EAST COAST OF FLOR-
IDA, GEORGIA, AND SOUTH CAROLINA, IN 1562.

After the unfortunate end of the French enterprise to South America, Admiral Coligny, who may be styled the Raleigh of France,* turned his attention to the eastern shores of North America; the whole of which had become known in France from the voyage of Verrazano, and the French expeditions to Canada and the Banks of Newfoundland. It is very probable, that Coligny had studied the expedition of Verrazano made under Francis I. in 1524, and that his North American undertaking may, in some respects, be considered as a continuation of that voyage. Coligny must also be supposed to have been acquainted with the Spanish expeditions to the east coast under Ayllon; for the expeditions both of Verrazano and Ayllon are several times alluded to in Ribault's reports, which also contain Spanish names introduced by Ayllon.

None of the reports of the officers commanding this expedition, or the subsequent French expeditions, make any allusion to the establishment of an asylum for French Protestants, which was the principal object of Coligny in these undertakings. They only say, that Coligny was "desirous of discovering and exploring new countries, and advancing the power and glory of France."

The project could be successful only under some pretext like this; for Charles IX. would, undoubtedly, have refused his assent and his ships for an expedition, expressly undertaken to relieve the Protestants, and lay the foundation of a

*The first account, printed in French, of the expeditions set forth by Coligny was, after his death, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. [See Jones's Introduction to Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. xix. London, 1850.—ED.]

Protestant colony or empire. The supposition, that the king would readily have given his consent, because he would have been glad to be rid of them, seems not to be admissible. The Catholic party desired to destroy the Huguenots, and to leave no escape for them. The Brazilian adventure received the approbation of Henry II, only because Coligny demonstrated to him, that it would be advantageous to France "to divide the riches of Brazil with the king of Portugal."

However this may be, there is no doubt that the first expedition sent to our shores by Coligny, under the command of Captain Jean Ribault, was intended to be a mere exploring expedition, preliminary to a subsequent settlement. The whole outfit of the expedition proves this; consisting, as it did, only of two small vessels (*deux roberges du Roi*), "of such make and burden," says Ribault, "as those which Verazano had."* We hear nothing of the embarking of women, or of implements necessary for a colony.

The particular instructions which Coligny framed for this expedition are not preserved. Ribault probably alludes to them in the beginning of his account, where he says, that he was "chosen and appointed by Coligny to discover and survey a certain long coast of the West India from the head of the lande, called Laflorida, *drawing toward the northe part unto the head of Britons* (Cape Breton), distant from the saide head of Laflorida 900 leagues or there about: to the ende wee might certifie to the Admiral, and make true report of the temperature, fertilitie, Portes, Havens, Rivers and generally of all the commodities, that bee seene and found in that lande," so "That Fraunce might one day through newe discoveries have knowledge of strange Coun-

* See Ribault's report in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, p. 92. London, 1850.

tries, and also thereof to receive, by means of continuall trafficke, riche and inestimable commodities," etc.*

From this it is quite evident that the plan was, to make an exploration of *the entire extent of our east coast*, and that the account of Verrazano's voyage was present to the minds of those who designed this expedition.

What further outfit and apparatus for exploration, what instruments, what charts or books were provided for the expedition, we are not informed; but we learn, that among the crew were some pilots and sailors "who had been on the coast before." † We are left to conjecture, whether these persons were perhaps boys in Verrazano's expedition, now become old sailors; or Spanish pilots, engaged for this undertaking; or some of the crew of Cartier or Roberval, or of some unknown French adventurers. The latter supposition is the most probable.

What claim Jean Ribault had, from any past services in this direction or elsewhere, to be appointed to command this expedition, we do not know. His principal companion was René de Laudonnière, who is called by some his second in command, of whose merits and claims for the position we are also ignorant.

Ribault sailed from Havre de Grace on the 18th of February, 1562. Like Verrazano, he was, at the outset, assailed by a furious tempest, and obliged to seek shelter to refit his vessels in another harbor of France; and "thought it good to fall into the road of Brest," when, "after two days' tarrying, he returned from there again to seawarde, to follow his navigation."

He was determined to pursue an altogether "*new route or course which had not been yet attempted.*" Previous to that

* Ribault, l. c. p. 91.

† Ribault, l. c. p. 114.

time mariners, sailing to any part of the coast south of Canada, had thought it necessary to follow a southern course as far as the Canary Islands, or Madeira, when they would fall in with the trade-winds; then to touch at the Antilles and Lucayos, to obtain fresh supplies; exactly as had been done by the Spaniards ever since the time of Columbus.*

This route, which might be called the Spanish route, had been followed by Verrazano, at least as far as Madeira.

Without going so far south, Ribault struck out from France at once into the broad Western Ocean "*on a more directly western course;*" which is, as he says, "the true and short course that hereafter must be kept to the honor of the French nation, rejecting the old conserved opinion which a long time has been holden as true." †

He intended to introduce "a national French high road" in a more northern latitude; and, as we learn from his book, places a high value on this "new invention," speaking in high terms of it, no doubt with much truth; for it is very probable, that he passed through some regions of the ocean which had not been navigated before from east to west. We cannot designate his track exactly, as he gives us no particulars about the courses and bearings which he followed. Probably he went north of the Azores and Bermudas; and then by degrees turned further south, and struck our coast not far north of Lucayos (the Bahamas).

His track most resembles that of Verrazano; but at first, he sailed in a more northern, and at last in a more southern latitude than Verrazano, whose track he crossed in about the latitude of the Bermudas. Verrazano's land-fall was in 34° N.; Ribault's in about 30° N.

The similarity between the *tracks of Ribault and Verra-*

* Ribault, l. c. p. 95.

† Ibid.

zamo proves, that the voyage of the former was planned after the model of the latter. Like Verrazano, he crossed the ocean north of the trade-winds; and, like him, made his land-fall on our coast a little north of the peninsula of Florida; and thence, like him, he sailed along our coast to the north-east.

I have been somewhat particular about Ribault's "new route," because he was afterwards followed on this course by an English navigator. In the year 1602, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, sailing from England to Norumbega, intended, like Ribault, "to make a short cut;" and, carrying out this intention, he made the coast of Maine by a more direct and much shorter route than had before been practised, as will be seen hereafter. Ribault's course has this particular interest for us, that it prepared the way for Gosnold and other adventurers to the "north part of Virginia."

Ribault arrived on our coast at a head-land in the neighborhood of the present harbor of St. Augustine, which he named "Cape Francois" (French Cape). From this point he sailed north, looking for a harbor. He discovered the mouth of a fine-looking river, to which he gave the name "La riviere de May," because he saw it on the first of the month of May (now St. Mary's River). He lay there at anchor from the 1st to the 3d of May, making meanwhile frequent excursions in his boats on the river, which he found closed by a bar of sand, and inaccessible to large vessels.

The aspect of the country appeared to him enchanting, its climate and temperature delightful, the river "boiling with swarming fishes," the inhabitants extremely peaceful and of the most friendly disposition; and, in short, he expresses himself with great joy and satisfaction at everything he saw. His account reminds us of the first enthusiastic report of Columbus on his landing in the Antilles; nor were his delusions less than those of Columbus.

He thought that he found in the forests and shrubs on the banks of the river the Indian pepperplant, roots like rhubarb, different sorts of small spices, and silk-worms "bigger than those in Europe." Among the Indians, he found signs of copper, gold, silver, and pearls "as faire as in any country in the world." He saw an Indian "who had a pearle hanging at a collar of golde and silver about his necke, as great as an acorne, at the least." And upon the whole, the country was so enchanting "as no pen could describe it." *

These exaggerated descriptions of Ribault, so similar to those of former discoverers, were not without influence upon the subsequent history of our coast. Having been translated into English, and published in England, with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, and generally read there, and having been followed in the same style by several English writers, they exerted an important influence in preparing the way for subsequent English undertakings to the same or neighboring regions.

One of the first inquiries which Ribault made of the Indians, was for "the country of Cibola," or "the Seven Cities," which the first Spanish expeditions from Mexico to the North, under Marco de Niça and Coronado, had again made to be objects of interest. Ribault thought that this Eldorado might be reached from the Atlantic, as well as the Pacific. † He understood from the Indians of his May River, that there was only a boat's voyage of twenty days to this south-sea land. The Indians probably spoke of the Mexican Gulf, which Ribault understood to be the South Sea. He was disappointed in not being able to undertake this expedition at once; but he had not found a safe harbor where he could moor his vessels, and therefore resolved to look for one north of May River.

* See Ribault's description, l. c. p. 100-107.

† Ribault, l. c. pp. 102, 103.

Before sailing, he erected on a pleasant hill south of May River, a stone pillar, with the arms of the king of France engraved thereon, as a sign that there "the limits of his majesty were to commence, and that there should be the end of the Spanish dominion in America."

On the 3d of May he sailed to the north; his fear of encroaching upon the Spanish claim prevented him from advancing further south; and besides, Verrazano, from his land-fall, had proceeded north; and in the north, were also the countries discovered by the French under Cartier and Roberval.

Coasting along, he saw the numerous inlets and sounds of our present States of Georgia and South Carolina, and gave to them French names, which I need not stop to identify. The soundings of none of them were deep enough for his vessels. At last, in about $32^{\circ} 30'$ N. he found an excellent broad and deep harbor, which he named "Port Royal," which probably is the present Broad River, or Port Royal entrance. Ribault thought it to be the old "Rio Jordan," discovered and named by the Spaniard Ayllon. He found this port and the surrounding country so advantageous and of such "singular beauty," that he resolved to leave here a part of his men in a small fort. Though he had been commissioned for exploring only, yet he thought that Admiral Coligny would not insist on this instruction. A pillar with the arms of France was therefore erected, and a fort constructed, furnished with cannon, ammunition, and provisions, and named "Charlesfort." Thirty volunteers were placed in it, and it became the second European settlement ever attempted upon the east coast of the United States. Its position was probably not far from the site of the present town of Beaufort, on Port Royal River.

Having accomplished this, and made a certain captain,

Albert de la Pieria, "a soldier of great experience," commander of Charlesfort, he took leave of his countrymen, and left Port Royal on the 11th day of June, sailing north "with the intention to explore the east coast of New France" (North America) as far as the fortieth degree of north latitude.*

Ribault gives no reason for limiting himself to this latitude, or why he did not proceed further north, according to his instructions. But we can scarcely doubt, that in this he was governed by the example of Verrazano, who had found at New York a most beautiful harbor, from which he had been suddenly driven in a squall, to his no small regret. He had, in nearly the same latitude, remained a fortnight in the admirable harbor of our present Newport, of which he had spoken in high terms of praise in his letter to Francis I.

Ribault, as well as Coligny, was without doubt, as I have said, acquainted with Verrazano's voyage and report; and had therefore in view these localities in sailing north, although he did not advance far in this direction.

He soon found himself in shallow water, and the weather appears to have been cloudy and threatening.† One morning he assembled all his officers and men, and in a general consultation laid before them the reasons for a quick and direct return to France. The principal were the following: the want of provisions, a portion of which they had left with their colonists; the crew had also been weakened by the same cause, and were not sufficient to man the boats properly,‡ the two vessels not being able to spare thirty such men as were left in the fort; and it was also said, that it would be useful to carry to Admiral Coligny the news of what had been done, as soon as possible, so that proper measures might be speedily taken for sending relief and reinforcements to the

* Ribault, l. c. p. 114.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

colony. It was urged, in addition, by some who had before been in the north, that the weather would grow worse, and dangers increase, if they should proceed further; and that vessels, designed for exploring in that quarter, should be better provided with cables and other equipments.*

Ribault and his officers therefore concluded to leave the coast, give up their further progress to the north-east, and "to take their way toward the east, which was the true route and course for France;" † which they consequently did.

The place of that consultation, and the termination of Ribault's north-eastern progress along our coast, were probably the shoals off Cape S. Romain; for that is the only place where, in this latitude, at a distance of five leagues from shore, such low soundings are found as are described in Ribault's report.

It seems clear from the reasons given in the general consultation above spoken of, that the suspension of a further survey of the north-east coast as far as Cape Breton, or at least to 40° N., was owing to the establishment of the fort and colony at Port Royal, which was contrary to Ribault's commission. By this accidental, hasty, and unfortunate colonization, to which he had been induced by his enthusiasm for those southern regions, he had so diminished his crew, his supplies, and equipment, that he was unable to proceed further. Anxiety and care for the small colony he had left on a wild coast pressed upon him, so that he felt obliged to neglect his instructions for exploration, and hasten to France to procure relief for his colonists.

It was, I think, a great mistake in Ribault to plant a colony from an armament not fitted out for such a purpose, but only

* Ribault, l. c. p. 114.

† Laudonnière's report in the work, "L'histoire notable de la Florida," p. 21. Paris, 1586.

for a preliminary exploring voyage. He ought steadily and promptly to have surveyed the whole east coast, as was intended at the outset, and to have brought home to Coligny exact reports of all its harbors and ports, as he was ordered to do. Coligny could then have selected the most favorable locality for his future colony, and have fitted out an expedition better adapted for a permanent settlement.

It was a mistake in Ribault to have colonized at all; and a still greater, that he planted where he did. He built his nest too near the colonies of the Spaniards, who were of course jealous of such a proceeding, and consequently soon attacked the fort and overwhelmed the colony. It is probable that he was influenced in this selection of a site by the general impression, that gold, spices, and other rich commodities were found only at the south, and that the north was cold, poor, and barren.

Verrazano had clearly enough designated the place where the French, under Ribault, ought to have colonized. They should have gone to New York or Narraganset Bay, which had been declared by Verrazano to offer the best harbors on the whole east coast. There they would have been at a good distance from territory claimed by Spain, and quite near to the regions of Newfoundland, where the French shipping and fishing interests were so great, and to Canada, of which the French had long before taken possession, and where nobody would contest their priority.

It is inconceivable, that the leading men could have considered attentively the report of Verrazano, which had long been printed in Ramusio, and not have been led by it to perceive, that Newport and New York harbors were the most favorable points for the establishment of French colonies, and superior to any others on the coast. If Coligny had taken the trouble, while studying Verrazano's report more closely,

to examine his description of the coast, he probably would have corrected Ribault's mistake, and have sent an expedition to remove his misplaced colonists in the south, and have ordered them to be conducted to the north. There the French Protestants would really have found a safe asylum, free from annoyance by Spain, and might have had a permanent and prosperous settlement; so that we might now have a New York with a French, instead of a Dutch substratum. The history of New England might also have been affected and changed by such a proceeding. *

Ribault, without doubt, was a brave soldier and an excellent man, although perhaps too enthusiastic and impulsive; but we cannot say much for his cosmographical and nautical information and intelligence. If he had known something of great circle-sailing, or, as old Sebastian Cabot expressed it, "of the reasons of the sphere," he would not have said, as he did, "that the true route from the coasts of South Carolina to northern France lay to the east." If he had measured his return-route on the globe, and not on a plane chart, he would have known, that his true and shortest course lay along the same shores which he was commissioned to explore, as far as Cape Breton and Newfoundland. On his homeward voyage, he might have sailed on this route, not far from our coast, and while returning toward France have made valuable discoveries by the way.

We do not exactly know on what track he returned, as he is very brief on this point; probably it was north of the Azores. According to the testimony of Laudonnière,* he arrived in France on the 20th of July, which would be a quick voyage of only five weeks from Port Royal to Havre de Grace, if, as is reported, he left on the 11th of June.

* Laudonnière, l. c. p. 21.

3. THE FATE OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENT AT PORT ROYAL, 1562-1563.

On his arrival in France, Ribault found the country in a state of great commotion. The civil war between the Huguenots and the Catholics was raging, and neither the king nor the admiral had time to listen to Ribault's solicitations, to send relief to the settlers left in "French Florida."

Those colonists remained, therefore, during the remainder of 1562 and the following winter, without assistance from France; and after many trials and sufferings, they were at last forced, in 1563, to abandon their settlement and the new country. The particulars of their operations and movements during this time, belong to the special history of Carolina, and must be omitted here. But as the fate of the colonists, and their homeward voyage, are not without interest for our particular object, I will briefly relate them; pointing out those circumstances and events which exerted an influence on the further development of American discovery.*

In the midst of their sufferings from hunger and destitution, discontent and discord sprang up among the colonists. Their captain, Albert, was unable to quell the mutinous spirit of which he became the victim, being murdered by his revolted soldiers. In his place a man by the name of Barré was elected as chief, and under his command it was concluded to construct a small vessel to carry the colonists back to France, if no supplies should in the mean time come to their relief.

Under many difficulties, and with the assistance of friendly

* The principal source of information for the history of this French colony is Laudonnière's account in "L'Histoire Notable," etc., fols. 21-32, Paris, 1586, who appears to have derived his information from some of the surviving colonists.

Indians, who furnished them with wood, ropes, and provisions, they finished their vessel; and no relief having come from France, they put to sea. A most favorable wind accompanied them for a good while; but when they had made about a third of their passage, they were met by calms, and were able in three weeks to proceed only twenty-five leagues. For want of water and provisions they fell into great distress, and at last came to the most horrid extremities, so that they sacrificed one of their company in order to sustain the rest.

In this extremity, however, after having worked their way along for a considerable distance, they had the good fortune to discover land. Soon after an English bark appeared, and "gave them meat and drink;" and "having put on land those that were most feeble," carried the rest to England.*

This English vessel is said to have had on board a French sailor, "who the year before had returned from Florida with Ribault."† This incident, thus particularly mentioned, may show, that even then the English were making some preparation for a meditated expedition to some part of the south-east coast.‡ This English vessel, guided by a Frenchman from Florida, may have been one of the English pioneers to those regions. Other French Protestant sailors, who, during the civil wars could find no employment in their own country, may have gone over to England, and entered the English service.

The French sailors picked up by this English vessel, on

* Laudonnière, l. c. fols. 31. 1, 32. 1.

† Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 31. 2.

‡ [It is expressly mentioned by Laudonnière, in connection with this incident, that the English queen "purposed at that time to send into Florida;" and Hakluyt adds in the margin, "It seemeth he meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely." See Hakluyt's *Voyages and Navigations*, vol. 3, p. 319, ed. 1600.—Ed.]

arriving in England, probably in the autumn of 1563, were presented to Queen Elizabeth. The fate of this French colony in Florida having thus become known in England, sooner probably than in France, and the narrative of it having been published in English, sooner than in French,* must have led the British queen to turn her thoughts thus early toward the coasts, which soon after, in her honor, were named Virginia; and have bespoken the interest of the English Government and people for those enterprises, by which the English race was first transferred to American soil.

4. SECOND EXPEDITION OF THE FRENCH TO FLORIDA, UNDER CAPTAIN RENE DE LAUDONNIERE, IN 1564.

When Ribault returned home in July 1562, a most furious civil and religious war was raging in France, and neither Coligny nor the king remembered the colony in America. But at the close of 1563, peace was concluded among the contending parties, and Coligny reminded the king of the poor companions of Ribault left among savages on a wild coast, and laid before him a plan for another expedition for their relief.

The king gave permission to the admiral to carry relief to his brethren and countrymen; and thereupon three vessels were fitted out, the command of which was given to Captain René Laudonnière, "a man of much nautical experience," and one of Ribault's officers on the first expedition.

We are not told why Ribault was not again made the commander; perhaps his proceedings in those points to which I have alluded were not approved. Nor do we know the par-

* [See Hakluyt, *Epistle Dedicatorie*, in his "Divers Voyages," p. 17, London edition, 1850. Also, Oldys' *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 80, Oxford, 1829. Also, Parkman's "Pioneers of France," p. 32.—ED.]

ticulars of this new expedition in regard to its outfit, or the instructions given to Laudonnière. He himself only says, that he was sent out "pour aller chercher et secourir les gens de Ribault" (to look for Ribault's men, and succor them).*

It is observable, that Jacques Le Moyne, † a special "painter" and "mathematician," was one of the officers of the vessels. Coligny commissioned him "to make an accurate description and map of the country, and drawings of all curious objects." It is rare to see officers of this kind appointed for exploring expeditions in the sixteenth century. Le Moyne made the map and drawings required of him, and wrote also a short report of the expedition; but for some time after his return, he kept them to himself. Probably not finding much favor with his king, he afterwards went to England, where he died. After his death, Theodore de Bry bought the manuscripts of his widow in 1587, and procured a Latin translation of the report, which he published, with engravings of the maps and drawings, in his work: "Brevis narratio eorum, quæ in Florida . . . acciderunt, etc." (a short narrative of what happened in Florida, ‡ etc).

Le Moyne, in his report, gives us some hints about the character and destination of the expedition. He says that the king gave to Laudonnière one hundred thousand francs for the outfit, and made him his "*locum tenens* in the new country," and that the Admiral Coligny directed him to engage for the expedition as many mechanics and artisans as possible.§

From the greater number of ships, and the more ample equipment, we may conclude that this expedition was intended, not only to provide relief for the remnant of the first colony, but to establish a colony on a larger scale.

* Laudonnière, l. e. fol. 33. 1.

† [Called James Morgues by Hakluyt, 3, p. 301, ed. 1600.—ED.]

‡ See De Bry, "Secunda pars Americae."

§ See Le Moyne, in De Bry, p. 6.

The party was joined by several young noblemen of the best families of France, who equipped themselves at their own expense, and "who were desirous to see and explore new regions." Some veteran soldiers were added, and "two of the most celebrated French mariners of the age, the brothers Michael and Thomas Le Vasseur, were engaged as pilots; so that I can firmly assert," says Le Moyne, "that in this expedition went out many men well versed and distinguished in all the arts."

The ships sailed from Havre on the 22d of April, 1564, and proceeded not on Ribault's new "French route," but on the old Spanish track, used from the time of Columbus, southwards to the Canaries, and thence with the trade-winds to the Lesser Antilles. At St. Domingo they took in water, and thence proceeded along the Lucayan Islands to Florida, or what they called "Nouvelle France," and more particularly "La Floride Française," at which they arrived on the 22d of June, two months after their departure. The land-fall was made in 30° N., and north of "Cape François," not far from the mouth of Ribault's River May, the present St. Mary's River.

Laudonnière entered the mouth of the river in his boats, discovered many delightful spots, numerous cultivated fields, a large population, and altogether such a cheerful-looking country, that he exclaims, "the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be inforced to change their humor."

Taking into consideration that "Port Royal," though a most excellent harbor, did not offer rich supplies, and was poor in provisions, as had been proved by the Frenchmen who had suffered there the year before;* and considering

*Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 43. 2. From this passage it is quite clear, that Laudonnière had been informed in France of the return of Ribault's men to England.

further, that for the present it was more desirable to secure for his colony a fertile and agreeable place with only a tolerable harbor, than to have the best harbor with a poor country; he resolved to establish his intended colony at the mouth of the River May.

On the southern side of the river, the same side where the king's pillar had formerly been erected by Ribault, a few leagues from the mouth, Laudonnière built a fort, called, in honor of Charles IX, "La Caroline," and erected around it various structures for lodgings and storage.

Having gained in this manner a firm foot-hold, he despatched one of his vessels, "the Isabeau," to France, to carry home the news of his arrival, and his plan of settlement in the new world, and to ask for succor. He then made explorations into the interior, as well as along the "River May" and the neighboring "Rivière des Dauphins," the present St. John's River.

It must be remembered, that on Ribault's first voyage, the French had understood from the Indians, that "Cevola," the famous country of the Seven Cities, and "the other sea," which they took to be the South Sea, were distant only a boat's voyage of twenty days. Laudonnière had seen among them a large piece of silver, which he thought must have come from silver mines in the interior; though it was probably Mexican silver cast upon the Florida Keys in the numerous shipwrecks already happening in that region. The St. John, being deep and broad at its mouth, was supposed by Laudonnière to be a great river, from which the most important results might be expected.

He ordered his carpenter, Jean des Hayes of Dieppe, to construct two barks, each forty feet in length, and fit for river navigation;* and employed his officers during the whole

* Le Moyne, l. c. p. 9.

summer, in a series of excursions up the river nearly to its source. In a geographical history of the interior of Florida, these French boat-excursions should be fully considered ; but we will only state here, that on these occasions a great part of the States of Florida and Georgia were explored and described.

On one of these excursions, some Indians were found in the west, who reported wonderful things of the "Montagnes de Palassi" (Appalachian Mountains). They said, that at the foot of these mountains was a spring "which carried with it silver and copper." They gave to the French a piece of this copper, which afterwards proved to be pure gold.*

Laudonnière had intended, when succor should arrive from France, to transplant his colony to some place nearer to those mountains, on the borders of a river which had its course from the north, and which Le Moyne laid down on his map in large and conspicuous figures, as a fountain of silver and gold, springing out of the "Palassi Mountains," to which was added a long and interesting inscription. Both the fountain and inscription were copied in several subsequent maps, and had no little influence on the subsequent English expeditions to these regions. Whether the French took the name, "Palassi," or "Apalatsi," from De Soto's "Apalache," or learned it in the country itself, we are not informed.†

Nothing, however, of this coveted wealth fell to the lot of Laudonnière's men ; but instead of it want and hunger were soon felt ; and discontent, discord, and mutiny began to prevail in their camp. Many of them were dissatisfied with the manner in which Laudonnière conducted the affairs of the colony ; some even conspired against him, and proposed to

* It was at a later date tried by the gold assayers of Ribault.

† Laudonnière, l. c. fol 76. 1.

elect another captain, who would give them less work, and procure for them gold and silver in greater abundance.

On the 4th of November, another French vessel, commanded by Captain Bourdet, arrived off the River May.* It was one of those numerous French privateers which probably had often visited those regions, but without leaving any report of their adventures and discoveries along the east coast. Laudonnière delivered to Bourdet some seven or eight of his most turbulent and mutinous men to carry to France, and took in exchange for them as many of Bourdet's crew. But those he received were even worse than those he gave; for Bourdet's men were probably accustomed to fill their pockets in an easier way than it was possible to do in a regular plantation; they therefore persuaded some of Laudonnière's soldiers, to take possession of the ships of the colony, and to give chase to richly laden Spanish vessels. This proposition was at once adopted and carried into effect by a seditious party: and Laudonnière was obliged to transfer to the mutineers some of his best and most faithful pilots.

These French rebels had many interesting adventures in the Spanish seas, where they did much mischief, capturing and destroying Spanish vessels, and exciting the anger of the Spaniards, who now had good reason to consider this French colony as a nest of pirates, and treated them accordingly. Some of these French mutineers were captured by the Spaniards, who used one of them as a guide to show where the French colony was situated.† One of the French piratic vessels returned to the River May in March 1565, after many adventures, the well-disposed portion of the crew having overpowered the mutineers; and Laudonnière, after having condemned and shot the ringleaders, received the rest back into his service.

* Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 61. 2 seq.

† Laudonnière, l. c. fols. 62. 2-68.

Hoping that before the end of April 1565, they would receive relief and succor from France, Laudonnière for some time freely used the provisions which they had mostly gathered on foraging excursions from the Indians. But when the month of May approached, and no succor appeared, they fell into extreme want and misery, and decided to return to France. For this purpose they built and put in readiness two little brigantines, commenced the destruction of their fort, taking its useful contents on board their vessels. They were just on the eve of putting to sea, when, on the 3d of August, four sails were descried coming to anchor off the river. They were soon ascertained to be English vessels, commanded by Master John Hawkins, then returning from his second great expedition to the Spanish West Indies.

