

# **The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of The English Nation, Vol. XII., America, Part I. eBook**

## **The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of The English Nation, Vol. XII., America, Part I. by Richard Garnett**

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**\*\* Transcriber's Notes \*\***

The printed edition from which this e-text has been produced retains the spelling and abbreviations of Hakluyt's 16th-century original. In this version, the spelling has been retained, but the following manuscript abbreviations have been silently expanded:

- vowels with macrons = vowel + 'n' or 'm' - q; = -que (in the Latin) - y'e = the; y't = that; w't = with

This edition contains footnotes and two types of sidenotes. Most footnotes are added by the editor. They follow modern (19th-century) spelling conventions. Those that don't are Hakluyt's (and are not always systematically marked as such by the editor). The sidenotes are Hakluyt's own. Summarizing sidenotes are labelled [Sidenote: ] and placed before the sentence to which they apply. Sidenotes that are keyed with a symbol are labeled [Marginal note: ] and placed at the point of the symbol, except in poetry, where they are placed at a convenient point. Additional notes on corrections, etc. are signed 'KTH'

**\*\* End Transcriber's Notes \*\***

## THE PRINCIPAL

Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques

## AND

Discoveries

## OF

*The English nation.*

Collected by

*Richard hakluyt, preacher.*

## AND

Edited by

*Edmund GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.*

*Vol. XII.*

*America. Part I.*

## **TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ROBERT CECIL[1] KNIGHT.**

Principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Master of the Court of Wards and  
Liueries, and one of her Maiesties most honourable Priuie Councill.

Right honourable, your fauourable acceptance of my second volume of the English voyages offred vnto you the last yere, your perusing of the same at your conuenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my trauailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects: these considerations haue thoroughly animated and encouraged me to present vnto your prudent censure this my third and last volume also. The subiect and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called America: but by the chiefest Authors The new world. New, in regard of the new and late discovery thereof made by Christopher Colon, alias Columbus, a Genouois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. And world,



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in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not thoroughly discovered, neither within the Inland nor in the coast, especially toward the North and Northwest, although on the either side it be known vnto vs for the space of fiue thousand leagues at the least, compting and considering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backside in the South Sea from the Streight of Magellan to Cape Mendocino and Noua Albion. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A newe worlde. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and vnperfect notice thereof. Which may appeare by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timaeus and Critias vnder the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean sea without the Streight of Hercules, now called the Streight of Gibraltar, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then Africa and Asia: And by that of Aristotle in his booke De admirandis auditionibus of the long nauigation of certaine Carthaginians, who sayling forth of the aforesaid Streight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean for the space of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would haue inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe gouernours. Moreouer, aboue 300. yeeres after these wee haue the testimony of Diodorus Siculus lib. 5 cap. 7. of the like mighty yland discovered in the Westerne Ocean by the Tyrrheni, who were forbidden for certaine causes to inhabite the same by the foresaid Carthaginians. And Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold aboue 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discouer new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the vttermost limite of the earth. For whereas Virgile had said to Augustus Caesar, Tibi seruiat vltima Thule, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the same, and saith, Nec sit terris vltima Thule. Yea Tertullian, one of our most ancient and learned diuines, in the beginning of his treatise de Pallio alludeth vnto Plato his Westerne Atlantis, which there by another name he calleth Aeon, saying Aeon in Atlantico nunc quaeritur. And in his 40. chapter de Apologetico he reporteth the same to be bigger then all Africa and Asia.[2] Of this new world and euery speciall part thereof in this my third volume I haue brought to light the best and most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoueries and serches of the same, giuing vnto euery man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his owne credit. The order obserued in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine vnto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of sufficient store, in diuers places to vse the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced vnto) being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore proposing