This voyage of Hawkins, as the first English expedition to these parts of the American east coast which has come to our knowledge, and as the immediate precursor of other English undertakings to the same regions, forms an important link in the chain of maritime explorations by which this coast has been made known to the world; and must be exhibited somewhat more circumstantially. I will therefore leave Laudonnière and his colony for a while, and proceed to tell the story of Hawkins.

5. VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN JOHN HAWKINS ALONG THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, FROM FLORIDA TO NEWFOUNDLAND, IN 1565.

Captain John Hawkins* may, with strict justice, be called the English discoverer of the West Indies. Though Englishmen had been there before him, he was the first to con-

* After having finished his most famous voyages, Hawkins was made a knight, and is usually called *Sir* John Hawkins.

duct an English fleet through the waters of the West India Islands; and this he did repeatedly, and every time on a larger scale. Having been attended in all his expeditions by several ships requiring large crews, he brought those regions to the knowledge of many English mariners, and may be said to have founded a school of English West India navigation. He gave an impulse to many subsequent English voyages to America, and particularly to the adventures directed to that part of the east coast afterwards named Virginia.

This branch of English navigation originated in much the same way, as the western adventures of the Spaniards. In both cases the first step was, to gain knowledge of the islands lying west of Africa. "Master John Hawkins," like Columbus, "having made divers voyages to the *isles of Canaries*, and there having grown in favor and love with the people, informed himself amongst them by diligent inquisition of the state of the West India."

In his first important enterprise, in the year 1562, he went beyond the Canaries, traversed the ocean, and skirted along the north-eastern coast of the small and large Antilles, and returned to Europe "by way of the sea of the Azores." His track closely resembled that of Columbus on his first voyage.

On his second voyage, in 1564-65, he extended his field of operations and entered, as did Columbus, the interior waters of Central America, the *Caribbean Sea*, and also touched the south-eastern end of the Gulf of Mexico.

On his third voyage, in 1567-68, he followed the track of the Spanish expeditions under Cortes, and swept nearly the whole Gulf of Mexico, and opened to his countrymen a knowledge of this gulf.

His first and third voyages have but little interest for us. The first came no nearer to New England than the Lucayan

Islands. The third was nearly a repetition of the second; and that part of it which was confined to the Gulf of Mexico belongs to the special history of that locality.

But the second voyage* is of greater importance for our object; and that part of it which is intimately connected with, and describes, the expedition of Laudonnière, finds an appropriate place immediately after our account of that expedition.

Hawkins' second voyage, like the first, was principally a commercial enterprise, and one of the worst kind; for his "merchandise" was slaves, taken "by his sword" on the coasts of Africa, and carried for sale from one West Indian market to another. It became a voyage of discovery only incidentally, because he penetrated with his cargo to regions, which neither he nor his countrymen had ever seen before.

He was provided with four well-furnished ships, equipped for the most part by a company of "adventurers" in London, "his worshipful friends, who liked so well his intention, that they became liberal contributors in the action." His ships were "the Jesus of Lubec," of seven hundred tons, the "Solomon," the "Tiger," and the "Swallow;" the last three of small burden.

How his crew was composed, we do not exactly know. We are informed, however, of the interesting fact, that he had on board a number of French pilots and seamen.†

*The principal and most authentic source of information on this voyage is found in the third volume of Hakluyt's great work. The report there printed was written by a man who calls himself "John Sparke the younger," who accompanied Hawkins; but we do not know in what capacity. He was an eye-witness of what he relates. His account is written in a very rough and unpolished manner, if compared with the full, conscientious, and spirited accounts of Ribault and Laudonnière. Yet it is a valuable document, because it supplies the first knowledge which the English acquired of Florida. I quote the account after the edition of Hakluyt, London, 1810.

† Sparke, in Hakluyt, l. c. p. 597.

Among them was one "Martin Atinas of Dieppe," who had been to our east coast with Ribault in 1562, and may have been one of the French colonists of Florida, presented to the Queen of England.* In the course of his voyage, Hawkins had occasion to take another French sailor on board, likewise of Dieppe, who had come from the coasts of Brazil, and whom he found on the coast of Africa.†

It may be observed, that if Hawkins could not get Spanish and Portuguese sailors and pilots, the best for him after these, no doubt, were the French. Hawkins met French ships and navigators at nearly every station of his long voyage, namely, on the coast of Africa, on the track to Brazil, among the smaller Antilles,‡ in Florida, and on the Banks of Newfoundland.§

Hawkins sailed from Plymouth on the 18th of October, 1564. His disgraceful and cruel proceedings on the coast of Africa, where he took "the inhabitants with burning and spoiling their towns," and his not less barbarous proceedings in the Spanish American waters, where, with "faulcons and arquebuses in hand," he forced the defenceless Spanish colonists to take his negroes at prices fixed by him,—all this we will pass over hastily, and follow him somewhat more closely, when, after having finished his nefarious traffic, he approached our shores, and displayed the more attractive features of his not ungenerous nature.

The fact that his voyage through the Caribbean Sea and along the south side of the large Antilles was, for the English, a real voyage of discovery, may be observed at nearly every step of his progress.

* Laudonnière, *Histoire Notable*, l. c. fols. 94. 2, and 95. 1.

† Sparke, in Hakluyt, l. c. p. 597.

‡ Hakluyt, l. c. p. 605.

§ Hakluyt, l. c. p. 618.

Intending to go to S. Domingo, he found an island "which looked very much like Jamaica." In sailing along its coasts, he discussed with his officers the question, whether it might be Jamaica or S. Domingo. Hawkins himself thought the latter; but after searching to the south-west for Jamaica and not finding it, he perceived his error in mistaking it for S. Domingo.

After doubling Cape S. Antonio, he was driven by easterly winds into the Gulf of Mexico as high as 27° N., thence falling back toward the south, and coming round the Tortugas into the Strait of Florida, he intended to make Havana. But after cruising about in the strait for some time without finding it, he perceived that he had overshot it by twenty leagues. Not willing to return against the Gulf-stream, and afraid of the Bahama Banks, he directed his course northward, and fell in "with the islands upon the Cape of Florida." In doubling this cape, he suffered as much perplexity and danger "from currents and counter-currents unknown to him," as Ponce de Leon had done when he made his first appearance in these waters in 1513.*

This was very natural for an English captain at that time; and I repeat, therefore, that Hawkins' expedition was an *English voyage of discovery*. In his wanderings his supply of water was exhausted; and entering the Gulf-stream between Florida and the Bahama Banks, he was thereby reduced to great extremity. In the hope of obtaining a fresh supply, he approached and sailed along the east coast of Florida.

"All the four ships kept together on their way along the coast of Florida; and from 26° to $30^{\circ} 30'$ N., they ranged along the coast, anchoring every night, because they would not overshoot any place of fresh-water; and in the daytime Captain Hawkins, in the ship's pinnace, sailed along the

* See Hakluyt, l. c. pp. 609-612.

shore, went into every creeke, speaking with divers of the Floridians.* He found it to be all low land and very scant of fresh-water, but marvellously sweet, with both marish and meadow ground, and goodly woods among. He found sorell to grow as abundantly as grass, a great store of maize and mill, and grapes of great bigness. Also deer in plenty, which came upon the sands before him.”

At last, toward the end of July, he arrived off the River May, which was pointed out to him by his French pilot, Martin Atinas. Using this Frenchman as interpreter, he entered the river in his boats, and had an interview with Laudonnière, who, in his distress, was just then prepared to abandon the country. Hawkins obtained here an abundant supply of fresh-water, and at the same time made to Laudonnière several generous propositions for his relief. It was finally agreed, that Laudonnière should take one of Hawkins' ships at a moderate price; and this, with one of his own, was thought sufficient to transport his colonists to France; and besides this assistance, the colony was also supplied with such clothing and provisions as they most needed; and may be said to have been fitted out anew by the generosity of the English captain.

In exchange for this bounty, the English obtained such information regarding this unknown country, as had been gathered by the French, and was more valuable to them, than all the supplies they had furnished the colonists. This information, carried home by Hawkins and the men of his company, was soon spread through England. It was subsequently committed to writing by “John Sparke, the younger,” and published by Hakluyt in his *Collection of Voyages*, and was, no doubt, a means of increasing the interest of the

* See Hakluyt, l. c. p. 612.

English people in the discovery and colonization of North America.

The description of Florida and our east coast, given by Sparke, is very much like that given by Laudonnière and Ribault, and is the first description relating to this region ever written by an Englishman.* It specifies, as is usual in these early accounts of distant voyages, many objects which never had any existence in Florida; for instance, among its vegetable productions, "storax," "gumme," "myrrhe," and "frankincense;" among its minerals, "gold and silver;" and among its animals, "the tigers, lions, and unicorns." About the latter, Sparke is not quite certain. He reasons about them thus: "nature has put between certain pairs of animals a great degree of enmity, and these enemies are always found together in the same country. So that where the sheep are, there the wolves are not missing. The rhinoceros and elephant live in the same regions, so also the coney and the polecat. And so if there are lions in Florida, the unicorn will probably be found there also; for he is the mortal enemy of the lion." † "It is, therefore," Sparke concludes, "to be presupposed, that there are still more commodities in this country, which, for want of time and people are not yet come to light; but I trust God will reveal the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shall take it in hand;" ‡—a good suggestion of this honest sailor to his countrymen, which they were not slow in acting upon.

After having taken leave of his French friends at the River May, Hawkins appears to have sailed nearly on the great circle toward the north-east, at no great distance from our

* See Hakluyt, l. c. pp. 613-617.

† Hakluyt, l. c. p. 616. The reader may compare with this the unicorn depicted on the coast of Maine in map No. 18.

‡ Hakluyt, l. c. p. 616.

east coast. For "on St. Bartholomew's eve," the 23d of August, he arrived on the Banks of Newfoundland, where he met again French ships, and refreshed his crew with cod-fish. This is the first time that an English navigator is known to have sailed on this track from the West Indies, in a north-easterly course, the whole length of our coast. Cabot had sailed along the same coast, but in a south-western direction.

On the 20th of September, Hawkins arrived in England, bringing home for his adventurers and ship-owners gold, silver, pearls, sugar, hides, and other Spanish-American products; and for the nation at large, a good store of experience and information about the new American regions, especially about our east coast.

Having said thus much by way of episode, on this important voyage of Hawkins, I return to the history of the French in Florida.

6. THIRD EXPEDITION OF THE FRENCH TO FLORIDA UNDER COMMAND OF JEAN RIBAULT, IN 1565.

The news of Laudonnière's arrival and proceedings in the new world was carried to France by the vessel "L'Isabeau," despatched by him from Florida soon after his arrival, July 28th, 1564, and afterwards by a vessel under Captain Bourdet, which touched at the River May early in November, 1564. It is probable that one of these French vessels, like those of Hawkins, may have returned along our east coast by way of the Newfoundland Banks.

By the first vessel, Laudonnière not only sent a report of his proceedings to Admiral Coligny, but wrote letters to other influential persons in France,* which, unfortunately, have not been preserved. He doubtless also wrote by Bourdet,

* See these letters, Laudonnière, "L'histoire notable," fol. 102. 2.

who at all events carried to France information of his adventures. It appears that very unfavorable news had been spread about Laudonnière. It was said that he was hard and cruel to his men, and that he acted the part of a despot in French Florida.*

These unfavorable reports could not have been carried out in the *Isabeau*, because when she sailed, the affairs of Laudonnière were still flourishing, and he and his men were full of hope. But when Bourdet was in Florida, things had changed, and some of Laudonnière's malcontent and seditious soldiers were sent home by him.

When Laudonnière left France, it was fully understood, that succor and further supplies were to be sent to him in the following spring. But for these he waited in vain until August of 1565. It appears, however, that in the winter of 1564-65, preparations for the promised relief had been made, but that the soldiers enlisted for the purpose were seditious, and refused to fulfill their engagements.† But at length a new expedition was prepared, consisting of not less than seven ships; the largest of which was called "*La Trinité*," another "*Le Levrier*," and a third "*La Perle*," which were manned by several hundred soldiers, not only to maintain a military fort or station, but to found a complete colony. The artists and tradesmen destined for the work were accompanied by their families, and several women were included in the company. A great number of cattle were also taken on board, whilst in the former expedition, they had only a few sheep and fowls.

The command of this fleet was given to Jean Ribault, who had conducted the former expedition to Florida. He was also

* Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 102. 2.

† See Challeux, "*Histoire memorable in Ternaux-Compans; Pièces sur la Floride*," p. 253.

appointed the king's lieutenant of the province, and the successor of Laudonnière, who was thereby superseded.

Ribault, after many delays, sailed from Dieppe on the 22d of May; but encountering "the furious winds and barbarous seas" so common on the west coast of France, he was beaten back to Havre; which he left the second time on the 26th of May, and was again beaten back to the north-east, and took refuge in Portsmouth, England, where he rode at anchor for more than a fortnight. These disasters were common on the coast of France, and had happened to nearly every French exploring expedition; namely, to that of Verazano, that of Laudonnière, and the first and second of Ribault.

At last, on the 14th of June, Ribault finally left the shores of England, "setting now his sail to make a direct chase over to Florida with a north-eastern wind."*

He took again the "new oceanic route," which he claimed to have discovered, and which he had called "the French track;" that is to say, he passed, without touching any oceanic island, north of the Azores, and then south of the Bermudas. But in the latter part of his route, he bent a little further to the south than formerly; so that the great northernmost island of the Lucayos, which we now call "Abaco," and to which some of Ribault's officers proposed to give the name "Catherine la Reine," after the mother of Charles IX,† was the first American land of which he came in sight.

Doubling these islands, he made his land-fall on the shores of Florida south of "Cape François," probably not far north of Cape Canaveral; and, on the 27th of August, he came to anchor off the mouth of the river of May.

* Challeux, in Ternaux-Compans, pp. 254, 255.

† Challeux, l. c. p. 256.

Going on shore, he met the unfortunate Laudonnière and his companions, who, having obtained the assistance of Master Hawkins, were then just ready to embark for Europe. Laudonnière, hearing that he had been calumniated in France, and was to be superseded in his office by another, was more anxious than before to return home. Ribault tried to persuade him to stay in the colony, and had many private conversations with him on the subject. Meanwhile the newly arrived men of Ribault's company began to make inquiries amongst the old settlers about the advantages and commodities of the country. The women and children, and the sick, were transported from the ships, and accommodated as well as could be done in the old half-destroyed fort of "Caroline," the rebuilding of which was commenced.

But this state of things had not continued long, when suddenly, and only a few days after Ribault's arrival, namely, on the third of September, an armament of five Spanish men-of-war appeared at the mouth of May River, and fell upon the unsuspecting colony like a thunder-bolt; and in a short time brought to a cruel end all their plans for conquest and colonization, and involved the whole company in utter destruction.

The Spanish government had been apprised long before of the French undertakings, and had sent out a great fleet under the command of Don Pedro Menendez, to drive them from Florida, and take possession of this country, which by right of first discovery, as well as for other reasons, was claimed to be an undoubted part of the Spanish dominions.

Admiral Coligny, a little before Ribault left France, had become acquainted with the destination of this Spanish armament, and had communicated what he knew about it to Ribault, giving him at the same time orders "not to suffer the Spaniards to encroach upon him."*

* Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 102. 2.

But Ribault did not expect the Spaniards to follow him so quickly. He himself had been delayed partly by misfortunes, and without his own fault. Had it been possible for him to reach Laudonnière in the spring, when his arrival was expected, perhaps the colony might have been saved. The surrounding Indian tribes were still friendly. At that time Laudonnière's men formed a body of about one hundred and fifty men, well conditioned and in good spirits; and had they been increased by the arrival of the strong reinforcement under Ribault, might have made a successful resistance against the Spaniards, and have given a different direction to the whole history of this part of our east coast.

But Ribault's delays had reduced Laudonnière's colonists to a troop of discouraged, sick, and half-starved men. By the foraging and plundering excursions, to which necessity had driven them, the Indian tribes had become hostile, were inclined to look upon the Spaniards as liberators, whom they would gladly assist in every way in their power. Ribault himself had not had time to restore the dilapidated fort, or put his fresh men in a position for defence. Part of them were dispersed on the shore; the remainder were still on shipboard.

The Spanish fleet, without giving any warning, at once made show of attack; and the French, finding resistance impossible, cut their cables, set sail, and made for the open sea. The Spaniards pursued them for some time, but finding the French sailors better than their own, and at the same time thinking it not prudent to make an immediate attack upon the land forces, of whose number and condition they knew nothing, sailed southward, and landed near the river of Dolphins, the harbor of St. Augustine, and established there a camp and fortification.

Three of the French vessels, having watched the move-

ments of the enemy, returned to their station off the River May, to put themselves in communication with the commander-in-chief. The question was, what measures should now be taken. The old commander Laudonnière was of opinion, that the land and sea forces, should keep together in the River May, and fortify themselves there in a strong position. But Ribault, remembering Admiral Coligny's admonition, "that he should in no way suffer the Spaniards to encroach upon him," was unhappily disposed to adopt offensive operations; thinking, probably, that he might surprise the Spaniards before they had time to erect fortifications, offer them battle, and destroy them, either on the open sea or in their harbor.

He therefore embarked most of his forces, assumed the command of the fleet, and left Laudonnière in the fort, with the women, children, and invalids, and a few soldiers; altogether a body of about two hundred persons, badly furnished with means of defence. This unfortunate arrangement proved fatal to the colony.*

On the 10th of September, Ribault set sail in quest of the Spaniards. But the next day, at the moment when with favoring winds he had overtaken them, a furious tempest burst upon him with thunder, lightning, and rain, and lasted twelve days in succession. Meanwhile the Spaniards, who had taken refuge in the harbor of St. Augustine, and moored their vessels there, improved the opportunity offered by this delay, to fortify themselves in a new encampment. And having learned by the Indians that the French had divided their forces, and that by this means their fort was rendered almost defenceless, while their fleet had been disabled by the tempest, they set out at once for the north with a superior force, under the command of their general, Don Pedro Menendez himself, conducted by Indian guides and by a treach-

* Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 106. 1 seq.

erous Frenchman, and under cover of the storm, which had not yet abated.

The French fort, where the garrison dreamed of no danger to themselves, and were waiting to hear what events had happened at sea, was taken by surprise, and captured on the night of the 20th of September without much resistance. The greater part of the nearly defenceless occupants were slaughtered on the spot, in a most cruel and barbarous manner. But few escaped the fury of the Spanish soldiers; among whom were Laudonnière, Le Moyne, and Challeux, all three of whom became historians of these events. They fled to the sea-coast, and were there picked up by two French vessels, "Le Levrier" and "La Perle," which Ribault had left anchored in the River May under the command of his brother, Jacques Ribault. These ships cruised for a few days along the shore, to see if other fugitives might have escaped; and then supposing that all was lost, they left the coast on the 25th of September, and sailed for France.*

Ribault and his companions meanwhile were not less completely discomfited. They kept the sea for five days. But on the 15th of September, the storm raged with redoubled violence, and drove the fleet ashore. The ships were wrecked with the loss of everything, and the soldiers and sailors reached land in a helpless condition. The place of this memorable shipwreck appears to have been not far from "Matanzas inlet" (the inlet of slaughter).

This shipwrecked company undertook to travel by land on the shore toward their fort on the May River, unaware of its sad fate. There they were soon discovered by the Spaniards, to whom they surrendered, and by whom they were, with few exceptions, butchered in the most barbarous manner. Ribault himself, M. de Ottigny, the principal explorer of St.

* Challeux, l. c. p. 289. Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 112.

John's River, and many distinguished officers and gentlemen connected with the colony, fell easy victims to the daggers and swords of the Spaniards. A few Catholics, and a few engineers, pilots, and carpenters who, it was thought, might be made useful, were saved and kept as slaves by Don Pedro Menendez, the stern and hard-hearted servant of Philip the Second.

It is related by the French authors, that the bodies of some of the victims of this slaughter were hanged on trees, and left exposed, under this inscription: "Thus they have been treated, not as Frenchmen, but as heretics and enemies of God."

Of all the Frenchmen who had come out to Florida with Laudonnière in 1564, and with Ribault in 1565, eight or nine hundred in number, very few ever saw their country again. None had this good fortune except those who were rescued by the two vessels above mentioned, "Le Levrier" and "La Perle." These two vessels, with the fugitives, left the coast of Florida on the 25th of September, but experienced on their homeward voyage many adventures and mishaps. They were soon separated; one of them, probably *Le Levrier*, arrived in a pitiful condition on the coast of France, near Rochelle;* the other, probably *La Perle*, having on board Jacques Ribault, the brother of Jean, Laudonnière, Le Moyne, and other distinguished members of the colony, was carried by currents and winds into the St. George's Channel, and landed its passengers at Swansea in Wales, in November, 1565. From this place, Laudonnière, and probably Le Moyne the artist, and perhaps some others, proceeded to Bristol and London, where they remained some time. Thus England received again the first news from Florida, and of the destruction of this Protestant colony of their French neighbors.

* Challeux, l. c. p. 29.

Thus, too, was Le Moyne brought into those relations with several parties in England, which led to his subsequent residence in Blackfriars in London, under the patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh, and to his preparing and publishing there, rather than in France, the accounts and portraitures, "lively drawn in colors," of those things of which he had been an eye-witness in Florida.*

A few of these French colonists escaped at a later period from Spanish slavery; amongst them a sailor, who, after having experienced some wonderful vicissitudes of fortune in Florida, brought home additional reports of the proceedings of the Spaniards there, which have been used by subsequent historians.†

7. EXPEDITIONS OF DON PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES ON THE COAST OF FLORIDA, IN 1565-1567.

In relating the last French expedition to Florida, I spoke of the military achievement of Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the Spanish general, which resulted in the destruction of their colony. This Spanish expedition gave rise to several new explorations along the southern section of our east coast, introduced there several new names, and determined the condition of Florida for a long time, and therefore demands a particular discussion. As it was occasioned by the French voyages, and was intimately connected with them, it naturally finds a place immediately after the second and last voyage of Ribault.

Don Pedro Menendez was a seaman and soldier trained in the school of Philip II. He had been successfully em-

* See on these latter events, Laudonnière, l. c. fol. 113 seq. [Also, Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 301, ed. 1600.—ED.]

† See Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. 1, p. 85.

ployed by his monarch in what the Spaniards called "chasing pirates," and in capturing and destroying such French and Dutch navigators as presumed to intrude upon waters claimed by Spain. He had acquired great wealth during his service in Spanish America, "which was no school of benevolence."* Menendez conceived the first idea of an enterprise to Florida in consequence of the loss by shipwreck on the coasts of that country, or of the Bermudas, of his son, who was said to be still living among the natives, and for whom the father was in search. For this purpose he fitted out a small armament, which was enlarged by the king, who gave him a commission to survey the coasts of Florida, and to make a chart of them, for the benefit of Spanish navigation.†

As we are seldom favored with the exact contents of the royal instructions given to the old navigators, we will repeat here that part of Philip's commission to Menendez, which relates to the exploration and occupation of our coast. Menendez was directed "within three years, to take possession of the country of 'Florida' (North America), and to have explored and reconnoitered all its coasts, to have surveyed all its harbors, bays, inlets, currents, and rocks, making a description of all of them, and putting them down as accurately as possible, according to their altitudes, roads, and bearings, *that the whole secret of the coast might be understood and known.*" He was, at the same time, directed to attempt a settlement, in order to convert the heathen inhabitants of the country to the Catholic religion. For these purposes he was to carry to Florida five hundred handicraftsmen and laborers, and twelve missionaries; and besides these, five hundred black slaves, one hundred horses, two hundred calves, four hundred hogs, four hundred sheep, goats, and other cattle,

* Bancroft.

† See Barcia, l. c. pp. 56-65.

and all things necessary for the cultivation of the soil, the planting of sugar-cane, and the erecting of sugar-mills.*

This was the interesting and most peaceable mission over which Menendez was placed in 1565, with the title of "Perpetual Adelantado of Florida." But when he was nearly ready for sailing, news came to Spain, that French Huguenots had, three years before, settled and fortified themselves in Florida,† and that another large armament was preparing in France for their relief. This information gave to the whole undertaking of Menendez another turn. A military armament was given to it, under a commission to attack the French forces, to destroy their colony, and to effect the conquest of Florida. It was, in fact, with respect to its most prominent object, a kind of crusade. This change made the enterprise popular in Spain; and Menendez, who was to pay the greater part of the expenses, received assistance from every quarter. He was thus enabled to spend upon his extensive preparations, within a year, not less than one million of ducats.‡ Volunteers, who furnished their own equipments, flocked in from all sides; and the number of men who joined his banner swelled to not less than two thousand six hundred and forty-six persons. They were embarked on board of thirty-four vessels, among which were four first class ships.§

* See Barcia, l. c. p. 66.

† So Barcia, l. c. p. 66; though it appears nearly incredible, that the Spanish authorities should not have known of these expeditions of Ribault and Laudonnière. The Spanish colonists in the West Indies had long been acquainted with them, as they had in 1564 suffered from French pirates swarming from the French colony at May River, and had captured some of them.

‡ "Though this seems to be incredibly large," says Barcia (l. c. p. 69), "still it is fully warranted by authentic and original documents." [See, however, a letter from Menendez in Parkman, "Pioneers of France," note 2, p. 93.—ED.]

§ Barcia, l. c. pp. 68, 69.

Never before did so great an armament go out from Europe to the eastern coast of North America.

These vessels set out at different dates and from different ports. Menendez, burning with zeal for the destruction of the heretics, could not wait for the assemblage of all his vessels in one port; but having collected in the harbor of Cadiz about nineteen vessels, and about fifteen hundred men, leaving some of the smaller ones to follow on his course, he sailed from thence on the 29th of June, 1565; about five weeks after the departure of Ribault from Dieppe. He took the usual Spanish route, by the Canaries and the Antilles. Having passed the former group, the fleet was separated in a storm, and Menendez arrived at the Antilles early in August, with only five men-of-war.*

But anxious to surprise the French before they had fortified themselves in Florida, Menendez decided not to await the arrival of the rest of his fleet and forces, but to sail at once for his destined object; and fearing lest the French fleet, consisting, as he knew, of seven ships and seven hundred men, might be posted in the Gulf of Florida somewhere in the neighborhood of Havana, he resolved to leave the usual Spanish route to Florida, around Cape St. Antonio and Havana, and to sail on a "new and shorter route, through the Lucayan Islands and the Bank of Bahama." In this he succeeded, and entered "by the new route," the direction of which is not accurately known by us, on the 25th of August, into the Strait of Bahama; † and on the 28th, he descried the coast of Florida, and came to anchor in the harbor, called by him "San Augustino;" from which point he set out on his purpose of attacking the French forces, and breaking up and destroying their settlement.

* Barcia, l. c. p. 69.

† See Menendez, l. c. p. 183 seq.

After having done this in the manner before described, he gave his attention, in the period from 1565 to 1573, to the execution of the remaining objects of his commission; namely, exploring and surveying the coasts of Florida, and planting and fortifying them against any renewed attacks of French and English "corsarios." In this work, full of dangers, cares, and difficulties, he proved himself a most active and energetic man, and made himself famous in the history of the exploration and colonization of the eastern coast of the future United States.

In the first place, he erected several forts along the coast of southern Florida; one at "San Augustino," another at the place of the French fort, which he called "San Mateo," and another near our present "Indian River Inlet," called by him "Sta. Lucia," and in the following year, 1566, still another, "San Felipe," on that part of the coast where Ayllon, in 1526, had made his settlement, not far from St. Helena Sound, on the coast of South Carolina.

He sent out also in 1566, pioneer exploring and planting expeditions to the north, toward the "Bay of St. Mary" (Chesapeake), discovered by Ayllon in 1526. This expedition, however, proved a failure; because the planters and soldiers assigned to it, being unwilling to settle in so distant a place, and wearying of the voyage thither, escaped to Spain, reporting that they were driven from the coast by storms.* Menendez found full employment in keeping together his mutinous soldiers, who did not like the toilsome life of planters in a new and uninhabited country, and were always tempted to escape to Mexico or Peru, their promised land.

He also sent into the interior several exploring expeditions along the St. John's, and other rivers, and toward the Appalachian Mountains, which were thought to be rich in silver

* See Barcia, l. c. pp. 119 and 123.

mines. One of these expeditions, under Jean Pardo, made in 1567, is supposed to have penetrated further north even than De Soto. Menendez, like Cortez, held to the opinion, that there existed, somewhere in the central parts of "Florida" (North America),* a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. His captains had heard the northern Indians speak of a "Rio Salado" (salt river), which Menendez considered as the salt-water of the Western Sea. And "though he knew the Indians to be great liars, still from this he became still more convinced, that he might find here a passage to the oriental regions" (passo a Orienti).† One Spanish author says, "that Menendez knew more about the secret of the north-west passage than anybody of his time." With others, he thought that the far-reaching St. Mary's Bay (Chesapeake) might be connected with a western sea, or with the waters of the great St. Lawrence system.

All these schemes, undertakings, and explorations carried him several times back to Cuba and the West India Islands; where, principally at Havana, he found his supplies and harbors of refuge; and where, too, he could procure new ships and recruits. In falling back to these strong-holds he was obliged to sail against the Gulf-stream, which he did repeatedly with great skill and good fortune. The Spanish authors consider this sail of Menendez from Florida up the Gulf-stream to Havana, as a new achievement, a great feat, and an important event in the maritime history of North America. Until then, they affirmed that Spanish vessels had only sailed down the Gulf-stream; that no Spanish vessel had entered Havana from the east, sailing against it, though many navigators had

* [For the extent of Florida, see Parkman, "Pioneers of France," p. 14, and his note 2, for his authorities; and also Asher's Introduction to "Henry Hudson," pp. 84-89—ED.]

† Barcia, l. c. p. 119.

made the attempt ; and that Menendez was the first who successfully accomplished it, and thus brought Florida, in its wide sense, into a more intimate relation with the West India Islands.*

Menendez had as many difficulties in securing his conquest, as he had had in gaining it. They arose from the nature of the country, from the mutinous spirit of his men, and also from the unfavorable disposition of the royal governor of Cuba ; who considered Florida as a part of his dominion, and sometimes refused assistance to Menendez, to whom Florida had been given as an independent government.

But Menendez rose superior to all these difficulties, and Philip II. rewarded this active servant, whom we might well style the Alva of North America, with abundant honors and pecuniary rewards. He presented him with 200,000 ducats ; and, what was still more honorable, made him governor of Cuba ; so that henceforth Menendez could reside as a powerful viceroy in the best and most convenient seat for managing the affairs of that widely extended empire, which it was thought he had created for Spain.

In the summer of 1567 he returned to Spain to make report of his grand achievements, and to receive from the king the promised rewards. Returning from thence to America in the beginning of 1568, he found the affairs of "his empire" once more in disorder. In some of his forts there had been revolts, the Indians on the coast were in a bad humor toward the Spanish intruders ; and the French, in his absence, had made another expedition to Florida, and had destroyed some of his forts. I will here leave Spanish affairs for a while, to say a few words of this fourth and last expedition of the French.

* See Barcia, l. c. p. 92.

8. EXPEDITION OF DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES FROM FRANCE TO FLORIDA, IN 1567-1568.

The French Huguenots, after their entire defeat and overthrow in Florida in 1565, made renewed efforts to reestablish their colony in the same region, and then to take revenge on the Spaniards.

They addressed a petition to Charles IX, in the name of the families and kindred of those "nine hundred sons" slain by the Spaniards, in which they rehearsed their wrongs and sufferings, and earnestly appealed to the king to avenge this flagrant injury and insult to the French nation. The king listened, but made no response to his heretical subjects, who were detested by him and his court as much as they were by the Spaniards, and who were soon after butchered in Paris, in a manner more treacherous and cruel than they had been in Florida. Regarding Florida as the favorite resort of his Protestant subjects, he could not be induced to lend his aid for its recovery from the Spaniards, and seemed willing to abandon it to their power.

It is, however, gratifying to know, that at last, a Catholic nobleman took the Protestant cause into his own hands. The Chevalier de Gourgues, a French patriot, and a man of high honor and justice, born in the province of Guyenne, was incited by a desire to repair the honor of his nation. He sold his property, borrowed money of his friends, who gladly contributed their aid, and was thus able to purchase and equip three ships, and to enlist about eighty sailors and one hundred and fifty soldiers, for a distant adventure.

Having served his king from boyhood, he had acquired great experience and reputation, both as a naval and military officer. His adventurous life, and reverses of fortune, somewhat resemble the varied phases of the life of the celebrated

John Smith, who, at a later time, became prominent in the affairs of Virginia and New England. Gourgues had served, when quite a youth, in Italy, where he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards and condemned to the galleys. The vessel in which he was a slave was captured by the Turks, who carried him, in the same capacity, to Rhodes and Constantino-ple. From this imprisonment at the oar, he was retaken by the knights of Malta, by whom he was liberated.

Delighted with a life of adventure, he sailed afterwards to Africa, to Brazil, and "the Southern Seas,"* in what capacity we do not learn; probably he was one of the adventurous French privateersmen who then roved through the entire Atlantic, with whose history we are unhappily but little acquainted.

With the reputation he enjoyed of being one of the most able and valiant of French navigators, it was not difficult for him to excite an interest, and obtain assistance, for any new expedition in which he was to be the leader. To attract as little as possible the attention of the authorities, and to obtain the necessary papers for his outfit, he concealed the destination of his voyage, and professed that it was designed for the coasts of Africa, and for the capture of slaves. He received his commission from the governor of the province of Guyenne, M. de Montluc, as a slave-trader to the coast of Benin in Africa.

With this commission he sailed from Bordeaux on the 2d of August, 1567, the time at which Menendez, having accomplished his mission in Florida, had already returned to Spain, and presented himself at court, and thus escaped out of the hand of the avenger.

Like former French expeditions for the west, the three ships of Gourgues were, for some weeks, tossed about in the

* Probably the Southern Atlantic. See Charlevoix, vol. 1, p. 95.

boisterous Bay of Biscay. He tried to find shelter in Rochelle and in the mouth of the Charente ; but, at last, on the 22d of August, he took leave of the coast of France.*

On his passage to America, he took the long and devious route, leading far to the south, usually followed by the Hawkins, the Fentons, and other English slave-traders. During the autumn of 1567, he went as far south as the Cape Verde Islands ; and from thence taking his way westward, he entered the Caribbean Sea ; and sailing round Cuba, arrived in sight of Cape Antonio in the spring of 1568.

There he went on shore ; and assembling around him all his company, he proclaimed to them, in an eloquent speech, the plan and object of his undertaking. The communication was received with the greatest applause. Thus supported by the enthusiasm of his men, he passed through the Bahama Channel, and made directly for Florida.

In passing the Spanish ports on that coast, he was descried, and being taken for a Spaniard was saluted with a discharge of cannon. To confirm this mistake, he answered their salute. But when night came on, he made for land, and came to anchor five or six leagues north of the Spanish port "San Mateo," at the mouth of the river which Ribault had named "La Rivière Seine," and the Indians, "Tacata couron," now called Cumberland Sound.

He went on shore, and found the Indians of the neighborhood assembled there in large numbers. Among the chiefs was Satouriova, or Satouriba, an old acquaintance of Ribault and Laudonnière. Gourgues hastened to announce to them his intention, as he had done before to his soldiers. He informed them that he was a Frenchman, and a mortal enemy of the Spaniards. He found that they had long been dis-

* See the work, "La Reprinse de la Floride," published by Ternaux-Compans in his "Pièces sur la Florida," pp. 310, 311. Paris, 1841.

gusted with Spanish tyranny, and were in the best possible disposition to lend him their assistance. A treaty of friendship was made with the chiefs present and their warriors, and a plan for an attack on the Spanish forts was agreed upon. No traitor was found among them.

Gourgues was informed by the Indians that the Spaniards had repaired the old French fort on May River, and had made it their principal fortress; that besides this they had built two smaller forts, and might have altogether a force of four hundred men, which was more than double his own. He sent out an officer to reconnoitre the situation, who was to return in three days; within which time the Indian chiefs were also to come back, with their warriors prepared for battle. Meantime Gourgues was to make the proper disposition of his vessels.

These plans were carried out and accomplished with great promptness. On the day appointed, the French and their Indian allies set forth in high spirits for the execution of the terrible vengeance which they meditated. But neither my limited space, nor the maritime character of my history, will allow me to present the details of the admirable style in which one Spanish fort after another* was carried by Gourgues, who seemed as if inspired and assisted by the Demon of Revenge. The Spaniards † were taken by surprise, and their movements and counter-movements were wholly unsuccessful. The parties they sent out were immediately cut off. Escape was impossible. The Indians murdered them on the spot. A few only were made prisoners by Gourgues, and spared for a more formal punishment.

When he had complete possession of their works, he found

* The first two small forts he took on the eve of Quasimodo, 1568.

† The commander of the Spaniards is not named. But probably it was the often mentioned Villarvel.

the trees where, three years before, his countrymen had been hanged by Menendez. Thither he conducted his Spanish prisoners, and after charging upon them treachery and cruelty toward the soldiers of an allied power, ordered them to be hung on the same trees on which the companions of Ribault and Laudonnière had been hung before; and to make the retaliation perfect, placed over their heads a tablet, on which were burned with hot iron, the words, "I have done this, not as to Spaniards, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers." *

Having destroyed and burnt the forts, and laid waste everything about them, he left his Indian allies to take care of themselves in the probable event of the return of the Spaniards, not considering himself strong enough for their protection; and immediately sailed for France on the 3d of May. After a remarkably quick and pleasant voyage, he arrived on the 6th of June, on Whitsunday, at Rochelle. He crossed the ocean in four weeks, making in one part of his voyage eleven hundred leagues in seventeen days. †

In Rochelle, the head-quarters of the Protestants in France, Gourgues of course enjoyed a splendid reception. Sailing from thence to his native town, Bordeaux, he happily escaped a Spanish fleet of eighteen armed vessels, which were in search of him. ‡ He was afterwards obliged to secrete himself, even in his own country. The king of Spain set a high price upon his head. The court of France, in its deference to Spanish influence, appeared disposed to have him arrested and arraigned; though, as Charlevoix assures us,

*Gourgues appears to have destroyed the Spaniards to a man; for Barcia says no Spanish eye-witness of the events ever returned to Spain, l. c. pp. 133, 134. He takes his statement entirely from French sources, and had no original Spanish reports whatever before him.

† La Reprinse, l. c. p. 363 seq.

‡ Ibid.

the king of France had, personally, a secret admiration for him, as he had also for Coligny. Queen Elizabeth of England ere long made him a proposition to enter her service. In a subsequent year, Don Antonio of Portugal offered him the command of a fleet, to vindicate his claims to the throne of Portugal against the claims of Philip II. Gourgues was inclined to accept the offer, but was taken suddenly ill on his way to meet the Prince of Portugal, and died at Tours, in 1582, universally regretted, and with the reputation of having been one of the most patriotic Frenchmen, and most valiant captains of his time.*

Then soon ensued the most gloomy period in the history of the French Protestants. Their great leader Coligny, the French Raleigh, was murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. From that time, France relinquished all pretensions to Florida.† After the "passing storm" of Gourgues' expedition, the vast and undefined territory which bore that name, reverted to the Spanish dominion, and so remained for a long period.

9. A SPANISH SURVEY OF THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA, IN 1573.

When Menendez returned from Spain in 1568 to his government of Cuba, he found his affairs in Florida in the utmost confusion from the raid of Gourgues. But as the principal seat of his government was so near, it was not difficult for him to revive his wasted province by rebuilding his forts and restoring the colony. He also sent among the Indians Jesuit missionaries, to convert them to the Catholic faith; some of whom traveled north of Port Royal into the territories of the

* See Charlevoix, vol. 1, pp. 105, 106.

† Bancroft.

present States of Georgia and Carolina. These were the first Jesuits ever brought to North America. They afterwards became prominent, taking the lead of many exploring expeditions into the interior of the continent, and contributing to make its condition, especially that of Canada and Maine, better known to the world. The above-named southern States, having been the theater of the first attempt to establish a Protestant community on the North American continent, enjoyed also the distinction of having the first Jesuit missionaries among them. Wherever Protestants planted themselves, the Jesuits followed. French Protestants had shown them the way to Brazil. The first entry of the Jesuits into the city of Mexico did not take place before 1573;* and into California, not till several years later; when they had already penetrated the wilderness of the eastern territory, where the Jesuits had been slain among the Indians, and were esteemed as martyrs to their cause.

Menendez had made, as opportunity served, partial surveys in Florida, in pursuance of his special instructions, preparatory to drawing a chart of the country. His military and naval operations, and domestic duties and troubles, had prevented him from completing this work until the whole coast had been cleared of his enemies. This result having been at last accomplished, Menendez, in 1573, commissioned his nephew Don Pedro Marquez, to finish the survey.

With four ships, and one hundred and fifty seamen and soldiers, he made the first and most perfect reconnoissance of the southern section of the east coast for the purpose of preparing a chart. He began his survey at Cape Florida, and followed the coast along to a point north of Chesapeake Bay. Barcia says, that he had no skillful cosmographer with him to

* Barcia, l. c. p. 146.

construct a chart.* But he gave so exact a description "by writing" (*escribiendo*), that a chart could easily be constructed from it.

This written reconnoissance, which probably contained many interesting details of soundings, bearings, and sailing directions, was delivered to Don Juan de Óvando, president of the council for the Indies, who put it into the hands of the cosmographer Don Juan de Velasco. The possession of this original document would be invaluable to the historian of the Southern States; especially for this reason, among others, that it would furnish materials to illustrate the history of physical changes on that coast. But unfortunately, the document was lost soon after the death of Menendez. An extract from it was, however, preserved, which Barcia says he thought it good to communicate, "that the memory of that curious document might not be totally lost." †

It is no doubt the most interesting and minute description of the coast of Florida after that of Oviedo; which I have given in a preceding section.

I must allude to it here only in a general way, because it does not extend as far north as New England, and because its specialties belong to the history of geography in the Southern States of the Union. The most northern object of the part of the east coast, which was surveyed and accurately described by the young Marquez, was St. Mary's Bay, although he went beyond it; but how far, we are not informed.‡ In a previous discussion, I have made use of this description of "St. Mary's Bay," to prove that it was the present Chesapeake Bay. Barcia adds the remark, that when in 1680, Arnold Roggeveen published his hydrographical work, entitled

* Barcia, l. c. p. 147.

† Ibid.

‡ Barcia (p. 147) says: "Lego mas adelante del puerto y baia de Sta. Maria."

“The burning torch of the Sea,” he knew less of the coast than was represented by these Spanish surveys, and did not venture to describe even the little which he depicted on his charts.*

It thus appears, that the Spaniards were again, at this time, far advanced in their progress to the north, and had begun to take possession of the northern coasts, which were comprised by them under the name of their “Province of Florida.” That the plans of Menendez reached as far as New England, is evident from the circumstance, that he had his eye on the Banks of Newfoundland, and proposed to issue orders for the protection of the Spanish fishermen in these waters, including them also within his “Province of Florida.” † It was probably his intention to take some such measures for occupation there, as were taken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert at a later period. During the interval between the destruction of Ribault’s colony in 1566, and Gilbert’s possession of Newfoundland in 1583, the Spaniards bore sway over the entire east coast of North America, with no foreign settlement, and scarcely a foreign expedition to oppose their claims.

This survey of the east coast in 1573 was, however, the last important exploration of our coast conducted under the direction and by order of Menendez. In the following year, 1574, he was recalled to Europe by Philip II, and soon ended there his career and his life. He was a great favorite with Philip, who considered him one of the most distinguished men of his time. As a token of his regard, he ordered his portrait to be placed in the gallery of his palace, and selected him to command a great fleet, which was to be fitted out that year against England and the Netherlands. He also appointed his

* See Barcia, p. 150.

† Barcia, l. c. p. 149.

cousin, Flores de Valdes, his successor in the government of Cuba and Florida.

A brilliant ovation and festival were given to Menendez on the 8th of Sept., 1574, the day on which he was solemnly invested with the command of the "Great Armada," a fleet of three hundred vessels, and twenty thousand men, assembled in Santander. But with a fatality similar to that experienced a little later by his great enemy Gourgues, who died at the moment when he was about to take command of a great Portuguese fleet destined against Spain, Menendez, on the very day of his investiture with this authority, was suddenly seized with a burning fever, of which he died on the 17th of September, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

He was buried in Aviles, his native town, and his tomb bore the inscription, "Captain-general del Mar Oceano." He is represented by Spanish authors as "a great hero, and the greatest mariner known in his time" (*Grande heroe, el major Hombre de Mar que se conocia*), "because by making more than fifty exploring voyages to and in the Indies, he facilitated the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean, which before him was very dangerous and difficult."* He is undoubtedly entitled to a very prominent place among the navigators and explorers of the east coast of North America.

The Spanish explorations on the coast from Cape Florida to Chesapeake Bay, have been much ignored and neglected in subsequent times; while the French explorations, by means of the French descriptions and charts, have become universally known. The best historians and geographers on America, of the sixteenth century, repeat over and over again the story of Ribault and Laudonnière, while they scarcely mention Menendez, except to tell us that he was "the cruel Spanish General who massacred the poor French." As an

* See Barcia, l. c. p. 150.

explorer and navigator, he is seldom spoken of in their works. He is hardly noticed or recognized by Hakluyt, by De Laët, by Lescarbot, or by any other of the French, English, Dutch, or German historians of that time; and while "that French chart of Florida, made by the painter Le Moyne," is constantly referred to by these writers, and is embodied without alteration in their large maps of America, no notice whatever is taken of the admirable exploration of the southern section of the east coast, in 1573, made by Don Pedro Marquez.

It is certainly a singular fact, that the authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should have entirely ignored the labors and merits of men so eminent as the two Menendez, uncle and nephew. It is however not difficult to account for it, by the peculiar policy of the kings of Spain, who were accustomed to make a secret of their affairs of State, and were especially unwilling that the explorations and discoveries of their great navigators and generals should be made public, lest they should excite the rivalry and interference of other nations. This mistaken policy shrouded in obscurity many valuable enterprises and their results, which would have added renown to the Spanish nation. Among these enterprises were those of Menendez and Marquez. When Menendez came upon the stage of action, the old Spanish historians of America, the Gomaras and Oviedos, had already disappeared. Herrera, who wrote soon after Menendez, did not bring his elaborate history quite down to the time of this explorer, though he mentions him occasionally in his description of the West Indies. During the seventeenth century many great works on several other parts of America were published in Spain, but none on the coast of Florida; and some of the best Spanish documents on the discovery of this coast were suffered to perish.

It is, therefore, no matter of wonder, that foreign authors

were so ignorant of these matters. It was not till 1723 that a more complete account of that part of Spanish American history of which we have been speaking, was published by the Spanish historian Barcia, in his history of Florida, often quoted in this work. But what is still more unaccountable and culpable, even since the publication of that history and until quite recent times, few writers on the discovery of our coast have given any proper attention to the explorations of Menendez and his Spanish contemporaries.

We may perhaps find some explanation of this in the unattractive manner in which Barcia set forth the information he had to give. He is neither an able nor an elegant writer. His heavy work has, I believe, never been translated into any other language, and has not, therefore, been used as generally, as the more elegant and interesting reports on Florida written by French authors.

There was also something in the Spanish hero Menendez himself, which dimmed the glory of his character. His hand had been stained with the blood of many Protestant victims, which could never be forgotten by the writers of the different Protestant nations by whom the history of North America in later times has been principally treated; and has hindered them, perhaps, from acknowledging his great merits as an able and energetic navigator and explorer, by whose endeavors many of the great geographical problems have been solved.

No sooner had this great commander been removed by death, than the Spanish interests in Florida, no longer sustained by his zeal and activity, began to decline,* and were soon effectually supplanted by the heroic adventurers of another nation, following rapidly to our coast, in the tracks of Ribault, Laudonnière, and Menendez. This new era in the

* Barcia, l. c. p. 152.

history of discovery in America begins with a commission given by Queen Elizabeth to the brothers Gilbert and Raleigh, in the year 1578; a date which marks the conclusion of this, and the commencement of another volume.

The influence exerted by the expeditions above described, particularly those of the French Protestants to Florida, upon the discovery and settlement of the north-east section of our coast, especially the coast of Maine, and certain relations existing between the former and the latter, may be summed up in a few words:

1. Jean Ribault, in 1562, was commissioned "to discover and survey a certain long coast of the West Indies, from the head of the land called 'La florida,' drawing toward the north parts *unto the head of Britons*, distant from La florida 900 leagues or thereabouts." The commission, therefore, included the whole coast of the Gulf of Maine.

2. Ribault, on his voyage to the West Indies in that year, took a new northern route over the ocean in about the latitude of New England; and intended to establish this as a national French route, in opposition to the old southern route till that time frequented by the Spaniards. He himself repeatedly adopted this course; and by it opened a shorter way for subsequent English navigators, on their western voyages. It was by this shorter northern route of Ribault, that Gosnold reached the coast of Maine in 1602.

3. The expedition of Ribault was planned after that of Verrazano, who, in 1524, had been on the coast of Maine, and on whose chart the Gulf of Maine had been represented as separated from the Western Ocean, or the "Sea of Verrazano," only by a narrow isthmus. In pursuance of that plan, he would accordingly have been brought to the coast of Maine, and in searching for a passage to Cathay, he would naturally have sought it along this coast.

4. But Ribault, having disregarded his instructions by delaying in Florida to establish a colony there, neglected to obey the order for a survey of the coast as high up as Cape Breton. He thus lost the opportunity of seeing the inviting harbors of New York and of Maine, and of adding his testimony in their favor to that given by Verrazano; and also the opportunity, which never returned, of establishing a French settlement in these regions, more remote from the centre of the Spanish power in the new world, and less liable to its interference.

5. The French colonists left by Ribault in Florida, compelled by distress and want to abandon the country, were rescued by an English vessel, and carried to England. There, in 1563, they made report of their transactions to Queen Elizabeth, and awakened the interest of the English people in the subject of American colonization.

6. Several French sailors in Ribault's expedition appear to have remained in the English service. Some of them went out with Master John Hawkins in 1565, and showed him the way to the place in Florida where Laudonnière, in 1564, had established a new French settlement. On his homeward voyage Hawkins visited this colony, saw its situation and advantages; and, following the Gulf-stream, traversed, with more than one hundred of his countrymen, the entire east coast from south to north, as far as Newfoundland. He was the first Englishman who had done this, and was a pioneer of the English navigators to northern and southern Virginia.

7. Laudonnière, commander of the second French undertaking, Le Moyne the painter, who had made an accurate map of French Florida, and Challeux, who, like Laudonnière and Ribault, gave a written description of this country, were, on their homeward voyage in 1565, carried to England; which thus, for a second time, had the earliest news of the

French disaster, and of the destruction of their settlement by the Spaniards. This circumstance also was the probable cause of the connection of Le Moyne, the French map-maker, with Sir Walter Raleigh, the founder of English America, and of the earlier and wider diffusion of the knowledge of this country in England, than in France.

8. The Spaniards, also, as well as the English, and for still more urgent reasons, were attracted by the French Protestants to Florida; and having subverted the French settlements, set up their own government, fortified the coast in its southernmost section, surveyed it minutely as far north as Chesapeake Bay, explored the interior as far as the Appalachian mountains, continued the search for a western passage in that northern section pointed out by Cortes, and reasserted their claims to the whole of North America, as high north as Labrador; not only planting the Spanish flag in their charts over this whole territory under the name of Florida, but adopting measures of regulation for regions as far north as to the Banks of Newfoundland.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUSION AND RECAPITULATION.

THE eager search for a passage to the Pacific Ocean by the west and north-west, which had engaged the attention of European nations in the early part of the sixteenth century, was, after a while, wholly abandoned for a season. But in the latter part of the century, a series of western voyages was undertaken by these nations with a different object and result.

It would be interesting here to inquire into the cause of this remarkable fact, and endeavor to account for it. But having proposed to finish the present volume at this period of our history, and as the revival of north-western expeditions by France and England in the voyages of Frobisher, Gilbert, De Monts, and others will occupy a future volume, I will here briefly review the ground which has been traversed, and for the sake of convenience will exhibit the whole work of the discovery of the east coast of North America, and particularly of the coast of Maine, under the agency of the several nations of Europe who were concerned in it.

1. AGENCY OF THE NORTHMEN.

The Northmen were the first Europeans who discovered and explored the coasts and countries of the north-east of America. They described them under the names "Hellu-

land," "Markland," and "Vinland," and considered them as belonging to the north of Europe. They visited them repeatedly during more than three hundred years, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, as far down as Cape Cod and its vicinity. Their republic in Iceland gradually decreased in power, and at length became a province of Norway and Denmark. Their colonies in America, first in Vinland and Markland, then in Greenland, declined, and were at last totally destroyed. Their exploits in these regions were forgotten; so that in modern times, learned men have been obliged to search in old Scandinavian documents for proof of their reality and importance.

The coast of Maine was seen and traversed by the Northmen on several occasions. From some traces of the Scandinavian language found among the aborigines of Maine, it would appear, that the Northmen must have trafficked, and perhaps dwelt, among their tribes. They probably included Maine under this name of "Vinland;" though it may perhaps have sometimes been considered as belonging to "Markland." On a chart of these discoveries, Maine is put down under the name of "Drogeo," which country was afterwards depicted by geographers as an island, floating in the middle of the ocean.

2. AGENCY OF THE ENGLISH.

Expeditions to the shores of North America are said to have gone forth from the British Isles in very ancient times, and even in advance of the Northmen; first, under the conduct of Madoc, a Prince of Wales, and afterwards under the lead of Irish adventurers. Their undertakings in the northwest, toward Iceland and its vicinity, do not appear to have ever entirely ceased. During the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries they maintained a flourishing commerce with Iceland, chiefly from the port of Bristol, and sometimes made warlike and piratical expeditions into that region, even as far as Greenland. The same may be said of their rivals, the Hanseatic traders and pirates. During the fifteenth century, numerous English and Hanseatic vessels sailed to Iceland and its vicinity, and it is not unlikely that they were there informed of the existence of those western countries, formerly visited by the Icelanders, and still recognized in their traditions. Occasionally, too, an English vessel may have been driven by gales to the American coast, although we have no evidence of any such fact.