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vnto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe successiue in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as haue bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one vpon another, doe much more lighten the readers vnderstanding, and confirme his iudgment, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I obserue from the highest North to the lowest South.[3] Now where any country hath bene but seldome hanted, or any extraordinary or chiefe action occureth, if I finde one voyage well written by two seuerall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those iournals, as finding diuers things of good moment obserued in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a souldier obserueth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, Plus vident oculi, quam oculus. But this course I take very seldome and sparingly. And albeit my worke do cary the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the greatest part are theirs, and that my trauaile was chiefly vndertaken for preservation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defectiue, there I haue bene careful to supply the same with the best and chieftest relations of strangers. As in the discouery of the Grand Bay, of the mighty riuer of S. Laurence, of the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, of Florida, and the Inland of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quiuira, of The gulfe of California, and the North westerne sea-coast to Cabo Mendocino and Sierra Neuada: as also of the late and rich discouery of 15. prouinces on the backside of Florida and Virginia, the chieftest whereof is called the kingdome of New Mexico, for the wealth, ciuil gouernment, and populousnesse of the same. Moreouer because since our warres with Spaine, by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and euery part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the most part vnknown vnto vs,) I haue vsed the vttermost of my best endeouour, to get, and hauing gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way auaille vs or annoy them, if they driue and vrge vs by their sullen insolencies, to continue our courses of hostilitie against them, and shall cease to seeke a good and Christian peace vpon indifferent and equal conditions. What these things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may vnderstand, if it please you to vouchsafe to reade the Catalogues conteyning the 14 principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceiue that there is no chiefe riuer, no port, no towne, no citie, no prouince of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the sea-coast. And for the

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knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Noua Albion on the Northwest part of America, and the yle of Iapan lying ouer against the kingdomes of Coray and China, which vntil these foure yeeres was neuer reueiled vnto vs, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I haue here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard made from Acapulco an hauen on the South sea on the coast of New Spaine, first to the Philippinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the yles of Iapan, and thence to the back of the West Indies in the Northerly latitude of 37. degrees 1/2. In which course betweene the said ylands and the maine he found a wide and spacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene set out as a Streight, and called in most mappes The Streight of Anian. In which relation to the viceroy hee constantly affirmeth three seuerall times, that there is a passage that way vnto the North parts of Asia. Moreouer, because I perceiue by a letter directed by her Maiestie to the Emperour of China (and sent in the last Fleet intended for those parts by The South Sea vnder the charge of Benjamin Wood, chiefly set out at the charges of sir Robert Duddleley, a gentleman of excellent parts) that she vseth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in his dominions, for the better instruction of our people in the state of those countries, I haue brought to light certaine new aduertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of Iapan, and of the new conquest of the kingdome of Coray, not long since tributarie to the king of China, by Quabacondono the monarch of all the yles and princedomes of Iapan; as also of the Tartars called Iezi, adioyning on the East and Northeast parts of Coray, where I thinke the best vtterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it please God hereafter to reueile vnto vs the passage thither by the Northwest. The most exact and true information of the North parts of China I finde in a history of Tamerlan, which I haue in French, set out within these sixe yeeres by the abbat of Mortimer, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confesseth that it was long since written in the Arabian tongue by one Alhacen a wise and valiant Captaine, employed by the said mighty prince in all his conquests of the foresaid kingdome. Which history I would not haue failed to haue translated into English, if I had not found it learnedly done vnto my hand.

And for an appendix vnto the ende of my worke, I haue thought it not impertinent, to exhibite to the graue and discreet iudgements of those which haue the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine causes of England, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation house of Siuil in Spaine, touching their gouernment in sea-matters: together with The streight and seuer examination of Pilots and Masters before they

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be admitted to take charge of ships, aswell by the Pilot mayor, and brotherhood of ancient Masters, as by the Kings reader of The lecture of the art of Nauigation, with the time that they be enioyned to bee his auditors, and some part of the questions that they are to answere vnto. Which if they finde good and beneficial for our seamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out some fitter course of their owne, will seeke to bring such as are of that calling vnto better gouernment and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation. To leaue this point, I was once minded to haue added to the end of these my labours a short treatise, which I haue lying by me in writing, touching The curing of hot diseases incident to traueilers in long and Southerne voyages, which treatise was written in English, no doubt of a very honest mind, by one M. George Wateson, and dedicated vnto her sacred Maiestie. But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, I shewed it to my worshipfull friend M. doctour Gilbert, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chieftest secrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare iewel lately set foorth by him in Latine doeth euidently declare) then in his owne profession of physicke: who assured me, after hee had perused the said treatise, that it was very defectiue and vnperfect, and that if hee might haue leasure, which that argument would require, he would either write something thereof more aduisedly himselfe, or would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Physicions, and set downe some order by common consent for the preseruatiō of her Maiesties subjects. Now as the foresaid treatise touched the cure of diseases growing in hot regions, so being requested thereunto by some in authoritie they may adde their iudgments for the cure of diseases incident unto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpose may serue our peoples turnes, if they chance to prosecute the intermitted discouery by the Northwest, whereunto I finde diuers worshipfull citizens at this present much inclined. Now because long since I did foresee, that my profession of diuinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and diuert me from these kinde of endeouours, I haue for these 3 yeeres last pasts encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend M. *Iohn* PORY, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth.