The Anglo-Scandinavian commerce carried Columbus to Iceland, and the Cabots, not long after, beyond it; and thus gave an impulse to the discovery of the rest of America. In the approach to the northern parts of America, the English may be said to have taken the lead, under the conduct of the Cabots, assisted by the merchants and sailors of Bristol. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, they reconnoitered nearly the entire east coast of America; and in so doing, doubtless explored the coast of that region, destined, two centuries later, to bear the name of New England, and to be the principal centre of the English power on the continent.

During the reign of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. several expeditions were made by the English to the north-east of America. Their leading motive in those expeditions was the hope of finding a shorter passage to the rich countries of eastern Asia. But in this respect their undertakings were failures, and for the most part, unfortunate; their crews and ships being always exposed to perils from the ice, and often entirely wrecked. The last English expedition of this kind, in 1536, ended so terribly, with such loss of life, and other disasters, that a most unfavorable impression appears to have

been made by it on the nation. After this, for nearly fifty years, the English seem to have entirely abandoned the east coast of North America, and their explorations of the north-west. Their skill in maritime affairs was not yet great. Their commercial and marine fleet was not large; and their ships found more profitable occupation in capturing the ships of the Portuguese and Spaniards, returning home richly laden with the products of the mines of the South, than in exploring the icy seas and sterile shores of the North. Their rulers, Henry VIII, during the latter part of his reign, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth during the first part of her reign, were more occupied with the affairs of religion and the church, and with foreign wars, than with exploring new countries, or settling questions of geography. And when at last they came to be able to employ some of their means and forces in the work of discovery, they were diverted from the north-west into other directions. This was owing, in part, to the influence of Sebastian Cabot himself. This great navigator, after having conducted several expeditions from England, in search of a passage to China by the north-west, appears to have become satisfied, that further attempts in that direction were hopeless; and he now thought, that a shorter route to India might be found by sailing to the north-east, round the north of Europe and Asia. Through his influence, soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, several exploring expeditions went from England, under Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, and Stephen Burrough, intended to reach Cathay by the north-east. Though they did not arrive at their destination, they found a route to Russia by sea, and originated a very profitable commerce with that country.

These may be some of the reasons why no official exploring expedition, for more than forty years after 1536, was directed to our coasts from England. Meanwhile the fishing

expeditions to the Banks of Newfoundland, which had begun with the discovery of the Cabots, continued after the expedition of Hore. And once at least during this interval, these coasts were reached by a great English navigator and explorer, Sir John Hawkins, who having been attracted to Florida by the French settlements, and guided by French pilots, sailed along the east coast of North America in 1565. Hawkins thus became a pioneer of those enterprises, which, beginning in 1578 with the letters-patent of Queen Elizabeth, and under the command of Gilbert and Raleigh, form a new era in the history of American discovery.

The coast of Maine, in particular, was visited during this period, perhaps by Cabot in 1498; and also by Rut in 1527, when some of his company probably landed, and our shores were for the first time trodden by the feet of Englishmen.

The territory of Maine appears, at this time, to have been known by the English, under the names of "the New Isles," "the Newfoundland," or "the country of Bacallaos," which were first given by the Cabots. After Cabot, however, the English generally adopted the names given to these countries by other nations.

But little as was done by the English, during this period, in their naval enterprises, still less was accomplished in their literary efforts to preserve and diffuse the knowledge of what had been really effected by their voyagers. The original reports and descriptions made by Cabot, and which must have been invaluable, were lost, and have never been recovered. A chart, composed by him in 1544,* was printed, but nearly all its copies were lost. The same is true of all the reports

* [Another chart was made by Cabot, immediately after his return from his first voyage in 1497, which was seen and partially described by D'Ayala in his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, July 25, 1498. This document is found in Bergenroth's Calendar of the Spanish Archives, vol. 1, p. 177.—Ed.]

which may have been made at that time by other English explorers on our coasts.

But at length, toward the end of this period, Richard Eden collected and published, in 1577, his book of travels to the West and East Indies, and thus gave a new impulse to the spirit of discovery among his countrymen. Before this time he had published, in 1553, a less important work, "Treatise of the New India," which was only a translation of Sebastian Münster's cosmography. After Eden followed Master Richard Hakluyt. The first of his voluminous collections of voyages was not published, however, until 1582, and therefore falls into a later period than the one comprised within the present volume.

The few charts of the east coast which were composed by Englishmen during this time, were mostly copied from Spanish, French, and Portuguese originals.

3. AGENCY OF THE PORTUGUESE.

The Portuguese were the first who followed the lead of the Cabots in their ideas and plans for north-western discovery. Emanuel, king of Portugal, sent out, between the years 1500 and 1503, several expeditions to the north-east of America, under the command of Gaspar Cortereal and his brothers. These voyages were very unfortunate, resulting in the loss of men, ships, and money. Discouraged by these reverses, and becoming more and more occupied with the more favored regions of Brazil and the East Indies, the Portuguese sovereigns abandoned the work of northern discovery. The Portuguese continued, however, their private enterprises; and, following the track of the Cortereals and Cabots, they yearly visited the fishing-grounds of Newfoundland, the richest in the world. During the greater part of the sixteenth century,

they were the most active fishermen on the banks, and gained and communicated much information concerning those regions, and the neighboring waters and coasts of Labrador, and Davis' and Hudson's Straits. We find these coasts and waters for the first time accurately depicted on Portuguese charts.

From these charts, as well as from other circumstances, it is quite certain, that the Portuguese visited Nova Scotia and the Bay of Fundy, and probably also the coast of Maine.

The names given by the Portuguese to these regions are "Terra de Labrador," and "Terra de Cortereal." The first is applied only to the more northern countries; first to Greenland, and afterwards to the present Labrador. The second is more strictly applied to Newfoundland; though it was understood by the Portuguese to comprise all the country west of it, which was known to them. But when the Cortereals, in the course of time were forgotten, other names, given by foreigners, were adopted instead of theirs, even by their own countrymen. The first fair delineation of Nova Scotia and the Bay of Fundy is found in a Portuguese chart of the year 1558.

The charts made by the Portuguese are a better source of information on these coasts, than their books. No full report of a Portuguese explorer to the north has been preserved. Even regarding the voyages of the Cortereals, we find in Portuguese authors only scattered and occasional notices. Galvano, a Portuguese author, composed and published in this period a chronological survey of voyages of discovery, which contains many valuable allusions to our region.

In 1583, numerous Portuguese vessels and seamen were found on the coast of Newfoundland; but after this we do not hear much of them in that region. Soon after 1580, Portugal was conquered by Philip of Spain, and merged in

his own kingdom. By this unhappy union with Spain, and other adverse circumstances, the maritime power of the Portuguese was destroyed, their colonies were subverted, and their energy and industry paralyzed. The Portuguese therefore disappeared from our waters, and their fisheries on the banks were abandoned. They never made a permanent establishment on our coasts, though in their maps they planted their banner on several countries in the vicinity of Maine.

A few geographical names on the coast of Newfoundland, and the name "Labrador," are the only remaining monuments of the presence in our waters of this once interesting and powerful nation.

4. AGENCY OF THE SPANIARDS.

Agramonte and other enterprising Spanish navigators, after the voyages of Cabot and Cortereal to the north-west, urged upon the king of Spain to undertake similar expeditions, but without success. The exploring voyages of that nation were commenced from its colonies in the West Indies. From this centre of their operations they advanced toward the north, along the shores of what are now the States of Florida, Georgia, and Carolina. On this track they expected soon to find an end of the northern countries; and several of their explorers in this direction were ordered to turn westward as soon as possible, and sail into the Western Ocean toward the Moluccas. Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, also proposed to make search for a western passage somewhere south of Newfoundland; and in 1525, Estevan Gomez was directed to these latitudes. For the same purpose he surveyed a great section of the coast between 40° and 45° N., and explored with much care the coast of Maine; particularly the large bay and river of Penobscot, to which he gave the name

of "Rio de las Gamas." He made a chart of the coast, which was used by the royal cosmographer Ribero for his great map of the world. But Gomez found neither a passage to the west, nor gold, nor other valuable products in the countries seen by him. His voyage was the last official Spanish expedition in search of a passage to the Pacific on the eastern side of America. The Spaniards, however, for a long time believed in the existence of such a passage, and laid plans for its discovery, which were still prosecuted, in 1570, by their great navigator, Pedro Menendez. But after the conquest of the rich countries on the shores of the South Sea, they thought the long-sought passage might be more easily discovered from the western, than the eastern side of America; and therefore carried on, from the time of Cortes, a series of explorations along the west coast of North America under the command of Francisco Ulloa, Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo, and others, who extended the limits of Spanish conquest and discovery on that side far north, to California and the Strait of De Fuca. On the eastern side of North America, the countries lying in the high latitudes where Gomez had been occupied, were never reached again by the Spaniards, except only by the fishermen of the Basque provinces, to whom Gomez had opened the way.

The Biscayans, always active fishermen, followed Gomez yearly to the Grand Banks, as the Portuguese had followed Cortereal; and as they probably carried their cargoes directly to Havana and other Spanish settlements in the West Indies, we may infer that they sometimes came in sight of our coast.

At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, these Spanish fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland gradually declined, and came to an end, like those of the Portuguese. Both these nations gave place here to the French, who were soon followed by the English.

No regular official survey of the coast of New England was made after that of Gomez, during the period under consideration, nor until the explorations and surveys of the French and English, near the end of the sixteenth century: so that nearly all the representations of our coast contained in the Spanish, as well as in the French and English maps of this time, and in the works of Mercator, Ortelius, and others, were, as far as our coast is concerned, only copies of the survey of Gomez, handed down to us by Ribero. The charts of Verrazano were eventually lost; and the chart of Homem of 1558, which shows that some progress had been made by private adventurers in the knowledge of the coast, received no attention from these geographers. So that nearly all the names planted by Gomez on the coast of New England were transmitted, and became nearly as permanent as those left by Cortereal on the coast of Newfoundland. We always see in these works our great and beautiful Penobscot River particularly conspicuous, under the name of "Rio de las Gamas," or "Rio formosa," or "Rio de Gomez," with its diverging branches, the numerous islands at its mouth, and the great cities on either bank, sometimes superadded.

The first Spanish cosmographers and map-makers gave to these coasts the name of "Tierra de Gomez," under which, together with Maine, the rest of New England and Nova Scotia were comprised. They also apply to these northern parts of "Florida," a name given to them by the French, namely, "Arambe," or "Arambec," which has so marked a similarity to the Indian name "Norumbega," that it must be regarded as having the same origin.

The historians of Spain, during this period, furnish us with important information relative to our subject; although their narratives, even that of Gomez, are neither complete nor exact. The Decades of Peter Martyr, the first chronicler of

events in the new world, contain on our regions, as on the whole of America, the most full and useful information. The works of Gomara and Oviedo communicated still more ample knowledge. In 1537, Oviedo gave the best and most accurate description of our east coast, which has come down to us from the sixteenth century; and Herrera's work on the history of Spanish discovery is of the highest interest. At a later date another Spanish author, Barcia, composed a special work on the history of "Florida," a name then used by the Spaniards as synonymous with North America. And in quite modern times, the well-known Navarrete published from scattered documents in the archives of Spain, a collection of voyages of the highest interest relating to this country.*

5. AGENCY OF THE FRENCH.

The French from Brittany and Normandy, like the Portuguese, soon after the expeditions of Cabot and Cortereal, began to resort to the fishing-grounds on the Banks of Newfoundland, and continued their operations there during the whole of the sixteenth century, by the side, first of the Portuguese, and afterwards of the Spanish Biscayans, who were principal actors in this profitable employment. And, like the Portuguese, they also continued the discoveries which the great official explorers had commenced; particularly on the west and south-west of Newfoundland, and about Cape Breton, which they named "Terre des Bretons." Under this name they included, on some of their old maps, not only the

*[This work was entitled "Collection of the Voyages and Maritime Discoveries made by the Spaniards since the close of the Fifteenth Century." The first two volumes were published in Madrid in 1825, the fourth and fifth in 1837, the sixth and seventh not until after the death of the author, which took place in 1844, at the age of seventy-nine.—ED.]

future Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but sometimes also the territory of Maine, thus embracing this entire region. Soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century, they appear also to have extended their voyages to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to have gained some knowledge of the great river of Canada. Our accounts of their proceedings, however, are meagre ; and it is difficult to decide how much was done by them, and how much by the Portuguese.

At last in 1524, the royal French expedition under Verrazano was sent to our coasts, of which we have full and good reports. But these reports were so long, that they were read by few persons, and did little to perpetuate the memory of this navigator and his discoveries, while his charts were generally and readily examined and understood, and frequently copied. But as the charts of Verrazano were not preserved, so neither were the names nor the geographical delineations doubtless contained in them ; while the chart of Gomez, having been copied by Ribero, and often republished, perpetuated the names he had given, though it was not accompanied by any written report.

The voyages of Verrazano were followed by those of Jacques Cartier. This great navigator, in his remarkable voyages of 1535 and 1543, accurately surveyed the whole coast-line of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and a large section of the great river of Canada. These surveys were repeatedly copied by subsequent map-makers, and form the basis of the maps and charts of that period.

Soon after Cartier, Francis I, the patron of Verrazano and himself, died ; and his successors, Henry II, Francis II, and Henry III, were too much occupied by political and religious dissensions at home, to give any attention to affairs in the new world. The same causes also operated in Germany and England, to divert their governments and people from the

remote and less exciting objects of discovery and colonization. It was left for the Huguenots, in seeking a place of refuge from persecution, to direct attention again to America. In their behalf, Ribault, Laudonnière, and others, soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, undertook several expeditions to the southern section of our east coast, which had also an important bearing on the discovery of its northern section. Among the great maritime powers of Europe, Spain was the only one which preserved tranquillity at home, and energetically pursued transatlantic conquest, enriching herself by the spoils of the new world. The whole navigation of France and England, at the end of this period, was reduced to privateering and piracy. It was not until near the close of the sixteenth century, that great and honorable explorers and adventurers, superseding the French and English "corsarios," with a noble rivalry, completed the discovery of our coast, and solved the geographical questions connected with it.

After the voyages of Verrazano and Cartier, the grand name, "La Nouvelle France," was given to the countries around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and included also the territory of Maine and the rest of New England, as far down as 40° N. But this name was sometimes applied by French geographers to the whole of North America; in the same manner as the Spaniards extended their name "Florida" over the same region. The French also gave the Indian name, "Norumbega," to a portion of New France; and we find it applied on some old maps to the country of the Bretons and Nova Scotia. But it is generally confined to that part of the coast lying north of the fortieth degree; to which, as was conceded by the French, the Spanish "Florida" extended. The centre of the region covered by this aboriginal name, however, appears always to have been the Penobscot River, "the great river of Norumbega." And this name is found still

applied to this central region, long after it had disappeared from the adjacent countries.

The French explorers of this period composed the most full and best reports of their expeditions, which, by a singular good fortune, have nearly all been preserved, and especially those of Verrazano, of Cartier, of Ribault, and of Laudonnière. They are a most important source of information on the condition of the east coast in the sixteenth century.

6. AGENCY OF THE ITALIANS.

The progress of discovery in America, whether considered as a whole or in its different sections, was accomplished not alone by the direct action of the great maritime powers of the day, Portugal, Spain, France, and England, but also by the indirect agency of private members of other nations, settled at a greater distance from the shores of the Western Ocean, but further advanced in the sciences of geography and astronomy, so necessary for maritime success.

Some of the exploring expeditions undertaken by the Spanish, French, and English, we have called by their names only in a political sense; because their commissions were given, their explorers were mostly paid, and their profits wholly enjoyed by these several governments. But with respect to the scientific principles, the leading ideas, and the whole spirit which originated and animated them, they must, partly at least, be ascribed to private individuals of other nations. Thus the enterprise of Columbus for the discovery of America is usually called a Spanish enterprise, which indeed it was, in a political sense. Columbus, however, was not only born and educated in Italy, but acquired his nautical experience in Italian waters, and was imbued with the adventurous spirit of the old Italian navigators, of which the Spaniards of his time had

very little, except what he imparted to them. The friends, too, with whom he corresponded, Toscanelli, Peter Martyr, and others, including among these the Pope of Rome, by whom he was instructed, encouraged, and applauded, were all Italians. The same may be said of the voyages of the Cabots, which, though justly called English enterprises in the sense above-mentioned, may, in another sense, be justly considered Italian; inasmuch as the Cabots, like Columbus, had their birth and education in Italy, and conducted their enterprises on the ideas and principles which they had learned from their Italian masters.

Exactly the same is true also of the expedition of Verrazano, which is properly considered a French expedition, in so far as it was undertaken by order of the king of France, and in behalf of French interests; but in so far as Verrazano, like Columbus and Cabot, was an Italian, educated in the Italian school of maritime science, and associated by sympathy and correspondence with Italian cosmographers, his expedition, also, must be considered, in an important sense, Italian; or more exactly, an Italian enterprise under French auspices.

But, in truth, the way to the discovery of America was pointed out to the nations of Europe by the Italians, long before the voyages of Verrazano, of the Cabots, or even of Columbus. In proof of this, it will only be necessary to remind the reader of what has been said of the voyages and charts of the brothers Zeni.

But a full discussion of the influence of Italy upon maritime discovery, would carry me beyond the allotted limits of this volume, and I shall pursue it no further.

I must not, however, omit to notice the agency of Italian authors in recording the history of what was done by their own and other nations in the discovery of America. Some

of the very first reports on western discovery were either written, or collected and published, by Italian authors. To this class belong the invaluable reports of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, an Italian in the service of Spain, from whom we have obtained very important information on the voyage of Estevan Gomez to our coast. Here also may be mentioned the first collection of voyages of discovery in America ever made, which was published by some anonymous Italian author in Vicenza, in 1507.

Italy, during this period, kept a vigilant watch upon the oceanic action of Portugal and Spain. This was true especially of the cities of Venice and Rome, the ambassadors of which always kept the governments at home fully and accurately informed of everything done by the governments to which they were sent, in relation to discovery and colonization in the west. By such means the Italians, especially in those central positions where these reports were collected and published, became better acquainted than any other nation, with the western voyages and adventures of Spain and Portugal, and also of England and France. These reports, published in Italy, were diffused over Europe; and thus was communicated intelligence of discoveries in America which would otherwise have been little known. Even at this day, our best information on the voyages of the Cabots, the Corteals, the Verrazanos, and the Cartiers to our east coast, comes from Italian sources, and especially from the great work, "Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi," published in Venice, by Giovanni Battista Ramusio.

In Venice, where art and science flourished, a large school of skillful cartographers arose. Many of the first maps of the new world were made and printed there, and were usually added to the numerous Italian editions of Ptolemy. It was here also that Baptista Agnese, and other Italians, com-

posed innumerable "Portolanos,"* or sea-charts, on which the discoveries of new countries were depicted, which were dispersed through the world, to be used by explorers on their new and dangerous routes. Even foreign chart-makers, and among them the Portuguese Homein, were attracted to Venice, and composed their works in that city, where they found the best assistance from artists, mathematicians, and cosmographers. Copies of several of these Italian, or more strictly Venetian charts, which throw much light on the history of "western discoveries," are placed in this volume.

But near the end of the sixteenth century, when France and England entered with new spirit upon a new career of American discovery and colonization, the learned men of those countries took into their own hands the business of collecting, preserving, and publishing narratives and charts of maritime adventure; and, meanwhile, the Italians lost that literary preëminence which they had gained by their early publications on the history of American discovery.

7. AGENCY OF THE GERMANS.

The Germans also may be mentioned among those nations who, in many ways, assisted the work of discovery in the new world. German soldiers and seamen are often mentioned as making part of the crews of the great navigators, and especially of Magellan on his first navigation round the globe. And was not that companion of the old Northman Leif, the good-natured Tyrker, a German? And did not this German, by his discovery of grapes in the woods of New England, and by the satisfaction he exhibited in this discovery, give occasion for applying to this country the name of "Vin-

* Portolano means "a coast-pilot;" also, "a book in which ports or harbors are described."

land the good," the first name under which it became known to the civilized world? And was not that man a German, who, in 1037, having paid a high price for a rare piece of wood from the forests of New England, made it an article of commerce, commending it at the same time in a report of the country from which it came? And was it not a German author, Adam of Bremen, who first published an account of the discovery of Vinland, at a time when little interest was felt in such tidings, even if they could have been at all comprehended, either by his own countrymen, or by the rest of Europe?

If not great navigators themselves, the Germans were eminent in those sciences and arts which are necessary to navigation. The earliest of modern astronomers were Germans; and distinguished among these was John Müller, better known under his Latin name, "Regiomontanus,"* who, from Nuremberg, his place of residence, in the interior of Germany, guided and regulated the routes of navigators and explorers on the trackless ocean. His astronomical Ephemerides, in which he had calculated in advance the movements of the moon and stars from 1475 to 1506 † was used by Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco de Gama, Columbus, and Vespucci, on the coasts of Africa and America, as they themselves have stated. In Nuremberg there flourished, after Regiomontanus, a large school of skillful mathematicians and astronomers.

From the same town there sprang another great German geographer, the famous Martin Behaim, a contemporary and personal friend of Columbus, who, like him, resided for several years in Portugal,—that part of the European continent which stretches furthest toward the west. Behaim also, like

* So called from his birth-place "Königsberg," in Latin "Regiomontium."

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, p. 232.

Columbus, studied cosmography, composed charts, and like him also, made voyages to the Azores and the western coast of Africa, then the outposts of Portuguese discovery. And, still following the example of Columbus, he married the daughter of one of the principal residents of these islands; so that both Behaim and Columbus may be said to have become connected with the ocean by marriage. By these antecedents, and by the high esteem in which he was held by the king of Portugal, it would seem as if Behaim was qualified, like Columbus, to become a practical navigator, and himself an explorer in the west. He contented himself, however, with the more modest fame of constructing an improved astrolabium, which the Portuguese and Spanish navigators hung up on the masts of their vessels.*

As in mathematics and astronomy, so also in the arts of typography, wood-cutting and engraving, the Germans, in the time of Columbus, occupied a high place. This was the epoch of Albrecht Dürer and his school. German printers were dispersed throughout Europe. They printed in Seville, among other reports on America, the first letter written by Columbus from the new world. German engravers, who often were also good mathematicians, engraved many of the first maps of America, not only in Germany, but in Italy, and wherever else their science and skill had procured for them employment; the German Ruysch, for instance, who engraved in Rome a map of America, a copy of which is supplied in this volume. Composing maps of the world from materials furnished by navigators of other nations, seems to have been a passion with these Germans. Of the twenty-one editions of Ptolemy, issued in the first half of the sixteenth century, nearly all of which are embellished with charts, not less than sixteen were published in Germany.

* See Humboldt, l. c. p. 234.

The Germans became, in fact, the great masters in the art of map-making. They constructed maps more accurately than others, and were the first who attempted that projection so useful to navigators, which, in 1569, was brought to perfection by Mercator, in the little town of Duisburg, and which, from him, was called "Mercator's Projection."*

By publishing many editions of the reports of Amerigo Vespucci, who was a favorite with the Germans, and by repeating his name on the numerous maps of South America, where it was first placed, the German geographers and map-makers may be said to have fastened on the western continent the name it now bears, and to have been the means of its becoming universally adopted.† The best and most complete map of the world of the sixteenth century was made in a small German town, under the patronage of a German prince, by Mercator, the celebrated author of the planisphere. This famous map contained all parts of the old world, with the discoveries in the new, including portions of our north-east coast, very accurately drawn, and from the best authorities.

8. AGENCY OF THE NETHERLANDERS.

The Netherlanders, particularly the Flemings, had founded a colony in the western islands before the time of Columbus; yet they do not appear until a much later period to have taken part in the work of discovery. And even as geographers, writers, printers, and map-makers, they fell far behind the Germans. After the death of Mercator, in 1595, the copperplates of his charts were sold to the Belgian Hondius, and

* Compare upon this Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 368 seq. München, 1865.

† This question has been amply treated by D'Avezac, in his work, "*Martin Hylacomylus*" (Waltzemüller), etc. Paris, 1867.

were transported from Germany to the Netherlands, where another Mercator, the famous geographer and cartographer Ortelius, had arisen. After that time, geography and cartography began to flourish in the Netherlands, while these, with other arts, greatly declined in Germany.

At the time of their struggle with Spain, the heroic and victorious Netherlanders became powerful on the ocean; and particularly after Hudson's discoveries, and their settlement at New Amsterdam, they not only became a leading maritime power, but, what interests us more in our present object, they largely contributed to the progress of geography and cartography, and gave improved drawings of the peninsula of New England and of the coast of Maine. But all this will find a more suitable place hereafter.

What we have said in this concluding chapter will, we trust, justify us in bringing this volume to a close with the termination of this first series of exploring voyages to America, undertaken by the four great maritime nations of Europe. These voyages, while proposed, in the first instance, to discover a shorter route by the west to India, prepared the way for the further exploration of the north-east coast, and its settlement by the French and English. The history of these later enterprises, prosecuted by the Gilberts and Raleighs, the De Monts and Champlains, in the brilliant reigns of Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France, will furnish interesting materials for a future volume.

NOTICE.

BRUNSWICK, Feb. 15, 1869.

TO HON. WM. WILLIS, LL.D., EDITOR:

Dear Sir,—I have the honor to present to you, for publication in the first volume of the new series of the Collections of the Maine Historical Society, the translation of a letter I have lately received from M. D'Avezac, relating to some of the topics discussed in this volume. In one of the frequent and agreeable interviews which I enjoyed with this distinguished scholar during my recent residence in Paris, I took occasion to express to him the interest I had felt in some papers published by him a few years before, wherein he advocates the opinion, that the voyage made by the Cabots in which North America was first discovered, after the times of the Northmen, took place in 1494, and was followed in 1497, 1498, and 1517, by three successive voyages to the same regions. I stated to him at the same time my impression, that this opinion was generally regarded as having been disproved by certain documents, recently brought to light from the Venetian and Spanish archives; and that it was certainly so considered by many of our best American scholars. He, however, had seen nothing in those documents to induce him to abandon the opinion referred to, or even to modify it materially. But he was disposed, in deference to the judgment of those who took a different view, for many of whom he entertained the highest personal regard, and also in compliance with my request in the name of our Society, to examine anew the subject in question, in the light of the more recent, as well as the earlier authorities. The results of that examination are contained in the letter, a translation of which is herewith submitted. And if the theory of the author is not cleared of all difficulties, and proved beyond a doubt, by this new vindication, it is certainly commended to the acceptance of his readers, by the learning and ability with which it is advocated. Between discussions so able, as that of Dr. Kohl in his sections on Cabot's map on the one side, and this of M. D'Avezac on the other, it must be difficult to decide. At all events, our readers may well consider themselves as enjoying the best means of coming to a just decision on this question, which lies at the beginning of our history, in having it argued before them on opposite sides, by two of the most eminent living authors in this department of learning.

I remain, dear Sir,

Very truly and respectfully yours, &c.,

LEONARD WOODS.

LETTER OF M. D'AVEZAC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

42 RUE DU BAC, PARIS, Dec. 15, 1868.

TO LEONARD WOODS, LL.D., BRUNSWICK, ME.:

Dear Sir,—You were pleased to remind me, last June, that I had incidentally attempted, more than ten years previously (in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* of Paris, October, 1857, note k, pp. 266 to 278), to establish a certain order in the confused and contradictory notions which had been previously entertained, relating to the voyages of discovery of the two celebrated navigators, John and Sebastian Cabot, along the coasts of North America; and the distinction which I had proposed, of four successive expeditions under the dates, 1494, 1497, 1498, and 1517, appeared to your indulgent courtesy to be *a new and very plausible theory*.

But subsequently to the time when I announced that theory, many new documents, derived principally from the researches of Messrs. Rawdon Brown and George Bergenroth in the archives of Italy and Spain, had come to light, and were thought by you to have been generally considered as affording a decisive argument in favor of the common opinion, that it was in 1497 when the first voyage took place; such at least you regarded as the opinion which had been professed by two of your most learned countrymen, in some erudite observations suggested by the map of Sebastian Cabot, at the time when a fac-simile copy of this map was presented to the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts; observations which have been published in the *Proceedings* of that Society for the years 1866 and 1867, and which are specially recommended by the names of their authors, the Reverend Edward E. Hale of Boston, and Charles Deane, Esq. of Cambridge. You subsequently added, with good reason, another name still more considerable, that of Mr. George Baneroft, the great historian of the United States, who had already made use of these documents, at that time not as yet published, in two biographical articles devoted to John

and Sebastian Cabot in the *New American Encyclopedia*, edited by Ripley and Dana; and I find myself at present in a condition to add to those a fourth name, that of Mr. John Carson Brevoort, President of the Historical Society of Long Island, from whom I have received at last, after many postal vicissitudes, a memoir on the voyage of Cabot of 1497, printed last March in the *Historical Magazine* of New York.

As this question is, at this moment, in the order of the day before the Historical Society of Maine, which contemplates the publication of a Documentary History of that State, you request me, in the name of that Society, to inform you, whether I consider the new documents to which you refer, as consistent with the theory which I had proposed; and, at all events, whether my ideas upon the subject in question have undergone any modification in consequence of new researches, made either by myself or by others. My opinion deliberately formed on this subject, you had the kindness to add, will have the highest authority, not only in Europe, but also in America, with all persons who interest themselves in the study of the exploits performed by the great navigators of the heroic age of discovery, but who are embarrassed with the difficulties of this study.

Permit me, dear sir, to say to you, first of all, how much the solemnity of this appeal alarms me, and how many serious perplexities are awakened in my mind by this judicial authority with which you seem, in some sort, to invest me, in a cause so much controverted, and not yet sufficiently cleared up: accordingly I do not hesitate to decline a part so ambitious; and shall confine myself to setting forth what I believe to be the truth, without any pretension to be believed on my mere word, and without forbidding myself to advance, in case of an absolute chasm, some expletive conjecture, offering it simply for what it is, and submitting it very humbly to the mercy of any who may not choose to accept it.

It is five years since, that, on occasion of an edition of one of the voyages of Jacques Cartier, for which I was requested to furnish an historical introduction of a few pages, my studies were directed again to the whole series of European navigations along the coasts of America now under the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race, from the first Irish predecessors of our present Fenians, from the Welsh of Madoc ap Owen, and the Scandinavians of Iceland, of Norway, and the Faröe Islands, down to the English, the Portuguese, the French, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The explorations of the two Cabots being thus taken up again in their natural connection, and examined anew, appeared to me such as I had before considered them. This *Brève et*

succincte Introduction historique, which I finished on the 12th of August, 1863, and which appears at the head of the second voyage of Cartier, published by the Brothers Tross, was reprinted substantially in the July number, 1864, of the *Annales des Voyages*, of Malte-Brun, where the § (vi) relating to the Cabots, occupies less than two pages (77 to 79), and reproduces, in a simple recital, the results of which I had given a résumé in 1857, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* of Paris.

Your last appeal has led me to take up again, with more care, and with a more obstinate perseverance in the pursuit of original documents, this history of the navigations of John and Sebastian Cabot to their new-found-lands. I have here attempted a narrative of these voyages, in which the passages adduced in support of each fact (*les pièces justificatives*) will be incorporated in their own language: for the necessity of relying only on the original texts has been proved to me, again and again, by the treacheries proverbially, and with too much reason, charged upon translators; of which indeed I have met with more than one example in my present inquiry. But these original texts, which must be generally procured from foreign archives and libraries, one never receives without waiting some time for them, which might delay a good deal the completion of my digest. But I am unwilling to postpone any longer a reply, which is already very late; and I purpose to send you, succinctly, the history which has resulted from such an examination as I have thus far been able to give to the original sources, which are already accessible to my curiosity; in which investigation, the most obliging assistance has been rendered me by the Abbé Valentinelli, the Marquis d'Adda, Mr. Buckingham Smith, Mr. Bergenroth, Mr. Paul Meyer, for which it would be ungrateful in me not to return them my thanks in this place.

I come now to the matter in hand. In some place, more or less obscure, in the region of Genoa, if not in the City of Palaces itself (perhaps precisely in Castiglione), toward the middle of the fifteenth century, as I suppose, John Cabota, Caboto, or Cabot was born; who, early in 1460 at the latest, went to live at Venice; married there a daughter of the country, by whom he had three sons; and there, after fifteen years of residence, and by the unanimous consent of the senate, expressed by one hundred and forty-nine votes, obtained from the doge (André Vandramino), on the 28th March, 1476, his naturalization as a citizen of Venice (*privilegium civitatis de intus et extrà*). He had addicted himself, it appears, with great success, to the study of cosmography and the practice of navigation: perhaps he had sought the teaching of the celebrated Florentine cosmographer, Paul Toscanelli; and

at all events, he had doubtless adopted, with the avidity of a studious adept, the theories professed by that aged sage, respecting the disposition of land and water on the surface of the globe,—theories, the fame of which had reached even to the court of Portugal, and had excited there a curiosity, which he satisfied in a well-known letter written from Florence, under date of June 25, 1474, to Canon Fernam Martins, an intimate of Alphonso V, to which there was annexed a nautical explanatory chart, representing the Atlantic Ocean, bounded on the east by the shores of Europe and Africa, and on the west by those of oriental Asia, with a total interval of 130° of longitude between Lisbon and Quinsay, the magnificent capital of the mighty empire of Cathay. At 50° this side of Cathay, lay the great island of Zipangu or Japan. At 30° distance from Lisbon, the great island Antilia, or the island of the “Seven Cities” was thrust forward, which the maps of the time placed beyond the Azores; with some other islands in a location less fixed, among which the island of Brésil occurred in different places. A direct way was thus boldly traced by the learned Florentine across the Western Ocean, even to that opulent country of the grand Khan, whose incomparable riches had been seen and related, two centuries before, by the Venetian Marco Polo. The attention of Alonzo V. was diverted by cares nearer home, by a war with strange reverses, from these meditations about a maritime route to the Indies by the west. But Cabot, who, in his travels in the east (*Ei dice che altre volte esso è stato a la Mecha*) had learned from the caravans of Arabia, that the spices came from hand to hand from the remotest countries of the east, could not fail to revolve in his brain adventurous thoughts regarding the distant horizon, where that extreme Orient was distinctly indicated, toward which he saw ranged, at due intervals, like successive station-houses, the islands of Brésil, of Antilia, and then Zipangu!

The new citizen of Venice, taking his wife and sons with him, to go into foreign parts to found an establishment of maritime commerce, in accordance with the cosmopolitan habits of the Venetians, selected for this purpose the English port of Bristol, the channel of which opens exactly toward those occidental regions, where Toscanelli pointed out, in the distance, the fortunate shores of Cathay. It may be conjectured, that it was not far from the year 1477, that the family of Cabot transferred its Penates to this port in the extreme west of Europe; for the second son, Sebastian, whom I suppose to have been born in 1472 or 1473, was then only a child.

But, in 1480, the 15th July, we see a ship and its consort, of eighty

tons burden, belonging to the merchant, Jay, the younger, and conducted by the most skillful mariner in all England, setting forth from Bristol to go west from Ireland to seek the island of Brésil; and on the 18th of the September following, the news reaches Bristol, that after a cruise of two months, the expedition had returned to a port of Ireland without having found the island sought. This *magister navis scientificus marinarius totius Angliæ*, I persuade myself is no other than John Cabot himself.

But from a doubt let us pass to a certainty. We have arrived now at the year 1491; and we know this time, appositely, that there then commenced a series of consecutive explorations, which employed, each year, two, three, four caravels, proceeding from the port of Bristol, to sail under the direction of John Cabot, the Genoese, for the discovery of the isle of Brésil, and of the Seven Cities: this is what the Spanish ambassador, Pierre d'Ayala, sends officially to his government in a despatch of the 25th of July, 1498, on occasion of the departure of a great expedition confided to this Genoese. *Los de Bristol ha siete annos que cada anno han armado dos, tres, quatro caravelas para ir á buscar la isla del Brasil y las Siete Ciudades, con la fantasia deste Genovés.*

At last, on the fourth voyage of this septennial series, in the month of June, 1494, the search is no longer in vain: in one of the legends accompanying the great elliptical Mapped-Monde, published in 1544 by Sebastian Cabot, then grand pilot of Spain, the following indisputable declaration is inscribed, both in Spanish and Latin, and is pointed out by an express reference [in the body of the map], for what relates to *Tierra de los Bacallaos*: "This land was discovered by John Cabot a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot his son, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, M.CCCC.XCIII (1494), the twenty-fourth day of June [at 5 o'clock] in the morning; to which land has been given the name of *The land first seen*: and to a great island, which is very near the said land, the name of St. John has been given, on account of its having been discovered the same day."

This same date, 1494, such as we ascertain it on the very map of Sebastian Cabot, preserved at Paris in the geographical department of the "Bibliothèque Imperiale," was extracted in a similar manner in 1556, at Oxford, in a transcript by Nathan Kochhaf (Chytræus), and copied by Hakluyt in 1589, at the palace of Westminster, from another edition engraved by Clement Adams. A typographical error, rather than an ill-advised arbitrary correction, changed that date, in this same citation, in a later edition of Hakluyt's collection. This would not be worth mentioning, if I were not obliged to give notice here, that more than

one careless reader has inconsiderately, and without being sufficiently informed, taken the date thus corrupted, for that which Hakluyt had actually copied from the original, engraved by Adams. Nor can this date of 1494, which was really written, be invalidated, on the other hand, on the pretext, that the legend did not emanate from Sebastian Cabot himself. From whom then did it come? Its origin may, in my judgment, assuredly be traced to John Cabot, who must be supposed to have inscribed it in Italian; and this explains how the different versions which have been made of it into Latin, while they are identical in substance, are not precisely the same in form. As for the Spanish rendering, it is evidently posterior to the establishment of Sebastian Cabot in Spain. But of what avail is all this? The legends belong incontestably to the chart; for those which, on account of their length, are not included within the interior of the design, are plainly attached to it by references. And if any one could doubt for a moment, that the whole was the proper work of Sebastian Cabot, it would only be necessary in order to remove immediately all hesitation in this regard, that he should read the first lines of the *Retulo del auctor*, beginning thus: *Sebastian Caboto capitan y piloto mayor de la Sacra Cesarea Catolica Majestad del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre y Rey nuestro sennor, hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de M.D.XLIII. annos, . . . etc.*

I assume it, then, as a fact to be hereafter uncontested, as I have always regarded it as incontestable, that the first discovery of Cabot was made the 24th of June, 1494.

But during the period of the successive attempts of this intrepid navigator to find a passage to the Indies by the west, the great fact of the Columbian discovery had been accomplished; and in its train had followed the promulgation of the papal bull, adjudging this new world to Spain; and immediately after, the protestation of Portugal, and the establishment of a line of demarcation, and finally, the treaty of Tordesillas of 7th June, 1494. Accordingly, when John Cabot had, in his turn, discovered new countries, he was obliged to acknowledge that it could appertain only to a sovereign, to declare them his own, and to confer a beneficial domain over them on the discoverer; and he had recourse to Henry VII, king of England, to escape from the exclusive pretensions of Spain and Portugal. Perhaps after this appeal to the royal intervention, he had to contend against jealous influences from abroad; at least it is certain, that the Castilian ambassador Ruy Gonzales de Puebla, received an order from his court, to make representations against every enterprise of this kind. (*Estas cosas semejantes son*

cosas muy ynciertas y tales que para agora no conviene entender en ellas, y tambien mirad que à aquellas partes no se puede entender en esto, sin perjuycio nuestro o del Rey de Portugal.) However this may be, the king of England signed at last, at Westminster, the 5th of March, 1496, letters-patent to John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sancius, and their heirs, and others concerned, to go by sea under the royal British standard, for the discovery of unknown lands in the western hemisphere, and to take legal possession of them in the name of the crown of England, to be enjoyed by him, and his sons and heirs, for their sole use and inheritance, as vassals and officers of the king, reserving one-fifth part of the net profits of all the products which should be entered free of customs at the single port of Bristol.

We must probably ascribe to the secret practices of the Castilian diplomacy, the delays which attended the departure of the expedition; which did not put to sea until the first days in the month of May, 1497, in a small ship manned by a crew of eighteen men, of whom one was a Burgundian, and one a Genoese; but the greater part were Englishmen from Bristol. It had returned by the beginning of August; for on the date of the 10th of this month, the king gave from his privy purse a gratuity of ten pounds sterling *To hym that found the New Isle*. Some days after, on the 23d of August, the Venetian merchant, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, sent from London to his brothers in Venice, what he had learned of the results of this voyage: John Cabot had found, at a distance of seven hundred leagues in the west, a firm-land, along which he had coasted for the space of three hundred leagues, not having met a living person at the points where he had landed, but still having observed there some traces of inhabitants, trees notched, and nets for catching game: on his return, he had seen on his right hand two islands, where, however, he had not wished to go on shore on account of the failure of his provisions: he had returned to Bristol after a voyage of three months, having left in the lands which he had discovered a grand cross, with the banner of England and that of St. Mark of Venice.

What were these three hundred leagues of coast, thus placed under this two-fold British and Venetian protectorate? One might make this the object of a special study, comparing carefully with the map of Sebastian Cabot, naturally taken here as the standard of reference, the sketch, more or less rude, of the countries upon which, in the chart of the celebrated Spanish pilot Juan de la Cosa, of the date 1500, there floats a series of significant banners, accompanied in the east by the

name *Cabo de Ynglaterra*, and in the west by the inscription *Mar descubierta por Yngleses*. It is, in short, in its whole extent, the same region which, thirty years later, was called by the Spaniards *Tierra de Estevan Gomez*.

Without stopping to notice the enthusiastic reception which John Cabot received after his return, his title of Admiral, the vestments of silk with which he arrayed himself, the concessions of islands with which he gratified certain of his companions (*et intrambi se reputano conti, ne monsignor larmirante se estima manco de principe*); without speaking of the magnificent promises of which he showed himself so prodigal; I come at once to the preparations for a new and more considerable expedition, with which he immediately occupied himself. The king signed at Westminster, the 3d of February following (1498), letters-patent expressly authorizing John Cabot, *or his duly appointed representative*, to take in the ports of England six ships, the largest not to exceed two hundred tons burden at the most, with all their equipments, on the same terms and conditions as in the royal service, and to embark in them as many persons as should freely offer themselves to go with him to the countries or islands previously discovered by him, in the name and by the commandment of his majesty. Anghiéra informs us, that Cabot furnished the armament of two ships at his own expense (*duo is sibi navigia propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit*); three others were equipped by the merchants; and from the treasury accounts of the king, we learn the names of the following merchants as thus concerned, Lancelot Thirkill, Thomas Bradley, and John Carter.

Whatever may have been the reason which occurred at the decisive moment, to prevent John Cabot himself from assuming the command of the contemplated expedition, in virtue of the royal letters granted to him personally (it may be plausibly conjectured that this reason was his unexpected death), the clause which substituted for him eventually *his duly authorized representative*, found in this state of things its effective application; and his son Sebastian, then, according to my computation, about twenty-five years old, took command, in place of the patentee, of the little fleet of five ships, carrying three hundred men, and provisioned for a year, which left Bristol at the commencement of summer (*in the begynnyng of somer*), that is to say, about the 21st of June, with the design of colonizing the transatlantic regions where England had just before planted its flag, and in the hope of penetrating further, even to the region of the spices (*pensa da quello loco occupato andarsene sempre a riva riva più verso al levante, tanto ch'el sia al opposto de una isola da lui chiamata Cipango posta in la regione*

equinoziale, dove creda che nascano tutte le speciarie del mondo). A gale of wind struck them on their departure, and one of the ships, sorely shattered by the tempest, was obliged to take refuge in Ireland; but the others continued on their course. They arrived in sight of land sooner than they expected, in about 45° N. At first they followed the coast which stretched to the north, and thus arrived at about 55° , 56° , or 58° N. Thence the coast appeared to turn to the east; and although it was in the month of July, they encountered such masses of ice, that they were obliged to tack about. They cast anchor for repairs at the land of *Bacallaos*, which Cabot so named from the abundance of large fish, so called by the native inhabitants. He then followed the coast to the south-west, as far as the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar, in a longitude nearly equal to that of the point of Cuba; and from thence, finding himself short of provisions, he sailed directly to England. He had been expected there ever since the month of September; but he did not arrive until the end of October. His expedition was attended with little success. He had lost, it is said, the greater part of his men, and had been unable to discover any passage leading to the land of the spices, as he had announced that he should. And accordingly, on his return, he met but a cold reception, which left only sad recollections.

A long silence in regard to him now intervenes. Did he prosecute other voyages at his own charges? Did he engage in the expeditions undertaken by new mercantile Companies, to which some Portuguese from the Azores were admitted, and which obtained letters-patent of concession, first on the 19th of March, 1501; and again December 9th, 1502? The field is open to conjecture; but no evidence of any value has been hitherto produced; and we must clear this historic chasm at a bound.

There is a secondary fact belonging to the year 1502, noted by the chronicler Fabian, and which Hakluyt, on his own authority, has placed to the account of Cabot, and which he has finally, through inadvertence (if it is not simply a typographical error), attributed to the year 1499, namely, the presentation to the king of three savages brought from the new-found-land. But the error is discovered by ascending to its source; where it is perceived, that the fact of carrying these three savages to England must be restored to the Company of 1501.

The renown of Sebastian Cabot had not remained circumscribed within the British isles. The official correspondence of the ambassadors had for a long time made him known to the court of Spain. Perhaps he himself sought in this quarter a revenge for the indifference

and neglect, with which his services had been treated in England. When, after the death of Henry VII, his successor, having become the son-in-law of Ferdinand the Catholic, had entered into the treaty of 1511 against France, while James of Scotland embraced the opposite side, Cabot turned resolutely toward Spain; and Ferdinand wrote, on the 13th of September 1512, to Lord Willoughby, commander-in-chief of the English troops which had been transported into Italy by the Spanish fleet, to demand of him to send to him the Venetian navigator (who was doubtless, at this time, at his disposal); which was done without difficulty. Sebastian Cabot, having arrived in Castile, received there immediately by royal commission, dated at Logroño the 20th October, 1512, the rank of captain, with a salary of 50,000 maravedis, with Seville for his residence while waiting for orders. It was there that he connected himself with the celebrated councillor of the Indias, Peter Martyr d'Anghiéra, who received him familiarly at his house, and sometimes lodged him under his roof, and with whom he was associated at court (*concurialis noster*) toward the end of 1515, awaiting a royal decree relating to an expedition projected for the month of March of the next year. But Ferdinand died the 23d of January, 1516, before the necessary arrangements had been made for the projected expedition; and Cabot obtained easily, without doubt, leave of absence to visit England, until the young successor of the deceased king should come to the possession of the heritage which had befallen him.

Perhaps this celebrated navigator had already received from Henry VIII. or his chancellor Cardinal Wolsey, some favorable overture. However this may be, the fact remains, that a long time after, in an epistle dedicated to the very high and very mighty prince, his grace the duke of Northumberland, prefixed to an English version of an extract from the cosmography of Sebastian Münster (1553), his *poore oratour*, Richard Eden, recalls the circumstance, that in about the eighth year of the reign of Henry VIII. (which is to be reckoned from the 22d April, 1516, to the same day of 1517), that monarch had equipped and sent forth certain ships under the command of Sebastian Cabot, and of Sir Thomas Pert, whose want of courage was the reason that the expedition produced no result. Ramusio, on his part, in a letter to Frascatoro, forming the preface to the third volume of his collection, "delle Navigazioni et Viaggi" (1556) relates, that Sebastian Cabot had formerly written to him, that he had advanced to the north along the transatlantic coast as far as 67° 30' N., which he reached on the 12th of June, having the sea open before him, and firmly believing that it was possible to pass by that course to Cathay; which indeed, as he

said, he would have done, if the opposition of the commander, and of the refractory sailors, had not forced him to return. There had been already ample allusion made to this abortive enterprise in a memoir addressed to Henry VIII., in 1527, by Robert Thorne, an English merchant established in Seville, who advocates the exploration of the northern routes with an ardor, which he affirms he had inherited from his father (the old Nicholas Thorne?), an associate of Hugh Eliot of Bristol, themselves also discoverers of the new lands; by whom it had come to be well understood, that if the sailors had been obedient, and had followed the designs of their pilots, the occidental Indies, from whence comes the gold, would have been reached. All this was made perfectly clear some forty years ago by your learned and sagacious countryman, Richard Biddle of Pittsburg, Penn., whose book on Sebastian Cabot, altogether antiquated as it is in certain parts, retains nevertheless a considerable value, and seems to me to give on several points, and especially on this, the solution to which we must adhere.

On his return from this expedition, Cabot doubtless went back immediately to Spain, where he was forthwith appointed Pilot Major, by a royal decree dated at Valladolid the 5th of February, 1518, with an additional allowance of 50,000 maravedis, and 25,000 as an indemnity for his expenses (*ayuda de costa*), receiving thus in the whole an annual salary of 125,000 maravedis, equivalent to about 300 ducats.

Nevertheless, he was again in England the next year on a leave of absence, where he received from Cardinal Wolsey advantageous offers to conduct a new expedition for discovery, in view of which the ships were almost ready, with 30,000 ducats appropriated for the wants of the enterprise. He answered, that in his position in the service of the king of Spain, he could not, without the king's formal permission, accept the proposition made to him; and as he had in mind other purposes, he took care secretly to urge his recall, and went back to resume in Spain the exercise of his functions.

Here ends everything in the career of Sebastian Cabot which relates to the new-found-land navigations; and whatever interest for his biographer there may be in the remainder of a life, which was prolonged beyond this period for almost forty years in an incessant activity, North American history can no longer find in it any facts for its own use. Here, then, ought also to end my answer to the question which you have done me the honor to solicit me to examine anew.

You perceive, then, that with the exception of some secondary details, with regard to which my first decisions have been rectified by a more extended study, I have found in the documents which, within

the last ten years, have been exhumed from the archives of Italy, of Spain, and of England, a precious confirmation of what you were pleased to call my plausible theory. Each one of the four voyages of discovery, which I had discriminated in my notices of 1857 and of 1863, is found in fact to present some characteristic trait to distinguish it from the three others. And first of all it is necessary to arrange them in two classes, the one for those performed by John Cabot, the other for those performed by Sebastian; and then to notice their special distinctions.

The Voyages performed by John Cabot (who had his son with him).

The first voyage, which had been preceded by many similar attempts the knowledge of which is due to the researches of Mr. Bergeuroth in the archives of Simancas, is directly attested by the unanswerable testimony of Sebastian Cabot, who pretends to nothing more, on this voyage, than a *first sight of land*, and an island situated near by, under the date of 24th of June, 1494.

The second voyage, which lasted from the beginning of May to the beginning of August, 1497, is characterized by a navigation of three hundred leagues along the coast, the contemporary delineation of which, reproduced on the monumental chart of Juan de la Cosa, shows us the British standard erected on the "Cabo de Ynglaterra" (which must have been reached by the end of May, or at the latest on the first days of June, and which is nothing else than the *Terra prima vista* of the preceding voyage), and then on diverse successive points even to the *Mar descubierta por Yngleses*, on the shore of which no landing appears at that time to have been effected.

Voyages performed exclusively by Sebastian Cabot.

The third voyage has for its salient feature, the encountering of ice in 56° or 58° N., in the month of July 1498; and then, a falling back to the land of Bacallaos.

And finally, the fourth voyage has for its characteristic circumstance, Cabot's advancing to the north, even to the latitude of $67^{\circ} 30'$ N., at the date of the 11th June, 1517, having then before him the coast running east-north-east.

It is impossible for one who pays any attention whatever to these distinctive characters, to confound any one of these four voyages with either of the other three. But if one should give himself but little concern for a rigorous exactitude, and should think it sufficient to

group together, in some elegant phrases, all the results obtained by a whole series of efforts directed to the same object, it might happen that, majestically coiffed with the solemn peruke of the lord high chancellor of England, he would make from these four successive voyages of father and son, only one and the same voyage, under the mean date of 1498, beginning with the meditations and projects of the father, and following each other even to the last terminus of $67^{\circ} 30'$ N., reached long afterward by the son. Such is the manner in which history is *accommodated* by the far-famed chancellor Bacon of Verulam! But neither you nor I, dear sir, have had our heads covered with the majestic peruke (the French have the levity to call it sometimes by the name of *toupet!* . . .), under the shelter of which one allows himself such enormities.*

Receive with indulgence these pages, which are more hasty than I could wish, and believe in the constancy of the sentiments of high and sincere esteem of

Your affectionate and faithful servant,

D'AVEZAC.

*[Speaking of events which took place in the fourteenth year of the accession of Henry VII, Lord Bacon says: "Somewhat before this time there fell out a memorable accident; there was one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man, seeing the success, and emulating, perhaps, the enterprise of Christopher Columbus, in that fortunate discovery toward the south-west, which had been made by him some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered toward the north-west. This Gabato, bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island, endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristol, for the discovery of that island; with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return, and made a card thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of $67^{\circ} 30'$, finding the sea open."—Bacon's Works, Montague's Ed., vol. 3, p. 355.—ED.]

I N D E X.