Thus Sir I haue portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would haue limned her and set her out with farre more liuely and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receiue her with your wonted and accustomed fauour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and deuoted to do your honour any poore seruice that I may; and in the meane season will not faile vnfaignedly to beseech the Almighty to powre vpon you the best of his temporall blessings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his joyes eternall. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

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Your Honours most humble to  
be commanded,

*Richard HAKLVYT, Preacher.*

## Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries

### OF THE

*English nation in America.*

\* \* \* \* \*

The most ancient Discovery of the West Indies by Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth Prince of North-wales, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the history of Wales, lately published by M. David Powel Doctor of Diuinity.[4]

After the death of Owen Guyneth, his sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him: for the eldest sonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Iorweth Drwydion, was counted vnmeet to gouerne, because of the maime upon his face: and Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a base sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore Dauid gathered all the power he could, and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him; and afterwards inioyed quietly the whole land of Northwales, vntil his brother Iorwerths sonne came to age. [Sidenote: Madoc the son of Owen Guyneth.] Madoc another of Owen Guyneth his sonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships, with men and munition, and sought aduentures by Seas, sailing West, and leauing the coast of Ireland so farre North, that he came vnto a land vnknown, where he saw many strange things.

[Sidenote: Humf. Llyod.] This land most needs be some part of that Countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselues to be the first finders since Hannos time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britaines discouered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables feined, as the common people doe vse in distance of place and length of time rather to augment then to diminish: but sure it is there he was. [Sidenote: The second voyage of Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth.] And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys that he had seen without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietness: and taking leaue of his friends, tooke his journey thitherward againe. [Sidenote: Gomara. lib. 2. cap. 16.] Therefore it is to be supposed that he and

his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the crosse. Wherby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But because this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land which they came vnto, and vsed the language they found there.

[Sidenote: M. Powels addition. Gutyn Owen.] This Madoc arriuing in that Westernne countrey, vnto the which he came in the yere 1170, left most of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance and friends to inhabit that faire and large countrey, went thither againe with ten sailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies.[5]

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Carmina Meredith filij Rhesi[6] mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Guynedd, et de sua nauigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini 1477.

Madoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,  
lawn genau, Owyn Guynedd:  
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd  
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.[7]

The same in English.

Madoc I am the sonne of Owen Gwynedd  
With stature large, and comely grace adorned:  
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please,  
My minde was whole to search the Ocean seas.

\* \* \* \* \*

The offer of the discovery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus to king Henry the seventh in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February: with the kings acceptation of the offer, and the cause whereupon hee was depriued of the same: recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the history of Don Fernand Columbus of the life and deeds of his father Christopher Columbus.[8]

Christophero Colon temendo, se parimente i Re di Castiglia non assentissero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nuouo a qualche alto principe, e cosi in cio passasse lungo tempo; mando in Inghilterra vn suo fratello, che haueua appresso di se, chiantato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual, quantunque non hauesse lettere Latine, era pero huomo pratico, e giudicioso nelle cose del mare, e sapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, e sphere, et altri instrumenti di quella professione, come dal suo fratello era instrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in man di cor sali, i quali lo spogliarono insieme con gli altri delta sua naue. Per la qual cosa, e per la sua pouerta et infirmita, che in cosi diuerse terre lo assalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo la sua ambasciata, fin che, aquisata vn poco di faculia con le carte, ch' ei fabricana, comincio a far pratiche co' il Re Enrico settimo padre de Enrico ottauo, che al presente regna: a cui appresento vn mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scritture lo trouai, e da me saranno qui posti piu rosto per l'antichita, che per la loro elganza.