- Abaco, 449.
- Abenaki, or Algonquin race, 89, 91.
- Aborigines of north of Europe and North America, 58, 59; called "Skrellings" by Scandinavians, 68; captured by Cortereal, 169, 170; disposition of, toward Europeans, 266; resembling "people of east parts of world," 268; seen by Cartier, 324, 327.
- Academy of Madrid publish Oviedo's work, 315.
- Acadie, 235.
- Adam of Bremen, 80, 81, 116, 378, 380, 494.
- Adelantado of Chicora, 395.
- Africa, 147, 148.
- Africa, Eastern, on Portuguese chart, 174.
- Agency of different nations of Europe in discovery of east coast of America, 477; of Northmen, 477, 478; of English, 478-482; of Portuguese, 482-484; of Spaniards, 484-487; of French, 487-490; of Italians, 490-493; of Germans, 493-496; of Netherlanders, 496, 497.
- Agnese, Baptista, maps of, 292, 293, 296, 298, 316.
- Agoney, 416.
- Agramonte, Juan de, commission from Ferdinand, 193; particulars of commission, 194; remarks, 195; possibly intended for New England, 196; uninformed as to its results, 196.
- Aiayasco, 417.
- Alaminos, Antonio de, voyage of, 161, 162, 180, 241, 404; from Vera Cruz to Spain, 243-245; chief pilot of Ponce de Leon, 244; tries Bahama Channel, 245; discoverer of Gulf-stream, 245.
- Alarcon, a discoverer, 360.
- Albemarle Sound, 399.
- Albert de la Pieria, commander of Charlesfort, 428; victim of a mutiny, 432.
- Aldabrand, 83.
- Algonquin Indians, 90.
- Alleghany Mountains, 392, 408.
- Altamaha River, 398.
- America, discovery of proclaimed, 81; name restricted to *South America*, 160, 296; name in general use, 268; coast of, 149, 416; new era in history of discovery of, 474.
- America, North, configuration of continent, 32, 33; southern coastline, 32; northern, 32, 33; west coast, 33; east, 33; Terra de Cuba, on Schoner's map, 161; on Portuguese chart, No. 10, 180; on map of Agnese, 294; pronounced a continent by S. Cabot, 179; depicted as such by Cosa, 179; name little used by Spanish authors, 243; mentioned, 145, 146, 296, 297, 298, 313, 366, 409, 428.
- America, east coast of, 58, 300, 301, 317, 413, 421.
- America, north-east coast of, 302.
- America, South, Terra Sanctæ Crucis, 156; island on Schoner's map, 160; called Terra Nova, Brasilia, Papagalli, 160; attention attracted to, 341; on Cabot's maps, 360.
- Anaford, Anafiord, Hanefiord, 102.
- Andefiord, Andoford, 101.
- Anderson's colonial church, 186, note.
- Angos, father and son, 201.
- Angoulesme, Passamaquoddy Bay, 231, 234.
- Anian Strait, 114.
- Anticosti, 315, 327, 328, 331, 345.
- Antilia, 125, 148.
- Antilles, 237, 402, 424, 436, 441, 443, 458.
- Antipodes, country of the, 181.

- Antiquitates Americanæ, C. C. Rafn, 57, note.
- Apalache Mountains, 408, 438, 459.
- Apalatsi, or Pilassi Mountains, 438.
- Apalchen, 392.
- Apostogon, Highlands of, 303.
- Appendages to Chap. II, 107-110; Chap. IV, 147-163; Chap. V, 174-182; Chap. VI, 226-235; Chap. VIII, 290-319; Chap. IX, 248-393.
- Arabs, acquainted with islands of Indian Archipelago, 149.
- Arambee (Norumbega), 283.
- Arcepel de Estienne Gomez, 353.
- Archipelago of Gomez, 35, 305, 306.
- Archipelago, Northern, 311. [391.
- Archipelago de la Tramontana, or Septentrional, 35, 311, 312.
- Archipelago of 7,448 islands, 296.
- Archipelago, West Indian, 404.
- Arcepelago, 367.
- Arceif de Estevan Gomenz, 391.
- Arceifes, 304.
- Aredonda, Island of, 348, 386.
- Arias, Gomez, 410.
- Asher, life of Il. Hudson, 145, 376, 377, 379, 388, 404.
- Ashehurst, T., 184.
- Asia, 297; northern, 145; eastern coast of, 149.
- Assumption Island, 331.
- Atabalipa, Indian chief, 341, 407.
- Atinas of Dieppe, 443, 445.
- Atlas Montes, 148.
- Aubert, navigator of Dieppe, first brings to France aborigines from Canada, 203, 320.
- Auorobagra (Norumbega?), 353.
- Aveiro, 188.
- Ayala, Don Pedro, letter from, 1498, 125, 153, 192, 372.
- Ayllon, voyage of, 161, 162, 180, 224, 287, 303, 309; expedition of, 245-248; expedition to Chicora, 394-401; representation of country, 394; agreement with government, 394; title and plan of enterprise, 395; delay, 395; sails with large armament, 396; misfortunes, 396, 397; discovery and examination of coast, 397, 398; Ribero's chart, 398; Ayllon dies, 401; dissension and revolt, 401; remnant return to S. Domingo, 401; mentioned, 253, 272, 274, 402, 404, 412, 414, 459.
- Azores, 116, 119, 144, 147, 148, 177, 386, 424, 441.
- Bacallaos, 181, 200, 204; fishing vessels there, 285; mentioned, 403, 410, 411, 416, 420.
- Bacalhas, origin of word, 189.
- Baccalhao, island of, 179.
- Baccalauras, 158; Baccalhaos, 165.
- Bacon, Lord, 184.
- Badajos, council at, 273; junta of, 299.
- Baffin's Bay, 33.
- Baggesen, referred to, 100.
- Bahama Banks, 444, 458.
- Bahama Channel, 404, 464.
- Bahia de la Ensenada (Bay of the Inlet), 38, 313.
- Bahia honda, 37; fonda, 38.
- Bahia de San Christobal (St. Christopher's Bay), 310.
- Baia de malvas, 388.
- Baia dus medaus, 388.
- Baia de St. Maria, St. Marie, St. Mary's Bay (Chesapeake), 303, 306, 307, 352, 358, 383, 392, 399, 400, 401, 459, 460.
- Baia das Rojas, 349.
- Baneroft, concerning Cabot, 359 note, 370.
- Banks, fishing, 39, 40. *See* Newfoundland.
- Barbié du Bocage, French geographer, 355, 356, 357.
- Barcia, referred to, 243, 246, 309, 396, 410, 469, 473.
- Barlow, 405.
- Barré, commander at Port Royal, 432.
- Basques, 41, 280, 301, 412.
- Batatas (sweet potatoes), first mentioned, 248, note.
- Battle, first, between Europeans and Americans, 68.
- Baxos do medo, 176.
- Bays, description of, 53.
- Bay, Cape Cod, 108, 141.
- Bay of Fundy, 38, 41, 231, 303, 304, 315, 217, 358, 367, 381, 384, 390.
- Bay of Halifax, 303.
- Bay of New York, 306.
- Bay of St. Johan, or S. Juan Baptista, 311, 314, 353, 368.
- Bay of St. Lawrence, 330.
- Baya Pequeña, 367.
- Baya del Loreme, 365.
- Baya de S. Maria (Saco or Casco Bay), 367.
- Baya de S. Cyria (Trinity Bay), 175.
- Baye des Barques, 326.
- Baye des Chaleurs, 327, 345, 350, 380.

- Baye Françoise, La, 38, 383.
 B. de S. Antonio, 306, 317.
 B. de S. Christoval, 306, 367, 368.
 B. de St. Jago, 383.
 B. de S. Juan, 358.
 Beaufort, 427.
 Behaim, map of, 124, 125, 140, 147, 148, 150; constructs his globe, 147, 239.
 Behring Strait, 32, 33, 57.
 Benaventura, Italian monk, 156.
 Bergen, Pergen, 99, 111.
 Bergi, 149.
 Bermuda, discovery of, 405, 411.
 Bermudas, projected settlement of, 406; on map of Ribero, 407; mentioned, 238, 301, 386, 424, 456.
 Bermudez, Juan, 465.
 Beu Sablom (Sable Bay), 381, 382, 384.
 Biarmaland, 88, 107.
 Biarmia, 86.
 Biarne, Grimolf's son, 70, 114.
 Biarne, Heriulf's son, discoverer of New England, 62, 63; result of expedition, 63, 64.
 Biddle's memoir of Cabot, referred to, 128, 134, 152, 167, 184, 185, 207, 212, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 282, 284, 364; memoranda brought to light by, 186; his theory on Cabot's voyage of, 1517, 208.
 Bimini, 240, 243.
 Bird Rocks, 325.
 Biscay, mariners and fishermen of, 279, 280, 281.
 Bremen, bishopric of, 80; Adam of, 80, 81, 116, 378, 380.
 Bliss, P. C., 234, note.
 Block Island, 259, 260, 261.
 Blunt, Coast Pilot, referred to, 178, 257, 303.
 Bobadilla, Isabella de, wife of De Soto, 409.
 Bonne viste, 230.
 Bourdet, 439, 447, 448.
 Bradley, Thomas, 186.
 Brattalid, 61.
 Brasil, island of, 125, 301.
 Brazil, Protestant colony in, 415, 422; 174, 415.
 Brest, 324, 325.
 Breusing, life of Mercator, 385.
 Brier Island, 41, 381.
 Brion's Island, 326.
 Bristol, 112, 113, 116, 303; Venetians resident there, 122; voyages from to the west, 125.
 Brittany, pilots of, 196; fishermen of, 200; pretensions of, 279.
 Broad River, 427.
 Brother Louis, island named for, 175.
 Bry, Theodore de, 435.
 Busi, the, 378.
 Buzzard's Bay, 72.
 Bylot, 220.
 Byron Island, 325.
 Caballero, Diego, 246, 395.
 Cabo de Arecifes (Cape of Reefs), 49, 311, 314, 319, 367, 383.
 Cabo de Arenas, 295, 305, 306, 307, 310, 313, 314, 316, 318, 319, 352, 358, 368, 383, 391, 392, 399.
 Cabo de las Arenas, 317, 318.
 C. de Boa Ventura, 162, 178.
 Cabo de Cañaverel, 241, 308, 449.
 Cabo delli contis, 162.
 Cabo de Concepcion, 175.
 Cabo de Corrientes, 242, 308.
 C. Deserto, 383.
 Cabo del gado del mare, 365.
 Cabo de Gamas (Deer Cape), 365.
 Cabo Glaciato, 158.
 Cabo Gruesso, 398.
 Cabo de lagus islas, 391.
 Cabo da lexus, 390.
 C. de muchas yslandas, 304, 312, 316, 367, 383, 391, 417.
 Cabo des Sablons (Cape Cod), 352, 353.
 Cabo de San Antonio (C. Bona Vista), 175.
 Cabo Sancto, 162.
 Cabo de Sta. Cruz, 308.
 Cabo de Sta. Elena, Helena, or Elle-na, 308, 309, 352, 383, 398.
 Cabo de San Johan, 309, 310.
 Cabo de Sta. Maria (Cape Ann), 311, 312, 316.
 C. de S. Maria, on map of Terra Nueva, 234.
 Cabo de S. Paulo, 175.
 Cabo de Santjago (St. James' Cape), 310, 314.
 Cabo Trafalgar (C. Hatteras, or Lookout), 308, 309.
 Cabo Verde, 148.
 C. da Volta (C. Ray), 349.
 Caboto, Giovanni, 122, 123.
 Cabots, the, expeditions of, 84, 152, 284.
 Cabots, John and Sebastian, voyages of, 121-146; plan for north-west passage, 123; and great cir-

- cle, 123, 124; preliminary voyage, 125, 126; petition King Henry, 126; patent granted, 127; little known of their voyages, 131; probabilities, 132; first land-fall, 132, 133, 134; uncertainties as to voyage, 135; returns to Bristol, 135.
- Cabot, John, 125, 126; patent to himself and sons, 127, 128; another, 128, 130; discoverer of North America, 128; mentioned, 129, 149.
- Cabot, Lewis, 127; Sancius, 127.
- Cabot, Sebastian, 123, 127; map attributed to, 126; inscription, 133; sails from Bristol, 136; northern latitude reached, 137, 138; first fisherman on banks of Newfoundland, 139; proceeds southwest, 139; lands, 142; captures Indians, 142; southern extent of voyage, 143; homeward track, 144; supposed discovery of parts of Asia, 144; scientific results, 145; proposal for another expedition, 145; contemplates another expedition, 197; another possible voyage, 206; theory of Mr. Biddle as to, 208; suppositions and difficulties in regard to, 209-224; small encouragement from Henry VII. and Henry VIII., 214; goes to Spain, 221; pilot major, 213, 222; no proof of leaving Spain in 1516 or 1517, 223; note by editor on arguments of Mr. Biddle and Dr. Kohl, 224, 225; map and voyage attributed to him, 358-377; *ne plus ultra* of voyage, 364; map not valuable for illustration of Cabot's voyage, 366; inscriptions, 368, 369, 370; *fables*, 370; variation of magnetic needle, 370; date of map, 371; another map, 371; worthlessness, 371; mentioned, 146, 147, 149, 183, 184, 244, 295, 305.
- Cabral, Pedro Alvarez, 164, 174.
- Cabrillo, expedition to California, 227, 360.
- Cacomedas, 367.
- California, 33, 291, 294, 360, 403.
- Camden Hills, 417.
- Camelo Hernando, governor of Bermudas, 406.
- Canada, 297; French expeditions to, 320-337; expedition to, 340-347; chart of, 351-354, name, 354; mentioned, 393, 416, 417.
- Canary Islands, 115, 119, 424, 436, 441, 458.
- Cano, Sebastian del, 271.
- Capes, 47.
- Cape Anguille, 325.
- Cape Ann, 50, 311.
- Cape Antonio, 464.
- Cape Blanc, 306.
- Cape de Bertoens (C. of the Bretons), 380.
- Cape do Bretan, 349.
- Cape Breton, on Reinel's chart, 179; once claimed by Portugal, 179; name given by French, 201; Estotiland on chart of Zeni, 105; voyage of Master Hore to, 337-340; mentioned, 274, 283, 302, 313, 325, 348, 349, 353, 358, 366, 371, 373, 375, 422, 431, 475.
- C. de Boavista, 349.
- Cape Buonavista, 323.
- Cape Charles, 400.
- Cape Cod, 34, 35, 44; description of, 49; Cabo de Arecifes, 49; other names, 50; seen by Biarne, 63; by Leif, 64; by Thorwald, 67; mentioned, 68, 69, 71, 72, 91, 109, 141, 154; Central between Cape Race and Florida, 155; mentioned, 265, 295, 305, 306, 310, 311, 314, 315, 316, 318, 319, 352, 358, 366, 368, 383, 384, 393.
- C. de Croix, 358.
- Cap Double (Pt. Rich), 325.
- Cape Elizabeth, 36; description of, 50, 51; mentioned, 304, 312, 316, 384, note.
- Cape of England, 366.
- Cape Farewell, 387.
- Cape Fear, 252, 262, 308; river, 397.
- Cape Florida, 33, 143, 444.
- Cape François, 425, 436, 449.
- C. Frey Luis, 349.
- Cape of Good Hope, 294.
- Cape Hatteras, 34, 143, 144, 180, 255, 308, 309.
- Cape Henlopen, 306, 310, 314, 319, 353, 383.
- Cape Henry, 400.
- Cape Hondo, 315. *See* C. Sable.
- Cape of Hope, 326.
- C. des isles, 353.
- Cape of the Islets, 417.
- Cape Lookout, 252, 308.
- Cape Madabeda, 367.
- Cape Malebarre, 306.

- Cap d'Orleans, 326.
 C. de Piloto, 349.
 Cape Race, 33, 158. "C. de Portogesi," 158; 275, 302, 337, 389.
 Cape Rasso, 349.
 Cape de Rax, 356.
 Cape Romain, 252, 253, 256.
 Cape Sable, 36, 37; description of, 51; name given, 52; seen by Cabot, 141; Cape Hondo, 315; mentioned, 63, 230, 304, 381, 382, 384, 390; Sablom, 352, 353.
 Cape S. Antonio, 444.
 Cap de St. Alovise (east point), 328.
 C. de Christophe, 353.
 Cape de St. Jean (St. John's Cape), 325.
 C. Sta. Marie, 358.
 Cape of St. Mary, 317, 318.
 Cape de St. Paul, 358.
 C. de St. Roman (Cape Romain), 309, 352, 383, 399, 429.
 Cap Tiennot, or Tiéno (C. Montjoli), 329.
 C. da Tormenta, 349.
 C. Trafalgar, 399.
 Cape da Volta (Ray), 349.
 Cape of Vinland, 108, 109.
 C. "Xl virges," 349.
 Capitana, La, ship of de Ayllon, 397.
 Capo del gato, 162.
 Caribbean Islands, 242; Sea, 441, 443, 464.
 Carolina, 254, 407, 432.
 Caroline, La, fort built by Laudonnière, 437, 450.
 Cartier, Jacques, 228, 294, 298, 313, 315, 316; first voyage, 320-329; birth and childhood, 322; proposes a voyage, 323; sails and arrives at Newfoundland, 323; continuation of voyage, 324-327; first navigator on coast of Newfoundland, 325; returns, 328; desire to find passage to west, 328; new commission, 329; second voyage, 329-337; arrives on east coast of Newfoundland, 330; at the St. Lawrence, 332; near present Quebec, 332; ascends St. Lawrence, 333; discovers and designates Quebec, Montreal, and St. Peter's Lake, 334; winter, 334; friendly Indians, 334; "way to Florida," 335; reports of Indians, 335; seizure of Indians, 336; returns, 336; shorter route, 336; first to circumnavigate Newfoundland, 337.
 Cartier, Jacques, expedition to Canada, 340-347; report to king, 340; letters-patent, 341; commission, 342; arrives at Holy Cross, 342; builds fort, 342; explorations, 343; passes winter and returns to France, 343; goes to succor of Roberval's expedition, 344; assistance rendered as explorer, 344, 345; forgotten, 345; best draft to illustrate his voyages, 389; mentioned, 338, 349, 350, 365, 374, 379, 390, 392, 407, 409, 414, 427.
 Casco Bay, 54, 304, 312, 358, 367; islands in, 52, 305.
 Castillo, chart by, 360.
 Cataia, 295, 298.
 Cataio, 380.
 Cathay, route to, 145; Cathaia on map of Behaim, 149; name of northern China, 150; Kathay, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128; mentioned, 131, 144, 250, 255, 277, 295, 297, 298, 374, 474.
 Catherine la Reine, 449.
 Cattegat, on chart of Zeni, 99.
 Cautio, 240, 243.
 Cavo Desenbierto, 154.
 Cavo da Espera (Cape Speer), 179.
 Cavo de Esperanza, 230.
 Cavo de Lisarte, 154.
 Cavo Raso (C. Race), 178, 301, 349.
 Cavo de S. Jorge, 154.
 Cavo de Ynglaterra (C. of England), 153, 154.
 Ceira, 349.
 Chabot, Philippe de, 323.
 Challeux, 475.
 Chan (Khan), country of the Great, 136, 285, 376.
 Charles V. promotes Cabot, 212; supposed invitation from, 222; appoints commission to prepare maps, etc., 299, 300; to examine and correct, 307, 359, 360.
 Charlesfort, 427.
 Charlevoix, referred to, 201, 202; chart of Canada and east coast of United States, 351-354; names on chart, 352, 353; important feature, 353; coast of Maine, 354.
 Charts of Cartier and Roberval, 389.
 Chart by Alonzo de Chaves, 307-315.
 Chart of Gastaldi, 321.

- Chart for Gomez, 299-319.
- Chart by Diego Homem, 377-384; atlas by, 378; Greenland, 378; entrance to Davis' and Hudson's Straits, 379; names on chart, 379; islands, 379; straits, 380; mare leparamantium, 380; peninsula, 380; names annexed, 381; bay of Fundy, 381; Nova Scotia, 381; Cape Sable, 382; names on coast, 382; Florida, 383; results of examination, 384.
- Chart containing Mercator's Projection, 385, 386.
- Chart of east coast of North America, by Mercator, 384-393; islands, 386; copies chart of Zeni, 386, 387; best portion of work, 388; Portuguese names for Terra Corterealis, 388; suggestion of Asher, 388, 389; Homem's map, 389; charts of Cartier and Roberval, 389; Latin inscriptions, 390; lake, 390; Nova Scotia and New England, 390; names on coast of United States, 390; first to delineate Alleghany Mountains, 392; numerous followers and copyists, 392.
- Charts of Northmen, 107-110; common features, 107.
- Chart, Portuguese, No. 8, of coast of Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, 174-177.
- Chart, Portuguese, No. 10, of Florida, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, 179-182; original discovered at Munich, 180; date inferred, 180; discoveries of the Cortereals depicted, 180; inscriptions, 181; line of demarcation, 181; latitude and longitude, 181.
- Chart, by Johann Ruysch, of new world, 156-158, 160.
- Chart of Gulf of St. Lawrence, 321.
- Charts made in Spain, 360, 361.
- Chart from atlas of Nicholas Valard de Dieppe, 354-358; names on chart, 356, 357, 368; by whom made, 357; principal objects on chart, 357.
- Chart from Verrazano, 290-299.
- Chart by Gaspar Viegas, 348-351.
- Chart of Zeni, 97-106, 386, 387.
- Charlesbourg Royal, 343.
- Chaves, Alonzo de, 315, 316, 318, 319, 361, 383.
- Checatca Bay, 325.
- Chesapeake Bay, 303, 306, 309, 310, 392, 400, 401, 402, 411, 468, 469.
- Chicora (coast of Carolina), 245, 247, 248, 272, 288, 289, 394, 395, 396.
- Chicora, Francisco, 248.
- Chicora, river of, 286, 287.
- Chignecto Bay, 382.
- Chili, 360.
- China, 124, 140, 274, 295, 296, 298.
- Christian I. sends exploring expedition, 114.
- Chytrens (Nathaniel Kochhaf), 363, 368.
- Cibola, country of, 426.
- Cipangu (Japan), 149. *See* Zipangu.
- Claudia Island, 259, 291, 352, 391.
- Clayton, Ga., 408.
- Coburg-Gotha, Archives of Duke of, 316.
- Cod-fish, 40, 41.
- Cogswell, letter of Verrazano, 269, 270, notes.
- Colfo nordero, on chart of Zeni, 100.
- Coligny, Admiral, 415; expedition sent out by, 421, 422, 427, 428, 430; plan for relief of colony, 434; Landonniere's report to, 447; orders in regard to Spaniards, 450, 467.
- C. Colombo, Fernando, referred to, 117, note.
- Colon, Diego, 307.
- Colon, Hernando, 299, 302.
- Columbus, Bartholomew, 121, 124, 125, 140, 376.
- Columbus, Christopher, 120, 121, 123, 147, 148, 149, 150, 181, 376; preparatory voyages mentioned, 115, 116; first time in American waters, 117; in Iceland, 117; Humboldt's opinion, 118; Finn Magnusen's, 119; information in Iceland, 119; gives an impulse to discovery, 121; first voyage, 237; attention to southern regions of America, 238; second voyage, 239; charts lost, 239; other discoveries known to him, 239.
- Commission to Gilbert and Raleigh, 474.
- Conception Bay, 168, 175.
- Conclusion and recapitulation, 477-497.
- Contarine, 123, note.
- Continents, description of, 57.
- Cordova, 244.
- Coronado, 426.

- Cortereal, Gaspar, 165; first voyage, 166; second, 169, 379; governed by Cabot's map, 166, 167; land-fall, 167; return and arrangements for second voyage, 168; second land-fall, 169; seizure of aborigines, 169; fate unknown, 170; report of commander and sailors of second vessel, 170; new light thrown on these voyages by Dr. Kohl, 170, note.
- Cortereal, John Vaz, 165, 166.
- Cortereal, Miguel, voyage in search of his brother, 171.
- Cortereals, the, 84; expeditions to America, 164-173, 174, 183, 274, 379; expeditions in search of, 172.
- Cortereal, Vasqueanes, 166, 172.
- Corterati, 297.
- Cortes, 244, 272, 273, 294, 402; letter to emperor, 403, 411, 412, 460.
- Cosa, Juan de la, Spanish navigator, 151; map of east coast, 146, 151-155, 161, 177, 179, 218, 239, 244, 295, 303, 366, 377.
- Cøsen d'mar, 162.
- Costacha, 350.
- Coste R. outra, 353.
- Cotifachique, 414.
- Country of the antipodes, 181.
- Crignon, 228, 231.
- Cuba, on Ruysch's chart, 157; on Schoner's, 161; supposed a part of Asia, 239; mentioned, 143, 144, 240, 243, 275, 277, 296, 409, 460, 464.
- Cumberland Island, 364; Sound, 464.
- Currents, 41, 42.
- D'Avezac, referred to, 148, 348, 385.
- Davis' Strait, 33, 176, 178, 302, 338, 356, 364, 365, 392.
- Deane, Charles, referred to, 359, 362, note, 370.
- De Bry, referred to, 279, note.
- Dee, John, map by, 392.
- De Laët, 472.
- Delaware (Peninsula of), 309, 310, 383.
- Del Principe river, 392.
- De Monts, 49, 305, 317, 383, 393.
- Dénys, Jean, French navigator, 201, 202; chart of Gulf of St. Lawrence, 202, 229, 320, 381.
- De Puebla, 192.
- Desertum Busor, 378, 380.
- De Soto, Fernando, 294, 392; expedition of, 403; discoveries and schemes, 407, 408; dies, 408; report, 409; expedition sent in search of him, 409, 410; Maldonado's search of, 410, 412, 414.
- Detroit de St. Pierre (St. Peter's Channel), 328.
- Diaz, Bernal, 245.
- Dieppe, 201.
- Divers voyages, Hakluyt, 291.
- Do Bretan, island of, 348.
- Dollinato, Nicollo del, map by, 317.
- Don Marti, costa de, 367.
- Don, Nicolaus, letter to the emperor, 197; license granted, 198; country to which he was driven, 198.
- Donnacona, Indian chief, 332, 335, 336, 341; dies in France, 342.
- Dornelos, Juan, 193.
- Doria, Theodosio, 93.
- Drogeo, 95, 105, 387, 388, 392.
- Drogeo, expedition to, 104; inhabitants, 104; New England, 105, 106; *Drocco* on chart of Zeni, 104.
- Dumbshaf, 107.
- East Point, 328.
- Eden referred to, 123 note, 206, 216, 224.
- Edinburgh Encyclopedia, quoted, 36.
- Eldorado, 426.
- Elliot, 186.
- Emanuel, the Great, 164, 165; expeditions fitted out by, 165; refuses permission to Vasqueanes Cortereal, 172; chart made for him, 174; a new slave coast, 187.
- Emperada, 292.
- England, 113; commerce to Iceland, 113, 119; intercourse between newly-discovered regions and, 186; receives first news from Florida, 434, 454.
- English men-of-war, 113; twenty-five English vessels destroyed, 113, 114; claims and possessions in North America, 146; first to discover North America, 146; fisheries in sixteenth century, 187; first on these shores, 283; ship in harbor of San Juan, 285; sails to San Domingo, 286; expedition resembling Rut's, 286; interest of government excited in America, 434, 475.
- Engroenelandt, 104.
- Engroenelandt, 102.

- Ensenada, Bahía de la, 33.
 Enterprises of Menendez and Marquez kept in obscurity by Spanish policy, 472, 473.
 Eric the Red, 61, 62; sons of, 82.
 Eric's Fiord, 61, 70.
 Erik, bishop of Greenland, voyage of, 83.
 Erik, the Priesthater, 83.
 Española (St. Domingo), 124, 160, 161.
 Esquimaux, 58, 85; Skrellings, 89-91; maps by, 103; mentioned, 133, 379.
 Estancelin referred to, 93, 200, 205, notes.
 Estevanez Juan, island of, 348.
 Estland (Shetland), 100.
 Estotiland, Estotilant (East Outland), 95; vessel driven to, 104; on chart of Zeni, 104-106; on chart of Northmen, 110, 114, 387; Estotilandia, 110.
 Europe, 88.
 European navigators, first voyage along coast of Maine, 71.
 European settlement, first on coast of Maine, 55.
 Expeditions, influence exerted by various, upon discovery and settlement of Maine, 474, 475, 476.
 Expedition of two English ships, 281, 289.
 Expeditions to Canada, French, 320-337; first official exploring, 322.
 Expedition to Chicora, by Ayllon, 394-401, 421.
 Expeditions of De Soto, Maldonado, and Arias, 402-412.
 Expeditions, English trading, 111-114; to Virginia, 413.
 Expeditions, exploring, from Bristol, 372.
 Expeditions of French to Florida, 434-441, 447, 455.
 Expedition of Dominique de Gourgues to Florida, 462-467.
 Expeditions undertaken by Isabella de Bobadilla, 409.
 Expeditions of Menendez on coast of Florida, 455-461; sent by Menendez under Pardo, 460.
 Expedition under Ribault and Laudonnière to Florida, 413-476.
 Expedition, first exploring, of Jean Ribault, 421-431.
 Expeditions, Spanish, along coast of Florida, 394-412; from Mexico to the North, 426.
 Expeditions, examination of early Spanish, 411, 412.
 Expedition, searching for De Soto, 172; for the Cortereals, 173.
 Expeditions, various, 402.
 Expeditions to Vinland, subsequent to Thorfinn Karlsefne, 82-85.
 Explorations on coast of United States, Spanish and French, 471.
 Exploration, scheme of Cortes, 403.
 Eyolfson, Magnus, 117.
 Fabulous stories, 149; nations, 378.
 Fabyan, Robert, 142.
 Faeroer, Faereyjar, Fareysland, or Ferrisland, shortened to Freesland, or Frisland, 100.
 Farewell, Cape, 62.
 Farøe, 58, 94, 100-102, 107, 236, 387, 392.
 Features, physical, 31.
 Fernandes, J. and F., 184.
 Fimboge, 77, 78. [280.
 Fishermen of Europe in our waters, Fishermen, French, 35, 324; indemnified by Henry VIII, 339; consequences of expeditions, 347; interest of, 439.
 Fishermen of Guypuzcoa, 280.
 Fishermen, Portuguese and French, 382; Spanish, 470.
 Fishing banks, 39; interest, 321, 340, 439.
 Five Nations, 335.
 Flogascer, foglaster, corresponding to floglasker, 102.
 Flora, 239.
 Florida, 33; Sparke's description of, 446; coast of, 420, 444; destruction of Protestant colony, 453; expedition of Menendez to, 455-461; of Gourgues, 462-467; extent of, 460, note; Pascua, 241; Spanish survey of east coast, 467-474; Spanish province, 470; France relinquishes pretensions to, 467; Spanish interests in, decline, 473; extent of, 489.
 Florida, La, 234, 241, 243, 274, 276, 277, 297, 307, 308, 352, 363, 380, 383, 402, 403, 407, 416, 422, 467.
 Florida, Cape, 468; great river of (Miss.), 408; Gulf and Peninsula of, on Sehoner's map, 161; Keys, 437; Strait of, 444.

- Floride Française, La, 436; French Florida, 448.
 Foglasker, 387. *See* Flogascer.
 Fogs, 44.
 Fonseca, 151.
 Fort, Scandinavian termination, as incafort, onlefort, olofort, 100.
 Fortune Bay, 349.
 Foscariini, 95, note. [417.
 Fox Channel, 219, 220, 364; islands, Française, La Baye, 38.
 Francaise (Canada), 296, 297.
 Frascatoro, 226, 229, 232.
 France Roy, station of Roberval, 343, 344.
 Francis I. of France, 201, 249, 250, 270, 295, 323, 341, 344, 345, 351.
 French explorers, 414, 487.
 French fort on Penobscot Bay, 419.
 French names supersede Spanish, 354.
 French settlement at Port Royal, fate of, 432-434; sufferings, discontent, and discord, 432; build vessel and sail for France, 433; rescued by English bark, 433; arrive in England, 434; interest excited, 434.
 French Protestant sailors in English service, 433; French ships and sailors, 443; sailor escapes from Spanish slavery in Florida, 455.
 French voyages after Cabot and Cortereal, 199-205; French prominent in colonization of Maine, 199, 205; date of first voyages, 201; give name to Cape Breton, 201; power of merchants, 201, note; names of new countries, 204; enterprise of, 205; French captains as discoverers in new world, 228.
 Freydisa, 71, 77, 78.
 Frisius, Gemma, 385.
 Friesland (Farøe), 94, 95, 109.
 Frisland, on chart of Zeni, 100-102, 104; on chart of Northmen, 109, 110, 114; Frisland, 387.
 Frislanda (Iceland), 152.
 Frobisher, 290; discoveries of, on Lok's map, 292.
 Frobisher's Strait, 291.
 Fuego, Tierra del, 48.
 Furdustrand, 72, 74.
 Gabote (Cabot), John and Sebastian, 131, note.
 Galvano, referred to, 138, 206, 275, 278.
 Garay, Francisco de, 402.
 Garga, La (Bermuda), 406.
 Gardar, a Dane, 61.
 Gaspé Bay, 327.
 Gaspésie, La, 327.
 Gastaldi, Jacomo di, map by, 226, 233, 234.
 Genoese, intercourse with north of Europe, 93.
 Georgia, Gulf of, 34.
 Georgia and Carolina, theatre of first Protestant colony, and of first attempt of Jesuits, 468.
 George's Banks, 352.
 Germans, agency of, 493-496.
 Ghillany, 147, 151, notes, 159.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, referred to, 191, 217, 218, 302, 340, 405, 413, 470.
 Ginnungagap (Davis Strait), 107, 108. *See* Gunningagap.
 Globe of Martin Behaim, 148, 159.
 Goat Island, near Newport, 262.
 Golfan de Meroso, 388.
 Golfe des chateaux (Strait of Belle Isle), 324, 326.
 Golfo, 303, 304.
 Golfo de Castelli, 230.
 Golfo Quadrato (Gulf of St. Lawrence), 34, 202, 320.
 Gomara, referred to, 114, 137, 187, 217, 218, 247, 274, 299, 314, 330, 361, 398, 404, 472.
 Gomez, Estevan, friend of Sebastian Cabot, 223; expedition of, 271-281; receives title of piloto, 271; report of strait discovered by Magellan, 272; council at Badajos, 273; sails, 273; no report preserved, 274; in search of passage to China, 274; in communication with Sebastian Cabot, 275; uncertainty as to voyage, 276; Indians brought home, 277; Herrera's statement, 277; direction and length of voyage, 278; "esclavos," 279; gives Spanish name to coast, 279; fisheries receive new impulse, 280; mentioned, 37, 49, 52, 55, 224, 248, 295, 302-306, 310, 312, 314-317, 319, 320, 358, 366, 374, 399, 404, 412, 419.
 Gosnold, 393, 413, 425, 474.
 Gourgues, expedition to Florida, 462-467; efforts of Huguenots to re-establish colony, 462; Gourgues a nobleman, patriot, etc.,

- 462; receives commission and sails, 463; route, 464; lands, 464; treats with Indians, 465; surprises Spanish forts, 465; revenge, 465, 466; returns to France, 466; reception at Rochelle, 466; subsequent history, 466, 467; death, 467.
- Grand Menan, 381, 382.
- Grand River (Penobscot Bay), 416.
- Grapes and vines discovered by Leif's men, 65, 493.
- Gravesend Bay, 258.
- Great Britain, 58.
- Greene, G. W., referred to, 269, note.
- Greenland, 58; discovery of, 60; named, 62; position of in Icelandic geography, 85, 86; settlements disappear, 85; Peterpence collected in, 94; on chart of Zeni, 97, 102-105; on chart of Northmen, 107, 108, 110; pirates, 114; probably seen by Cortereal, 168, 175; on Portuguese chart, 175; on Reinol's chart, 178; called Labrador, 181; on map of New France, 229; highway to Newfoundland, 236; mentioned, 64, 70, 77, 88, 92, 95, 113, 115-117, 301, 356, 364, 378, 387, 392, 393.
- Greenland, Gulf of (Sinus Gruenlanticus), 158; Greenlandt, on Ruysch's chart, 157.
- Grenville, 413.
- Grijalva, 244.
- Gronlandia Antiqua, 107; Gronlandia, 108; on chart of Zeni, 102.
- Grotlandia, 297.
- Guadelupe, 362.
- Gualdape, 397, 401.
- Guanahani, 251.
- Gudrida, 70, 71, 74, 77, 79, 82.
- Guinea, coast of, 115.
- Gulfs, four great, 33, 34.
- Gulf of Florida, 458.
- Gulf of Georgia, 352.
- Gulf of Maine, 35; name proposed and used in Edinburgh Encyclopedia, 36; 37, 51; crossed by Biarne, 63; by Leif, 64; by Thorhall, 74; on chart of Northmen, 108; indicated, 109; Cabot enters, 140, 141; on Cosa's chart, 154; often included under name of Tierra de los Bretones, 196; description of coast, by Verrazano, 263-265; Verrazano's first landing-place in, 265; mentioned, 76, 281, 305, 306, 311, 312, 314-316, 318, 319, 352, 353, 366, 383, 384, 391, 474.
- Gulf of Mexico, 32, 180, 243, 244, 294, 402, 403, 408, 410, 414, 426, 441, 444.
- Gulf of New York, 34, 39, 318, 319, 391, 393.
- Gulf of St. Lawrence, 34, 48, 140, 179, 302, 313, 315, 320, 326, 330, 348, 349, 350, 352, 352, 356, 365, 373-375, 379.
- Gulf of Santo Lunario, 326.
- Gulf-stream, 42, 72, 319, 404, 412, 444, 460, 475.
- Gunnbjörn, 387; Gunnbjörn driven to Greenland, 61; Gunnbjörn's Skjar, 61.
- Gunningagap, 132.
- Güsselfeldt, 300.
- Gut of Canso, 239, 303, 313, 349, 358.
- Gwardus ensula (Vardöehuns), 99.
- Hakluyt, referred to, 130, note, 206, 207, 224, 259, 263, 346, 352; information concerning Hawkins' voyage, 442, note, 445.
- Hakluyt, MS., 131, note, 291, note; map, 392, note, 482.
- Haliburton's Nova Scotia, 381, 382, note.
- Halifax, 239.
- Hanas, 102.
- Hanefjord, 102. *See* Anaford.
- Hanseatic towns, 111; traders, etc., 479.
- Harbors, account of, 53.
- Haup, 91. *See* Hop.
- Havana, 404, 409, 411, 444, 458, 460.
- Hawkbridge, 220.
- Hawkins, 319, 413; voyage along coast of North America, 440-447; English discoverer of West Indies, 440; early voyages, 441; second most important, 442; slave-trader, 442; French pilots and seamen, 442, 443; and proceedings, 443; English voyage of discovery, 444; approaches Florida, 444; assists Laudonnière and colony, 445; information gained, 445; sails toward north-east, 446; at Banks of Newfoundland, 447; arrival in England, 447; pioneer of English navigators to Virginia, 475, 481.
- Hayti, 277, 396.
- Hazard, Historical Collections, 127, note.

- Headlands, 47.
 Helge, 77, 78.
 Helluland (Newfoundland), name given, 64; position in Icelandic geography, 85, 86; mentioned, 71, 88, 106, 108, 109.
 Henry VII, 121, 124, 125, 129, 135, 145; issued patents, 126, 136, 184; entries in acct. of privy purse expenses, 135 note, 186.
 Henry VIII, 281, 288, 290, 339; favors Master Hore, 338.
 Herbert, Lord, 206.
 Heriulf, 62.
 Heriulfriás, 62, 108.
 Herrera, referred to, 165, 177, 183, 191, 197, 207, 209, 213, 215, 247, 250, 270, 280, 285, 287, 299, 303, 396, 398, 406, 410, 420.
 Hetland, 107.
 Hialtland or Hitland, 100.
 Highlands of Neversink, 257.
 Highroad, oceanic, 298; national French, 424.
 Highways on map of Agnese, 294, 295, 296.
 Hills seen by Verrazano, 256.
 Hispana, 296; Hispania, 363.
 Hispaniola (St. Domingo), 144, 296.
 Hoalfjardareyri, 117.
 Hoehelaga, Indian village, river, etc., 333-335, 343, 346, 354. *See* Oehelaga.
 Hojeda, 93.
 Hollensis, on map of Iceland, etc., 175; Episcopus Holensis, 102, 175.
 Holm, or Holar, 102.
 Homem, Diego, 298, 299, 377, 388-391.
 Hondo, Rio, 37.
 Hondius, 317, 318, 392.
 Honfleur, Jean Dénys de, map of Newfoundland, 158.
 Honguedo, 331.
 Hop, 72, 75, 76, 91.
 Hore, Master, voyage of, 337-340; previous project of the Cabots, 337; favored by Henry VIII. and others, 338; sails and reaches Newfoundland, 338; great sufferings, 339; cruel policy, 339; returns, 339.
 Hudson's Bay, 33, 388, 389.
 Hudson, Sir Henry, 219, 393, 413.
 Hudson River, 258, 292, 306, 310, 314, 335.
 Hudson's Strait, 114, 178, 302, 356, 365, 388, 389.
 Huguenots, 415, 422, 432, 457, 462.
 Humboldt, referred to, 59, 116, 118, 129, 133, 134, 136, 138, 151, 154, 159, 162, 300, 364.
 Huth, Henry, collections of, 293, 315, 316.
 Hull, 112.
 Icaria, 104-106, 387.
 Iceland, Island, Islant, Islanda, 58; discovery of, 60-62; Scandinavian settlements in, 61; dependency of Norway and Denmark, 85; Icelandic geographers, 85; description of the globe, 88; trade to, in fifteenth century, 91; Scandinavian draftsman from, 107; on chart of Northmen, 108; in fourteenth century, 111; stock-fish, 112; English make war in, 113; Columbus in Iceland, 117, 118; mentioned, 148, 157, 174, 181, 236, 301, 363, 374, 387.
 Ilha de frey Luis, contracted to C. Freels, 175, 179.
 Indentations on coast of Maine, 47; other coasts, 48.
 India, name applied to American discoveries, 149; *West* Indies, 150; Indians, 150; passage to, 117; on map of Behaim, 149; passage to, by western route, 271.
 Indians of Maine, 55, 91; of New England, 90, 91; Scandinavian names among, 91; capture by Cabot, 142; presented to Henry VII, 185; seen by Cartier, 324, 327, 336; words given by Thevet, 417, 418.
 Indian River Inlet, fort near, 459.
 Indies, 125; passage sought to, by Cabot, 139.
 Indies, West, 150, 231, 236, 268, 277, 303, 404, 415, 422, 440, 460.
 Ingolf, first to settle in Iceland, 61.
 Inlets, description of, 53.
 Inscriptions on map attributed to Cabot, 368, 369.
 Insula de Flores, 118.
 Ireland, Irland, 148, 174.
 Irish, first in Iceland, 60.
 Isabeau, the ship of Laudonnière, 437, 447, 448.
 Isabella (Cuba), 161.
 Isla, or Ilha de Fortuna (Resolution Island), 178, 379, 388.
 Island of Aredonda, 348, 386.
 Island, Brandan, 292.

- Island of Cape Breton, 134.
 Island named for brother *Louis, 175.
 Islands, Cape Verde, 464.
 Islands in Casco Bay, 51, note; 52, 305.
 I. de Juaninos, 363.
 Island of Juan Estevanez, 348.
 Islands on coast of Maine, 52.
 I. S. Miguel, 363.
 Islands, new, 296.
 Islands on map of New France, 229.
 Island of Rhodes, 260.
 Island of Sancta Cruz (possibly Sable Island), 179.
 Island of St. John (Cape Breton), 313, 371; (Prince Edward Island), 375.
 Islands between western Europe and eastern Asia, 147-150; fabulous stories concerning, 149.
 Islanda (Iceland), on chart of Zeni, 101.
 Islas desiertas, 251.
 Isle Alezay, 326.
 Isle de l'Assomption, 331.
 Isle de Bacchus, 332.
 Isle de Brion, 326.
 Isle aux Condres, 332, 356.
 Isle au Margaulx, 325.
 Isle d'Orleans, 332, 356.
 Isle de St. Catherine, 324.
 Isola de demoni, 229; Y dus demonios, 388.
 Isthmus (of New England,) between Atlantic and Pacific, 295-299.
 Italian navigators to northern countries, 94, 490.
 Itland, 100.
- Jamaica, 444.
 James, a navigator, 220.
 Japan, St. Domingo thought to be, 124; Hispaniola supposed to be, 165; mentioned, 160, 163, 239.
 Java major, 163.
 Jesuits, first brought to North America, 468; entry into city of Mexico, 468; into California, 468.
 Jesus of Lubec, the ship of Hawkins, 442.
 Joanna of Castile, 193.
 Jocher, Gelehrten - Lexicon, 416, note.
 John II. of Portugal, 147.
 Jomard, M., fac-similes of maps, 152, 351, 353, 359, 386.
- Jones, J. W., referred to, 255, 261, notes.
 Jordan, Capt., 246.
 Jutland, peninsula of, 99.
- Kathay, 123-128. See Cathay.
 Karlsefue, 70-81; 82, 91.
 Kennebec River, 54, 55, 304, 317.
 Khan, 136, 285, 376.
 Kialarnes (C. ship-nose), 49, 67, 69, 71, 74, 75, 108, 109, 155.
 Kochhaf, Nathaniel (Chytræus), 368, 371.
 Kohl, new light from Portuguese archives on the Cortereal voyages, 170; 304, 307, notes.
 Kolno, John of, 114.
 Krossanes, 69.
 Kuntsman, referred to, 156, 168, 176, 179, 180, 188, 190, 230, notes.
- Labrador, Cabot's land-fall, 133-135; attached to Asia, 158; on Schoner's map, 162; on Portuguese chart, No. 8, 175; on Reinel's chart, 178; on Portuguese chart, No. 10, 179, 181; on map of New France, 227; name given to Greenland, 181, 378; mentioned, 32, 58, 105, 113, 114, 132, 135, 137-139, 145, 170, 200, 274, 294, 297, 301, 324, 328-330, 356, 364, 365, 374, 375, 379, 387, 388, 393, 419.
 Lac d' Angoulême (St. Peter's Lake), 333.
 Lachine, rapides de, 343.
 La Francese, 231.
 Le Have, highlands of, 40, 303.
 Lago de Golesme, 356.
 Laguna de Nicaxagoe, 363.
 Lake Champlain, 334.
 Lake Huron, 390.
 Lake Ontario, 390.
 Lake Superior, 390.
 Lake, Great North American, 380.
 Larcadia, L'Arcadie, L'Acadie, etc., 234.
 La Roche, French discoverer, 74, note.
 Laudonnière, French expedition under, 434-440; plan to relieve colony at Port Royal, 434; intent to establish colony, 435; route, 436; land-fall, 436; builds fort, 437; explores St. John's River, Florida, and Georgia, 438; Indians, 438; fountain of silver and gold, 438; dissatisfaction and

- mutiny, 438; decision to return to France, 440; arrival of Hawkins, 440; news of Laudonnière's proceedings carried to France, 447; unfavorable reports spread, 448; expedition sent to his relief, 448, 450; escape from massacre by Spaniards, 453; few of company return, 454; he reaches England, 454; mentioned, 413, 423, 429, 431, 432, 471, 473, 475.
- Lebersee, 380.
- Leif, Erik's son, voyage and settlement in New England, 63-66; settlement probably in Rhode Island, 65; observations on climate, etc., 66; Vinland voyage, 66.
- Leifsbudir (Narraganset Bay), 65, 67, 69, 72.
- Lelewel, referred to, 99, 104, 115, 159, 388. [234.
- L'Emerillon, ship of Cartier, 333.
- Le Moyne, Jacques, 435; reports of exploring expedition under Laudonnière, 435, 438; escapes from massacre, and arrives in England, 453, 454; publishes accounts of events, 455; mentioned, 475, 476.
- Lery, French navigator, 203.
- Lescarbot, referred to, 342, 383.
- Levier, La, ship of Ribault, 448, 453, 454.
- Ley, English ambassador in Spain, 281, 361.
- Linne, now Kingslyne, 112.
- Loaysa, 299.
- Lok, or Locke, Master Michael, map, 290, 295, 297, 371.
- London, 112.
- Long Island and Sound, 311.
- Long Island, on Homem's chart, 381; (Islesboro'), 417.
- Los Martyres (Florida Keyes), 242.
- Louisa Island (probably Martha's Vineyard), 260, 261.
- Louisa of Savoy, 259.
- Lucayan Archipelago, 243, 245, 436.
- Lucayos (Bahamas), 424, 449.
- Luffoden Islands, 99.
- Madden, Sir F., 355.
- Madeira, 115, 174, 424.
- Madoc, tradition of, 59, 114, 478.
- Magellan, Straits of, 48, 271, 273, 293, 294, 299.
- Magliabecchian MS., referred to, 250, note, 263.
- Magnetic needle, variation, 47; needle and pole, notions of, by early navigators, 157.
- Magnusen, referred to, 94, 111-113, notes.
- Maidas, island of, 301.
- Maine, climate, temperature, winds, 44, 45; fogs, 46; peculiar feature of coast, 47; position of, 58; first Europeans on coast of, 71, 79; may have formed part of Markland, 84; French influence on discovery and settlement of, 205; early discovery, 236, 237; mentioned, 109, 120, 146, 172, 335, 336, 354, 392, 393, 407.
- Maine, coast of, 52, 53, 84, 113, 149; on Portuguese chart, 177; on map of New France, 227, 231; possibly visited by Europeans before Verrazano, 266; beauties of, 267; English actually land, 288; Verrazano killed, 289; on chart of Lok, 291; on Mercator's map, 391; first European settlement on coast of, 419, 420; influence of various expeditions upon discovery and settlement of, 474; mentioned, 172, 304, 367, 388, 405.
- Maine, Gulf of, 35; size and configuration of, 36; soundings, 38; tides, 43.
- Major, R. H., referred to, 378.
- Maldonado, 408-410, 412; careful exploration of coast of United States, 411.
- Malone Bay, 230.
- Malte-Brun, 110, 116, 388.
- Mangi, on map of Behaim, 149; name of Chinese province, 150.
- Maps of Columbus lost, 159; first engraved, of new world, 156; made by mariners of Honfleur and Dieppe, 202.
- Map (*see* charts), No. 4, of ocean and islands between western Europe and eastern Asia, from Behaim, 147-150.
- Map, No. 5, of east coast of North America, 151-155.
- Map, No. 6, of new world, by Ruysch, 156-158.
- Map, No. 7, of North America, from globe of Schoner, 158-163.
- Map, No. 11, of New France, by Gastaldi, 226-233.
- Map, No. 12, of Terra Nueva, by Ruscelli, 233-235.

- Map, No. 13, of North America, by Michael Lok, 290-292. [292-295.
- Map, No. 14, of America, by Agnese.
- Maps, No. 15, of North America, a, b, c, d, 296-299.
- Map, No. 17, sketches, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, of coast of United States by different authors, 315-318.
- Map, No. 20, of world, attributed to Cabot, 358-369.
- Mar Baxa, 308.
- Mar descubierta por Yngleses, 154.
- Mare congelatum, 176.
- Mare de Verrazana, 292.
- Margaret's Bay, 230.
- Markland (Nova Scotia), named, 64; two boys of, 77; position of, in Icelandic geography, 85, 86; mentioned, 66, 71, 83, 84, 88, 106, 108, 109, 117.
- Marquez, 400, 468, 469.
- Martha's Vineyard, 259-261.
- Martyr, Peter, referred to, 133, 142, 143, 197, 209, 212, 217, 218, 277-279, 370.
- Mary of Guilford, English ship, 281-285, 287, 288.
- Massachusetts, 109; bay, 35, 312.
- Matanzas Inlet, 453.
- Matienco, 246; Matienzo, 395.
- Matthew, the, ship of the Cabots, 128, 135.
- May River, 425, 426, 436.
- Medanos, 304, 313, 353.
- Medina, Pedro de, 361.
- Menendez de Aviles, 450, 452: expeditions of, on coast of Florida, 455-461; service in Spanish America, 456; commission to survey coast of Florida, 456; "Perpetual Adelantado of Florida," 457; change in character of expedition, 457; sails, 458; attacks and destroys French settlement, 458; executes other objects of expedition, 459, 460; difficulties, 461; honors and rewards from Philip II, 461; governor of Cuba, 461; returns to Spain and again to America, 461; disorders, 461, 467; rebuilds forts and restores colony, 467; sends out Jesuit missionaries, 467, 468; survey of coast, 468; far-reaching plans, 470; recalled to Europe, 470; favorite of Philip II, 470; invested with command of armada, and death, 471; prominence among navigators and explorers, 471; character, 473.
- Menendez and Marquez, enterprises of, shrouded in obscurity by Spanish policy, 472.
- Menendez in, 401.
- Mercator, 106; atlas of, 317, 318, 381; birth and childhood of, 384; first maps, 385; map of world, 385; projection, 385; eminent, 386; character of work, 386.
- Mer d'Espagne, de France, Oceane, 354.
- Meta incognita, 291.
- Metway harbor, 303.
- Mexico, 105, 294, 296, 363, 402, 408, 459.
- Miema Indians, captured by Cor- tereal, 90, 170.
- Miller, referred to, 142.
- Mines' Basin, 382.
- Mingan islands, 328.
- Minion, ship of Master Hore, 338.
- Miramichi Bay, 326.
- Miruelo, 243, 246, 396.
- Mississippi River, 294, 368, 414, 408.
- Mocosa, 392.
- Moluccas, 274, 278, 293-295.
- Monaco (the monk), 100.
- Montaignes, 353.
- Montagna verde, 306, 353.
- Montagnes de Palassi, 438.
- Montauk Point, 311, 314.
- Monte de trigo, 230.
- Montreal, 334.
- Mösmr, or Mansur (wood), 78, 494.
- Mount Desert Island, 52.
- Mount Royal, 333.
- Munich, archives of Bavarian army at, 174.
- Münster, 296.
- Naddod, a Scandinavian, in Ice- land, 61, 114.
- Naesset, 68, 91.
- Nantucket Island, 49; Shoals, 40, 43, 49, 353.
- Narraganset Bay, 65, 261, 265, 311, 314, 430. [403.
- Narvaez, expedition of, 363, 402.
- Naticotic (Anticosti), 331.
- Nauset, 72, 74, 91.
- Navarro, 285-287.
- Navarete, referred to, 193, 280, 301.
- Navigation from Great Britain to Iceland, 112.
- Navigators, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, 92.