Terraram quicunque cupis foeliciter oras  
Noscere, cuncta decens docte pictura docebit,



Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomaeus, Plinius, atque  
Isidorus: non vno tamen sententia cuique.  
Pingitur hic etiam nuper sulcata carinis  
Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti  
Torrida, quae tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Et piu di sotto diceua

Pro Authore siue Pictore.

Ianua cui patriae est nomen, cui Bartholomaeus  
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud,  
Londonijs anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno  
Octauo, decimaque die cum tertia mensis  
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abunde.



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Et, percioche auuertira alcuno, che dice Columbus de Terra Rubra, dico medesimamente lo viddi alcune sotto scritioni dell'Ammiraglio, primo che acquistasse lo stato, ou' egli si sotto scriueua, Columbus de Terra Rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d'Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, et cio che i'Ammiraglio gli offeriua, con allegro volto accetto la sua offerta, e mandolo a chiamare. Ma, percioche Dio Phaueua per Cas. tiglia serbata, gia l'Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, e tornato con la vittoria della sua impresa, secondo che per ordine si raccontera. Lasciaro hora di raccontar cio, che Bartolomeo Colon hauena negociato in Inghilterra, e tornaro all'Ammiraglio, etc.

The same in English.

Christopher Columbus fearing least if the king of Castile in like manner (as the king of Portugall had done) should not condescend vnto his enterprise, he should be inforced to offer the same againe to some other prince, and so much time should be spent therein, sent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whose name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuerthesse was a man of experience and skilfull in Sea causes, and could very wel make sea cards and globes, and other instruments belonging to that profession, as he was instructed by his brother. Wherefore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which spoiled him with the rest of them which were in the ship which he went in. [Sidenote: The occasion why the West Indies were not discovered for England.] Vpon which occasion, and by reason of his pouerty and sicknesse which cruelly assaulted him in a countrey so farre distant from his friends, he deferred his embassage for a long while, until such time as he had gotten somewhat handsome about him with making of Sea Cards. At length he began to deale with King Henry the seuenth the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this present: vnto whom he presented a mappe of the world, wherein these verses were written, which I found among his papers: and I will here set them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodnesse.

Thou which desireth easily the coasts of lands to know,  
This comely mappe right learnedly the same to thee will shew:  
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Isodore maintaine:  
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.  
Here also is set downe the late discovered burning Zone  
By Portingals, vnto the world which whilom was vnknown.  
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world is blown.

And a little vnder he added:

For the Author or the Drawer.

He, whose deare natiue soile hight statly Genua.  
Euen he whose name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,  
The yeere of Grace a thousand and foure hundred and fourescore  
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,  
In London published this worke. To Christ all laud therefore.

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And because some peradventure may obserue that he calleth himselfe Columbus de Terra Rubra, I say, that in like maner I haue seene some subscriptions of my father Christopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherein be signed his name thus, Columbus de Terra Rubra. [Sidenote: King Henry the seuenth his acceptation of Columbus offer.] But to returne to the king of England, I say, that after he had seene the map, and that which my father Christopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and sent to call him into England. But because God had reserued the said offer for Castile, Columbus was gone in the meane space, and also returned with the performance of his enterprise, as hereafter in order shall be rehearsed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

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Another testimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foresayd history of Ferdinando Columbus concerning the offer that Bartholomew Columbus made to king Henry the seuenth on the behalfe of his brother Christopher.

Tornato adunque l'Ammiraglio dallo scoprimento di Cuba and di Giamaica, torno nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon suo fratello, quello, che era gia andato a trattare accordo col Re d'Inghilterra sopra lo scoprimento delle Indie, come di sopra habiam detto. Questo poi, ritornando sene verso Castiglia con capitoli conceduti, haueua inteso a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l'Ammiraglio suo fratello hauer gia scorperte l'Indie: per che gli souenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento scudi. Et, Auenga che per cotal nuoua egli si fosse molto affrettato, per arriuar l'Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunse a Siuiglia, egli era gia tornato alle Indie co' 17 nauigli. Perche, per asseguir quanto ei gli haueba lasciato, di subito al principio dell' anno del 1494 sen' ando a i Re Catholici, menando seco Don Diego Colon, mio fratello, e me ancora, accioche seruissimo di paggi al serenissimo principe Don Giouanni, il qual viua in gloria, si come hauea commandata la Catholica Reina donna Isabella, che alhora era in Vagliadolid. Tosto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono Don Bartolomeo, et mandaronlo alia Spagnuola centre naui, &c.