- New Brunswick, 327.
- New England, 34; first discovered, 62, 63; first settlement, 63-66; southern part named Vinland, 66; considered part of Europe, 85-88; inhabited by Skrellings (Esquimaux), 89; English vessel driven to coast, 119; mentioned, 105, 106, 144, 146, 173, 294-297, 305-307, 335, 366, 383, 384, 390, 391, 413, 431, 470.
- New England, Gulf of, 35, 36.
- New found island, 186.
- Newfoundland, 32, 34, 58; seen by Biarne, 63, 64; Icaria, 105; peninsula on Cosa's map, 152; on Ruysch's chart, 158; on Schoncr's map, 162; visited by Cortereal, 168; second voyage, 169; east coast explored by, 176; thinks it mainland, 177; on Reinel's chart, 178; names on maps of, 179; south coast on Reinel's chart, 179; on Portuguese chart, 181; Portuguese fishing company, 188; Portuguese expeditions to, 190; intention of making Spanish settlement in, 195; belonging to Portugal, 198; on map of New France, 227, 230; early discoveries, 236; circumnavigated by Cartier, 337; voyage of Master Hore to, 337-340; mentioned, 106, 132, 135, 139, 140, 144, 145, 153, 267, 274, 275, 279, 281, 283, 297, 301, 305, 307, 313, 315, 326, 348-350, 356, 365, 366, 371, 373, 374, 379, 389, 393, 419, 430, 431.
- Newfoundland Banks, 39, 187, 238, 280, 281, 301, 354, 404, 412, 447, 470, 476.
- New France, 342, 346, 379, 380, 428.
- New Hampshire, 109.
- New Islands, the, 159, 160.
- New Jersey, 383.
- New land, a, supposed to be Newfoundland, 83.
- Newport, Leif's settlement near, 65; harbor, 261, 262, 428.
- New River Inlet, 254.
- New Spain, 380.
- New York, bay, and harbor, 141-144, 256-258, 263, 277, 294, 301, 413, 428, 430, 431, 475.
- New York, Gulf of, 39, 144.
- Niça, Marco de, 426.
- Nicolas of Linne, 112.
- Noder, like Norden, 102.
- Nordero, colfo, 100.
- Norobagra, 353.
- Normandy, 196, 200, 279.
- Northmen, 45; accounts of, 56-91, 89; emigration, 60; traffic with Skrellings, 73; reports of voyages, 76; expedition to Vinland after Thorfinn Karlsefne, 82-85; heroic age passed by, 84; geographers in Iceland, 86; reminiscences of, 88; attractions of New England to, 92; influence of their attempt, 93; Friesland Islands in possession of, 94; resumé of their knowledge, 105; charts of, 107-110; common features, 107; mentioned, 49, 53, 83, 90-94, 102, 103, 116, 262, 305.
- North-west passage, 283, 290, 369, 379, 395, 403, 412, 477.
- Northumberland, Duke of, 206.
- Norumbega, Norumbegne, Terra de Norumbega, 205, 230; different restrictions of name, 231, 283; various forms of word, 235; mentioned, 279, 284, 288, 291, 317, 318, 391, 392, 416, 419, 486.
- Norumbega, city of, 353; great river of, 304, 420, 489; gulf or sea of, 35.
- Norvegia (Norway), 99, 100, 297.
- Norway, 77, 99; Norwegia, 86.
- Nouvelle France, La, Nova, La, 346, 356, 389.
- Novaja Zemlia, 86.
- Nova Scotia, 34, 51; seen by Biarne, 63; included with Maine, 84; Estotiland, 105; seen by Cabot, 140, 141; on Ruysch's chart, 158; on Reinel's chart, 179; on Portuguese chart, 180, 181; on map of New France, 227, 230; mentioned, 173, 267, 281, 297, 302-304, 307, 317, 348, 353, 358, 366, 373, 380, 381, 390, 419.
- Novus Atlas, sketch from, 317.
- Nueva Hispania, 297.
- Nouvelle France, 436, 489.
- Nuova Francia, La, 231.
- Nuremburg, M. Behaim, born in, 147.
- Nurumberg, Tierra de, 234.
- Ocampo, Sebastian de, 240.
- Ocean, Atlantic, 33, 177, 295, 296, 297, 354, 426; isthmus between, and Pacific, 295; passage sought between and Pacific, 460.

- Ocean, Eastern, 160, 268.
 Ocean, Northern, 297.
 Ocean, Pacific, 33, 124, 160, 203, 295, 296, 298, 426, 477.
 Ocean, Western, 140, 295, 474.
 Ocean, between western Europe and eastern Asia, 147-159.
 Ochelaga, 420, 356. *See* Hochelaga.
 Oesteroe, 101.
 Ohio River, 408.
 Olafsen, referred to, 94.
 Olensis, 102.
 "Onefoots," 75, 76, 80.
 Onslow Bay, 254.
 Ophir, 296.
 Ortelius, referred to, 106, 134, 292, 360, 361, 375, 381, 386, 389, 390, 392.
 Osmora Bay, 391.
 Ottawa River, 335, 390.
 Ottigny, M. de, 453.
 Ovando, 469.
 Oviedo, description of coast, 307-316; referred to, 207, 226, 247, 274-279, 285, 287, 299, 307, 312, 313, 315, 361, 367, 383, 396, 398, 405.
 Owen, referred to, 60.
 Owl's Head promontory, 304, 312, 316, 384.
 Pamlico Sound, 309, 399.
 Panama, Isthmus of, 160, 293.
 Panuco, 402.
 Papagalli terra, 160.
 Papas, or papar, in Iceland, 60, 61, 111.
 Pardo, expedition under, 460.
 Paria, 161.
 Pariana, 296.
 Parkman, referred to, 234.
 Parmentier, 228, 232.
 Parry, 220.
 Parte incognite, 230.
 Pascua Florida, 241.
 Pasqualigo, referred to, 169, 171, note; letter of, 130, note; 133, 135, 136, 177, 375.
 Passamaquody Bay, 53, 56, 234, 235, note.
 Pedee River, 309.
 Pemaquid, 91.
 Penguin Island, 339.
 Peninsulas, 33, 34, 47.
 Penobscot Bay, 53, 54, 234, 291, 304, 312, 316, 353, 358, 367, 391, 416, 419, 420.
 Penobscot Indians, 55.
 Penobscot River, 54, 55, 56, 312, 316, 358, 391, 392, 489.
 Pequots, 90.
 Peramich, Indian king, 418.
 Pergen (Bergen), 99.
 Perle, La, ship of Ribault, 448, 453, 454.
 Perm (Biarmaland), 107.
 Pert, English navigator with Cabot, 206, 207, 208, 219, 220.
 Peru, 294, 459.
 Peschel, referred to, 175, 178, 188, 193, 240, 297, notes.
 Peterpence collected in Greenland, 94.
 Phillips, Sir Thomas, map in possession of, 355, 356.
 Physical features of coast and Gulf of Maine 31-56.
 Pieria, commander of Charlesfort, 428, 432.
 Pineda, 402, 403, 408.
 Pirates on coast of Greenland, 114.
 Piscataqua River, 55.
 Pizarro, discoveries of, 293.
 Placentia Bay, 349.
 Plisacus Sinus, 157.
 Point S. Andre, 349.
 Point S. Maria, 349.
 Polo, Marco, notions and reports of, 149; inscriptions and legends taken from, 150; quoted, 156.
 Ponce de Leon, expedition of, 240-243; sails in search of fountain of youth, 240; reaches Guanahani, discovers and names La Florida, 241; governor of Florida and Bimini, 242; dies in Cuba, 243; mentioned, 161, 162, 180, 274, 303, 308, 402, 444.
 Popham celebration, memorial volume, 187.
 Popham, English captain, 405.
 Port of the Holy Cross, 332, 334, 336, 342.
 Port de la Plata, 396.
 Port du Refuge, 230.
 Port Royal, on map of New France, 230.
 Port Royal, fate of settlement at, 432-434; sufferings, 432; captain killed, 432; sail for France, 433; succor from an English bark, 433; arrive in England, 434; mentioned, 436, 467.
 Port Royal River, entrance, etc., 427.
 Portland Harbor, 53, 54.
 Porto Rico, 285, 286, 402.
 Portolano, or Portulano, 293, 298,

- 348, 377, 420; name explained, 493.
- Portugal, 184, 273, 355.
- Portuguese, explorers, 164; decline Columbus' proposal for western voyage, 164; Squyres, 185; fishing company formed, 188, 189; no journals, 190; may have appeared on our coast, 190; expeditions to Newfoundland continued, 190; kindness to Gilbert, 191; settlement on Sable Island, 191; active on Banks of Newfoundland, 192; their discoveries given on charts, 192; high road to East Indies, 294, 482, 483.
- Poutrincourt, 383.
- Prato, Albert de, 284.
- Prima Vista, 323, 366; Prima tierra vista, 373, 374, 375.
- Primim Visam, 371, 374.
- Prince Edward's Island, 326, 356, 366, 375.
- Pring, 393, 413.
- Promontorium Vinlandiæ, 108, 109.
- Protestant colony in new world, 415, 421; asylum for French, 431.
- Ptolemy's geography, 156; the Ptolemy, 296, 297, 361.
- Punta de la Florida, 308.
- Purchas, referred to, 282, 283, 284, notes.
- Quaden, 392.
- Quebec, 334, 343, 356, 357.
- Queen Elizabeth, commission to Gilbert and Raleigh, 474; report of French colonists to, 475.
- Quinsay, city of, 295.
- Quiviri (California), 291.
- Quoddy Head, 36.
- Rafn, referred to, 57, 60, 68, 76, 78, 79, 81, 88, 89, 91, 108, 117.
- Raleigh Bay, 255.
- Raleigh, Sir W., 405, 413, 421, 455, 476.
- Ramusio, referred to, 137, 203, 207, 218, 221, 226, 249, 263, 269, 270, 298, 335, 346, 377, 380, 403, 430, 492.
- Recapitulation, conclusion, and, 477-497.
- Reif Cape, 49, 311, 314.
- Regiomontanus, 147.
- Reinel, chart of Nova Scotia, etc., 177-179; mentioned, 275, 299, 301.
- Result of examination of maps for early history of Maine, 182.
- Rhode Island, 72.
- Rhodes, island of, 260.
- Ribault, Jacques, 453, 454.
- Ribault, Jean, first exploring expedition of, 421-431; outfit, instructions, etc., 422, 423; new route, 423, 424; arrives on coast, 425; Eldorado, 426; establishes fort and colony, 427; sails north, 428; returns to France, 428, 429; colony overwhelmed by Spaniards, 430; mistakes of Ribault, 430, 431; solicitations for aid unheeded, 432; commands third French expedition to Florida, 447; sails, 449; meets Laudonnière and companions, 450; Spanish armament appears, 450; Ribault sails, 451; adopts offensive, 452; French fort surprised, 453; Ribault shipwrecked and killed, 453; few of colony return to France, 454; commission included Gulf of Maine, 474; loses opportunities of establishing French settlement in Maine, 475; mentioned, 413, 414, 446, 471, 473.
- Ribera gram, 381.
- Ribera de Jardins, 381.
- Ribera de S. Joam, 381.
- Ribero, first chart of Maine, 52; map by, 299-307; mentioned, 161, 281, 307, 313-317, 319, 353, 361, 366, 377, 383, 398, 399, 407, 419.
- R. de bonne mère, 353.
- Rio de la buelta, 303, 353; de Buena madre, buena madeira, 306, 311, 314, 317, 358, 367; de Canada, 356; de Castanar, 313; las Canoas, 309; Dabol, 367; Doloso, 358; Douche, 356; de Don Diego, 162; Duce, 365; del Espiritu Santo (James River), 310; del Espiritu Santo (Mississippi), 368, 408; Fremosa, 350; Fundo (Bay of Fundy), 316; de las Gammas, 304, 312, 313, 316, 358, 367, 391, 420; da Gente, 349; Grande, grant, 304, 358, 391; Grande, of Norumbega, 392, 420; Hondo, Fondo, 37, 390; Janeiro, Bay of, 415; Jordan, 247, 309, 396, 397, 399, 427; de Montañas, 303, 313; Nevado, 168; de Peros, 367; de St. Anthoine, 353; de San Antonio, 310, 311, 314, 319, 367; de Sta. Elena, 309; S. Pol, 358; de S. Quenam, 365; Pria, 350;

- Primero, 358, 399; del Principe, 309, 399; de Quenbequin, 347; Real, 349; de Rosa, 175; Salado, 310, 460; Seco, 308; S. Miguel de Gualdape, 397, 401; de Tormenta, 388; de Trafalgar, 309; da Travega, 350; de la Volté, 353.
- Rivers, 54.
- River of Hochelaga, 354; of the Holy Cross, 294; La Plata, 369; St. Lawrence, 56.—*see* St. Lawrence; of Sta. Maria, 420. *See* Rio.
- Rivière Cartier, 324; des Dauphins, 437; Dolphins, 451; de May, 425, 426, 436, 437, 450, 465; du Saguenay, 365; Seine, 464.
- Roberval, expedition to Canada, 340-347; head of expedition, 341; delay, 342; arrives at St. John, 543; establishes himself at France Roy, 43; search for north-west passage, 344; return, 344; portrait on map, 354; mentioned, 322, 357, 365, 414, 427.
- Rochelle, 454.
- Roggeveen, 469.
- Rolf, 83.
- Rome, Greenland known at, 116.
- Roseway bank, 40.
- Route, new French to east coast of United States, 424, 436, 449, 474.
- Route, Spanish, to east coast of United States, 424, 436.
- Royal collections of King of Bavaria, 177, 180.
- Ruscelli, 233, 234, 297.
- Rut, object of his expedition, 283; return, 283; little knowledge concerning, 284; probabilities, 286, 287, 288; result of examination, 288; second English expedition on entire coast, 289; mentioned, 320, 481.
- Ruysch, chart by, 156-158.
- Sable, Cape, 37.
- Sable Island, 179, 191, 204, 232.
- Sable Island Bank, 40.
- Saco Bay, 267, 312, 367.
- Saco River, 54, 55.
- Sagadahoc, 55.
- Sagra, 151.
- Saguenay River and country, 331, 332, 335, 356, 343, 354, 365, 380, 390.
- Samson, the English ship, 281-283.
- Saintonge, French captain, 344.
- San Antonio, 307, 317.
- Sand-bank on map of New France, 232.
- Sandy Hook, 257, 258, 306, 319, 353.
- San Felipe, fort, 459.
- San Mateo, 459, 464.
- San Pedro, 349.
- Santander, 471.
- Santee, 309.
- Satouriba, Indian chief, 464.
- Sault de S. Louis, 343.
- Savage Rock (C. Neddoe), 405, note.
- Savannah River, 308, 407, 414.
- Saxe Weimar, Grand Duke of, 299, 300.
- Sealodin (Skalholt), 102.
- Scandinavia, 58, 99; Scandinavian draftsman from Iceland, 107.
- Scandinavian, Chronicles, 60; America, 87.
- Schmeller, referred to, 179.
- Schoner, globe of, 158; other globes similar to, 159; map, 160, 161; two great series of discoveries indicated on, 162. [99.
- Seocia (Scotland), on chart of Zeni,
- Scholnus, 114, 115, 119.
- Sea of Cortes, 403.
- Sea of Norumbega, 35.
- Seahorse Point, 220.
- Septemcitade, Sept Cités, Island of the Seven Cities, 125, 135, 148, 292, 426, 437.
- Sera Lion (Sierra Leone), 148.
- Seyler, Johann, 158.
- Sforza archives, 130, note.
- Shetland Islands, 58, 95, 100, 107.
- Ship-nose (Kialarnes), 49, 68, 69.
- Shoals, fishing, 39.
- Sigurdson, referred to, 117.
- Sigurdus, map drawn by, 107-109.
- Silver mines, 437.
- Sinbad, Arabian navigator, 149.
- Skager Rak, 99.
- Skalholdin, 387.
- Skalholt, Skalhott, 102, 108, 117.
- Skraekja (to cry), 90.
- Skrellings, 68, 73, 80, 89, 90, 91.
- Slave-trading voyages, 245; slave-hunting expeditions, 247; Gomez' cargo, 277; Hawkins' do., 442.
- Smith, 55, 393, 413, 463.
- Snorre, 74, 77, 79.
- Snorre Thorbrandsen, 70.
- Solomon, ship of Hawkins, 442.
- Sorand, 100.
- Soundings, 38.
- South Sea, 299, 426, 437.
- Spagnola, Spañola, 156, 157.

- Spain, 115, 121, 129, 130, 148, 165, 166, 183, 184, 192-198, 210-215, 223, 241, 242, 251, 271-273, 277, 281, 287, 327, 394, 430, 456, 457, 459, 461, 466, 467, 484
- Spanish Basques, 280, 301, 412.
- Spanish expeditions along coast of Florida, 236-248.
- Spanish expeditions of Ayllon to Chicora, 245-248.
- Spanish expeditions and fisheries, 404, 412, 485; shipwrecks, 405.
- Spanish survey of east coast of Florida, 467-474.
- Spanish claims to whole of North America, 476.
- Spanish sovereigns protest against English enterprises, 192.
- Sparke, 442, 445; description of Florida, 446.
- Spice Islands, 395.
- Spitzbergen, 86.
- Sprengel, German geographer, 300.
- Square Gulf, 321.
- S. Andre, point, 349.
- St. Augustine, San Augustino, 425, 451, 458, 459.
- St. Brandan, 125, 148, 149, 386.
- S. Christofalo, 317.
- St. Croix River, 54, 55, 56.
- St. Domingo, 243, 246, 286, 395, 401, 436, 444.
- St. George's Channel, 454.
- St. German, 286.
- St. Gregor, 366.
- St. Helena Sound (Rio Jordan), 309, 396, 397, 420, 459.
- S. Jago, 277.
- St. John, or S. Juan Island, 134.
- St. John, Newfoundland, 283.
- St. John's River, 308, 330, 390, 459.
- S. Juan Baptista, 306.
- S. Juan de Porto Rico, 285.
- St. Lawrence River, 56; expeditions to, 322; application and extension of name, 330; San Lorenzo, 330; mentioned, 227, 292, 294, 298, 315, 316, 320, 327, 345, 352, 353, 356, 360, 365, 375, 379, 388, 390, 392, 409, 420, 460.
- St. Lawrence, gulf of, 162, 315, 320, 356, 365, 375, 379; early French voyages to, 202, 350.
- St. Lawrence Port, 331.
- St. Laurens, 354.
- Sta. Lucia, fort, 459.
- S. Maria, Point, 349.
- Ste. Marie, Courant de, 343.
- St. Mary's Bay, 309, 349, 382, 399, 400, 401, 460, 469. *See* Bahia de Sta. Maria.
- St. Mary's River, 425, 436.
- St. Martin, Pilot Major, 212, 213.
- St. Maurice River, 390.
- S. Miguel de Gualdape, 397, 398, 401.
- St. Paul (North Point), 337, 349; island, 350, 373.
- S. Paulo, 349.
- St. Peter's Channel, 330, 331.
- St. Peter's Island, 337.
- St. Peter's Lake, 333, 334.
- S. Sebastian, fishermen of, 280.
- Saint Servan, 324.
- Stadacona, Indian village, 332, 335, 356.
- Stat (Cape Statlant), 99.
- Steamers, British, 45.
- Stockfish, 112.
- Stow's Chronicles, 206.
- Strachey, 405, note.
- Strait of Bahama, 458.
- Strait of Belle Isle, 324-326, 329, 330, 350, 365, 375, 379.
- Straumey, 72.
- Straumfiordr, 72, 74-76.
- Streme, Stromoc, 100.
- Sudero Colfo, 100.
- Suderöe I., 100.
- Suecia (Sweden), 99.
- Sueno, 81.
- Swallow, ship of Hawkins, 442.
- Swansea, 454.
- Sweating sickness, 220.
- Sweet potatoes first mentioned, 248, note.
- Sylva, Bp. of Viseu, 351, 355.
- Tartars, North American Indians thought to be, 150.
- Tarratines, 90.
- Tartaria, 149, 150.
- Temistitan, city of, 403.
- Temperature, 44.
- Terceira, 188, 245.
- Terra Agricule (Greenland), 378; Terra Agricolæ, 387.
- Terra, tierra, de Bacalaos, Bacalos, Bacalhas, Bacallaos, Baccalao, Baccalhaos, Bocalhas, 165, 178, 188, 189, 204, 234, 204, 297, 298, 301, 302, 307, 356, 389.
- Tera Bimini, 180.
- Terra, terre, tierra de, des, dus, Bretones, Bretons, 196, 204, 298, 302, 303, 317, 353, 391.

- Terra Corterealis, terra de cortte Real, 162, 175, 189, 204, 388, 389.
- Terra de Cuba, on Schöner's map, 161.
- Terra Florida, 109, 296, 297.
- Terra incognita, 368.
- Terra, tierra de Labrador, 229, 234, 301, 302, 307, 364.
- Terra, tierra, Nova, Nueva, Nuova, 158, 196, 231, 233, 321, 356.
- Terre Française, La, 204, 205.
- Terre des Molnes, La, 204.
- Terre Neuve, La, 204, 329.
- Testa, French pilot, 420.
- Thebet, 149.
- Thevet, 415; visits Norumbega, 416; Indian words, 417, 418; visits Penobscot, 419; credit to pilot, 420.
- Thirkill, L., 186.
- Thomassy, referred to, 290, 291, 300, notes.
- Thorbrandsen, Snorre, 70.
- Thorfinn Karlsefne, settlement in Vinland, 70-81; marries Gudrida, 70; sails from Greenland, 71; sails westward, and builds Thorfinn's budir, 72; goes in search of Thorhall, 75; third winter in Vinland, 77; returns to Greenland, 77; sails for Norway, 78; returns to Iceland, 79; results of expedition, 79-81; mentioned, 82, 91.
- Thorhall, 70, 72, 74, 75, 79, 80.
- Thorlak, Bishop, 79.
- Thorleifson, 117.
- Thorne, referred to, 186; letter to Henry VIII, 215, 216, 222; two letters of, 281-283, 361.
- Thorstein, Erik's son, 70.
- Thorwald, Erik's son, 66-69.
- Thorwald Helgason, 83.
- Thorwald, son-in-law of Erik the Red, 71.
- Tides in Gulf of Maine, 43; in Bay of Fundy, 43.
- Tierra de Ayllon, 397, 398, 399.
- Tierra de Gomez, 277, 279, 302, 307, 399.
- Tierra de Nuremberg, 234.
- Tiger, the ship of Hawkins, 442.
- Tiger-like animal on map attributed to Cabot, 364, 368.
- Tiraboschi, referred to, 96, 229.
- Tordesillas, treaty of, 307.
- Torfaens, 107, 108.
- Torlacius, Gudbrandus, 109, 110.
- Torlacius Theodorus, 107, 108, 109.
- Torlakson, 110.
- Tortugas, 242, 444.
- Toscauelli, 125, 140, 148, 150.
- Tradition of Madoe, 59; of people from west, 59; of Irish to west, 60; of Irish in Iceland, 60.
- Trinité, La, ship of Ribault, 448.
- Trinitie, ship of Master Hore, 338.
- Trin. prom. (C. Farewell), 387.
- Tronde (Drontheim), 99.
- Tyrker, 65, 87, 493.
- Ultima Thule, 116-118.
- Ungava Bay, 230, 388, 389.
- United States, 52, 53, 142; called Nurumbega, 231; information from de Soto's reports regarding southern portion of, 409; first European settlement on coast of, 65; second do. of, 427; mentioned, 39, 42, 43, 48, 49, 53, 92, 251, 390, 395, 412, 420, 459.
- United States, east coast of, 351-354.
- United States, coast survey, 36, 42.
- Valdes, governor of Cuba and Florida, 471.
- Vallard, author and owner of map, 354, 355, 390.
- Vasco de Gama, 164.
- Vasseur, Le, Michael and Thomas, 436.
- Vega, referred to, 243, 410.
- Velasco, Don Juan de, 469.
- Velasco, Portuguese or Spanish sailor, 202.
- Velasquez, governor of Cuba, 402.
- Venetians, intercourse with north of Europe, 93, 94; resident at Bristol, 122.
- Venice, center of geographical knowledge, 377.
- Vera Cruz, 244.
- Verrazano, 52, 84; Italian navigator employed by the French, 249; chart of, 228, 231; expeditions, 248-270; sails from France, 250; in sight of coast of United States, 251; land-fall, 252, 254; southern terminus of voyage, 253, 254; second and third landing-places, 255, 257, 258; hills, 256; sails east, 258; island, 259, 260; sails along coast of New England, 263; description of coast of Gulf of Maine, 263-265; coast of Maine,

- 267; returns to France, 267; account invaluable, 269; second expedition probable, 269, 270; ultimate fate, 270, 284, 289; charts, 290-299; Verrazano's plat, 290, 291, 295; sea of, 297, 335, 474; mentioned, 319, 320, 352, 422, 423, 424, 427, 428, 430.
- Verrazano Hieronymus, 291, note.
- Vespucii, Amerigo, 129, 160; reason for his name being given to America, 496.
- Vespucii, Juan, 273.
- Vessel sails from Iceland to Markland, 83, 84.
- Vianna, 188.
- Victoria, the, Magellan's vessel, 271.
- Viegas, chart by, 348-351.
- Villegagnon, 415, 416.
- Vines and grapes discovered by Leif's men, 65, 493.
- Vinland, named, 66; climate, length of days, etc., 66; "the good," 77, 79, 82, 92; known in Denmark, 80, 81; expeditions to, 82-85; intercourse between Greenland, Iceland, and, 84; lost sight of, 85; position in Icelandic geography, 85, 86; part of Europe, 87, 88; on chart of Zeni, 106; on chart of Northmen, 108; mentioned by Adam of Bremen, 116; mentioned, 68, 70, 74, 117.
- Vinland's Haf, 108.
- Virginia, 405, 407, 413, 414, 434, 441, 475.
- Vitalis, Odericus, 81.
- Vitet, referred to, 201-203.
- Vivaldi, the brothers, Vadino and Guido, 93.
- Vivaldi, Ugolino, 93.
- Voyage attributed to Sebastian Cabot, 358-377; incorrect theory, 371; remarks on probability of voyage, 372-376; prima tierra vista, 373; search for north-west passage, 374; errors in statement, 376; voyage doubtful, 377.
- Voyages between time of Columbus and 1520, 161.
- Voyage, English, under Cabot and Pert, 206.
- Voyages of France, 295.
- Voyages, French, after Cabot and Cortereal, 190-205.
- Voyage of Hawkins on coast of North America, 440-447.
- Voyage of Leif, Erik's son, 63, 66.
- Voyages to Newfoundland, 192-199.
- Voyages of Spaniards from Havana to Bacallaos, 411.
- Voyages of Verrazano, 249-270.
- Voyages subsequent to those of Cabot and the Cortereals, 183-224.
- Walckenaer, treatise of, 149, note; map found in library of, 151.
- Wawenoc Indians, 91.
- Weimar, collections of Grand Duke of, 299, 300.
- Western Europe and Eastern Asia, short distance between, 147.
- Western Islands, 116.
- Westrabort, 387.
- Weymouth, 393, 413.
- White Bears, 133.
- White Mountains, 265, 267, 304.
- Willoughby, 489.
- Winds, 44.
- Witsare, 387.
- Wyttliet, referred to, 114, 279, note, 392, 419, note.
- Ylhas de caravillo, 388.
- Ynglaterra, Cavo de, 153, 154.
- Yngleses, mar descubierta por, 154.
- Y. dos Bocallas, 178.
- Y. dos demonios, 388.
- Ys. des Loups, 353.
- Ysla de S. Juan, 366.
- Y. de la tormenta (Island of Storms), 379.
- Ysla Verde, 301, 383.
- Yucatan, 180, 363.
- Zahotman, referred to, 96.
- Zartmann, referred to, 112.
- Zeni, the, voyages of, 92-97, 114, 116; map of Greenland, 102, 387; sea chart of, 97-106; names on chart, 98, 100, 102, 104; information from Northmen, 102; map of Greenland copied, 103; different interpretations, 106; particular distinction of, 106; mentioned, 96, 101, 103, 110, 122.
- Zeno, Antonio, 95, 98, 104, 105.
- Zeno, Carlo, 95.
- Zeno, Nicolo, 94, 95.
- Zeno, Nicolo, the younger, 96, 98, 103.
- Zichmni, 95, 105, 114.
- Zipangu (Japan), 156, 157, 160, 239, 296. See Cipangu.

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