The same in English.

Christopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the discouery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hispaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene sent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the discouery of the Indies, as we haue sayd before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Castile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderstood at Paris by Charles the king of France that the Admirall his brother had already performed that discouery: whereupon the French king gaue vnto the sayd Bartholomew an hundred French

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crownes to beare his charges into Spaine. And albeit he made great haste vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies with seuentene saile of shippes. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repaired to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me also, which were to be preferred as Pages to the most excellent Prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholic Queene Lady Isabell, which was then in Validolid. Assoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and sent him to Hispaniola with three ships, &c.

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*The English voyages, navigations, and discoueries.*

*(Intended for the finding of a northwest passage) to the north parts of America, to meta incogita, and the backside of Gronland, as farre as 72 degrees and 12 minuts: performed first by Sebastian Cabota, and since by Sir Martin Frobisher, and M. John Dauis, with the patents, discourses, and aduertisements thereto belonging.*

The Letters patents of King Henry the seuenth granted vnto Iohn Cabot and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius for the discouerie of new and vnknown lands.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliae, et Franciae, et Dominus Hiberniae, omnibus, ad quos praesentes literae nostrae peruenerint, salutem.

Notum sit et manifestum, quod dedimus et concessimus, ac per praesentes damus et concedimus pro nobis et haeredibus nostris, dilectis nobis Iohanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebastiano, et Sancio, filijs dicti Iohannis, et eorum ac cuiuslibet eorum haeredibus et deputatis, plenam ac liberam auctoritatem, facultatem, et potestatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, et sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, et septentrionalis, sub banneris, vexillis, et insignijs nostris, cum quinque nauibus siue nauigijs, cuiuscunque portiturae et qualitatis existant, et cum tot et tantis nautis et hominibus, quot et quantos in dictis nauibus secum ducere voluerint, suis et eorum proprijs sumptibus et expensis, ad inueniendum, discooperiendum, et inuestigandum quascunque insulas, patrias, regiones siue prouincias gentilium et infidelium quorumcunque, in quacunque parte mundi positas, quae Christianis omnibus ante haec tempora fuerint incognitae. Concessimus etiam eisdem et eorum cuilibet, eorumque et cuiuslibet eorum haeredibus et deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum praedictas banneras nostras et insignia in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma a se nouiter inuentis. Et quod praenominatus Iohannes, et filij eiusdem, seu

haeredes et eorum deputati, quascunque huiusmodi villas, castra, oppida, et insulas a se inuentas, quae subiugari, occupari, possideri

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possint, subiugare, occupare, possidere valeant tanquam vasalli nostri, et gubernatores, locatenentes, et deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum et iurisdictionem earundem villarum, castrorum, oppidorum, insularum, ac terrae firmae sic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obuentionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, praefatus Iohannes, et filij ac haeredes, et eorum deputati, teneanter et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristolliae applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecunijs persolvere: Dantes nos et concedentes eisdem suisque haeredibus et deputatis, vt ab omni solutione customarum omnium et singulorum honorum et mercium, quas secum reportarint ab illis locis sic nouiter inuentis, liberi sint et immunes. Et insuper dedimus et concessimus eisdem ac suis haeredibus et deputatis, quod terrae omnes firmae, insulae, villae, oppida, castra, et loca quaecunque a se inuenta, quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non possint ab alijs quibusuis nostris subditis frequentari seu visitari, absque licentia praedictorum Ioannis et eius filiorum, suorumque deputatorum, sub poena amissionis tam nauium quam bonorum omnium quorumcunque ad ea loca sic inuenta nauigare praesumentium. Volentes et strictissime mandantes omnibus et singulis nostris subditis, tam in terra quam in mari constitutis, vt praefato Iohanni et eius filijs ac deputatis, bonam assistentiam faciant, et tam in armandis nauibus seu nauigijs, quam in prouisione commeatus et victualium pro sua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum sibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione sumenda suos omnes fauore set auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. [Sidenote: Ann. Dom. 1495.] Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martij anno regni nostri vndecimo.

The same in English.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Be it knowen that we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents do giue and grant for vs and our heires, to our welbeloued Iohn Cabot citizen of Venice,[9] to Lewis, Sebastian, and Santius, sonnes of the said Iohn, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, full and free authority, leaue, and power to saile to all parts, countreys, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensignes, with fiue ships of what burthen or quality soeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the sayd ships, vpon their owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discover, and finde whatsoeuer isles, countreys, regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoeuer

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they be, and in what part of the world soeuer they be, which before this time haue bene vnknownen to all Christians; we haue granted to them, and also to euery of them, the heires of them, and their deputies, and haue giuen them licence to set vp our banners and ensignes in euery village, towne, castle, isle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes, or their heires and assignes may subdue, occupy and possesse all such townes, cities, castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possesse, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles, and firme land so found. [Sidenote: Bristol thought the meetest port for Westernne discoueries.] Yet so that the aforesayd Iohn, and his sonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of such nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they shall arriue at our port of Bristoll (at the which port they shall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of necessary costs and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten. [Sidenote: Freedom from custome.] We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they shall be free from all paying of customes of all and singular such merchandize as they shall bring with them from those places so newly found. And moreouer, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, isles, villages, townes, castles and places whatsoever they be that they shall chance to finde, may not of any other of our subiects be frequented or visited without the licence of the foresayd Iohn and his sonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aswell of their shippes as of all and singuler goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found. Willing, and most straightly commanding all and singuler our subiects aswell on land as on sea, to giue good assistance to the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships or vessels, as in prouision of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided necessary for the sayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and fauour. In witnesse whereof we haue caused to be made these our Letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminister the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.[10]

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Billa signata anno 13 Henrici septimi.

[Sidenote: A record of the rolls touching the voyage of Iohn Cabot and Sebastian his sonne.] Rex tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioanni Caboto, quod ipse capere possit sex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, siue portibus regni Angliae, ita quod sint de portagio 200. doliorum, vel subtus, cum apparatu requisito, et quod recipere possint in dictas naues omnes tales magistros, marinarios, et subditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

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The same in English.

The king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take sixe English ships in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, and subjects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.[11]

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An extract taken out of the map[12] of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discouery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in her Maiesties priuie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.

Anno Domini 1497 Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, et Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus prius adire ausus fuit, die 24 Junij, circiter horam quintam bene mane. Hanc autem appellauit Terram primum visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primum oculos iniecerat. Nam quae ex aduerso sita est insula eam appellauit insulam Diui Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quod aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer Diuo Ioanni Baptistae: Huius incolae pelles animalium, exuuiasque ferarum pro indumentis habent, easque tanti faciunt, quanti nos vestes preciosissimas. Cum bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clauis ligneis et fundis. Tellus sterilis est, neque vllus fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt vrsis albo colore, et ceruis inusitatae apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, iisque sane magnis, quales sunt lupi marini, et quos salmones vulgus appellat; soleae autem reperiuntur tam longae, vt vlnae mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum similitudinem mirum in modum expriment, perdices autem et aquilae sunt nigri coloris.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 1497 Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune,[13] about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. Iohn vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinnes, and haue them in as great estimation as we haue our finest garments. In their warres they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, and yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares, and stagges farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also aboue a yard





in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hauks, but they are so blacke that they are very like to rauens, as also their partridges, and egles, which are in like sort blacke.

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A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discovery of part of the West India out of England in the time of king Henry the seventh, used to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.

[Sidenote: This discourse is taken out of the second volume of the voyages of Baptista Ramusius.[14]] Doe you not vnderstand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the Northwest, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to nauigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his virtues he is preferred aboue all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. [Sidenote: Sebastian Cabota Pilot mayor of Spaine.] And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert man in that science, and one that coulde make Cardes for the Sea, with his owne hand, and by this report, seeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle person, who intertained him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particular Nauigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further vnto him to this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuerthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genuese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7, who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more diuine then humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowne before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the King to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediatly commanded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, and from thence

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to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continuent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for wanes in Scotland; by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage.

[Sidenote: The second voyage of Cabot to the land of Brazil, and Rio de Plata.] Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertised what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships, wherewith they caused me to saile to discouer the coastes of Brazile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this present Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of siluer, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, more then sixe score leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ships. Into this Riuer runne so many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

[Sidenote: The office of Pilote maior.] After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue myselfe to rest from such trauels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.[15]

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The foresaide Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the Nauigations writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

In the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iaques Cartier a Briton, who sailed vnto the land situate in 50. degrees of latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not throughly knownen, whether they doe ioyne with the firme lande of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they bee separated and diuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the countrey of Cathaia. [Sidenote: The great probabilitie of this North-west passage.] As many yeeres past it was written vnto mee by Sebastian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this

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land of New France, at the charge of King Henry the seventh king of England: and he advertised mee, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of Iune finding still the open Sea without any manner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the ship-master and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserue this great enterprise for some great prince to discover this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easy and shortest of all other wayes hitherto found out. And surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which dayly are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.

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Another testunonie of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the sixt Chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

Scrutatus est oras glaciales Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed a parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (vti moris est Venetorum, qui commercij causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites) transportatus pene infans. Duo is sibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, et primo tentens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio mense vastas repererit glaciates moles pelago natantes, et lucem fere perpetuam, tellure tamen libera, gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere et occidentem sequi: tetenditque tantum ad meridiem littore sese incuruante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus aequarit: ad occidentemque profectus tantum est vt Cubam Insulam a laeua, longitudine graduum pene parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrrens, quae Baccalaos appellauit, eosdem se reperisse aquarum, sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani, meridionales suas regiones adnauigantes, inuenient. Ergo non modo verisimilius, sed necessario concludendum est, vastos inter vtramque ignotam hactenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam praebeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulsu coelorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terrae globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomì, absorberique vt nonnulli senserunt, quod influxu, et refluxu forsan assentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipse terras illas appellauit, eo quod in earum pelago tantam reperierit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos aemulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines

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pellibus tantum coopertos reperiēbat, rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrsorum inesse regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui et ipsi piscibus vescantur. Inter densa namque piscium illorum agmina sese immergunt vrsi, et singulos singuli complexos, vnguibusque inter squammas immissis in terram raptant et comedunt. Propterea minime noxios hominibus visos esse ait Orichalcum in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas praedicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipsum, et contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia a Rege nostro Catholico, post Henrici Maioris Britanniae Regis mortem, concurialis noster est, expectatque indies, vt nauigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturae latens iam tandem detegatur.

The same in English.

These North Seas haue bene searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents carried with them into England, hauing occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandise, as in the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnsearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furnished two ships in England at his owne charges, and first with 300 men directed his course so farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Iuly he found monstrous heapes of ice swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his sailes and follow the West, so coasting still by the shore, that hee was thereby brought so farre into the South, by reason of the land bending so much Southwards, that it was there almost equal in latitude, with the sea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so farre towards the West, that hee had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the same degree of longitude. [Sidenote: A current toward the West.] As hee traueiled by the coastes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that hee found the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to runne more softly and gently then the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southwards. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought also of necessitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknown, there should be certaine great open places whereby the waters should thus continually passe from the East vnto the West: [Sidenote: The people of Island say the Sea and yce setteth also West. (Ionas Arngrimus.)[16]] which waters I suppose to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the uncessant mouing and impulsion of the heauens, and not to bee swallowed vp and cast vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some haue imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebbe and flowe. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccalaos, because that in the Seas thereabout

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hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants called Baccalaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes. He found also the people of those regions couered with beastes skinnes, yet not without the vse of reason. He also saieth there is great plentie of Beares in those regions which vse to eate fish: for plunging themselues into the water, where they perceiue a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so (as he saith) the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men. [Sidenote: Copper found in many places by Cabote.] Hee declareth further, that in many places of these Regions he saw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vse familiarly, and delight to haue sometimes keepe mee company in mine owne house. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Castile, after the death of King Henry the seuenth of that name king of England, he was made one of our council and Assistants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ships dayly to be furnished for him to discover this hid secret of Nature.

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The testimonie of Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth Chapter of the second Booke of his generall history of the West Indies concerning the first discoverie of a great part of the West Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebastian Cabota out of England.

He which brought most certaine newes of the countrey and people of Baccalaos, saith Gomara, was Sebastian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ships at the cost of K. Henry the 7. of England, hauing great desire to traffique for the spices as the Portingalls did. He carried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of Iuly it was so cold, and the ice so great, that hee durst not passe any further: that the dayes were long, in a maner without any night, and for that short night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the West, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sayled along the coast vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

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A note of Sebastian Cabots[17] first discoverie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle[18] not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. Iohn Stow[19] a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

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[Sidenote: Cabots voyage (from Bristol) wherein he discovered Newfound land and the Northerne parts of that land, and from thence almost as farre as Florida.[20]] In the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and llands of the same, as by a Sea card and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the King caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said hee knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which shippe thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers Merchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse marchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points and other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Of three Sauages which Cabot brought home and presented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his raigne, mentioned by the foresaid Robert Fabian.

This yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, and did eate raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could vnderstand them, and in their demeanour like to bruite beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I saw two appparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speach, I heard none of them vtter one word.

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A briefe extract concerning the discouene of Newfound-land, taken out of the booke of M. Robert Thorne, to Doctor Leigh, &c.

I Reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarie, so this inclination or desire of this discouerie I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerours of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as nowe plainly appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the West Indies, from whence all the golde cometh, had bene ours; for all is one coast as by the Card appeareth, and is aforesaid.

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The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabot, constituting him grand Pilot of England.



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Edwardus sextus Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos praesentes hae literae nostrae peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos in consideratione boni et acceptabilis seruitij, nobis per dilectum seruientem nostrum Sebastianum Cabotam impensi atque impendendi, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, et mero motu nostro, nec non de aduisamento, et consensu praeclarissimi auunculi nostri Edwardi Ducis Somerseti personae nostrae Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, subditorumque nostrorum protectoris, et caeterorum consiliariorum nostrorum, dedimus et concessimus, ac per praesentes damus, et concedimus eidem Sebastiano Cabotae, quandam annuitatem siue annualem redditum, centum sexaginta et sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, et quatuor denariorum sterlingorum, habendam, gandendam, et annuatim percipiendam praedictam annuitatem, siue annalem redditum eidem Sebastiano Cabotae, durante vita sua naturali, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scacarij nostri Westmonasterij per manus thesaurariorum, et Camerariorum nostrorum, ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa annuntiationis beatae Mariae Virginis, natiuitatis sancti Ioannis Baptistae, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et Natalis Domini per aequales portiones soluendam. Et ulterius de vberiori gratia nostra, ac de aduisamento, et consensu praedictis damus, et per praesentes concedimus praefato Sebastiano Cabotae, tot et tantas Denariorum summas, ad quot et quantas dicta annuitas siue annalis redditus centum sexaginta sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, et quatuor denariorum, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo praeterito hue vsque se extendit, et attingit, habendas et recipiendas praefato Sebastiano Cabotae et assignatis suis de thesauro nostro praedicto per manus praedictorum Thesaurariorum, et Camerariam nostrorum de dono nostro absque computo, seu aliquo alio nobis, haeredibus, vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo, soluendo, vel faciendo: eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. [Sidenote: Anno D. 1549] Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium 6. die Ianuarij, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi sexti.

The same in English.

Edward the sixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in consideration of the good and acceptable seruice done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabota, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduice and counsel of our most honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerset gouernour of our person, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and subiects, and of the rest of our Counsaile, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Sebastian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely reuenue of one hundreth, three-score and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, to haue, enioy, and



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yerely receiue the foresaid annuitie, or yerely reuenue, to the foresaid Sebastian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treasurie at the receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurers and paymasters, there remayning for the time being, at the feasts of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, S. Michael the Archangel, and the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

And further, of our more speciall grace, and by the aduise and consent aforesaide wee doe giue, and by these presents do graunt vnto the aforesaide Sebastian Cabota, so many, and so great summes of money as the saide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, three-score and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings 4. pence, doeth amount and rise vnto from the feast of S. Michael the Archangel last past vnto this present time, to be had and receiued by the aforesaid Sebastian Cabota, and his assignes out of our aforesaid Treasurie, at the handes of our aforesaide Treasurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing else therefore to be yeelded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or successours, forasmuch as herein expresse mention is made to the contrary.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witnesse the King at Westminster the sixt day of Ianuarie, in the second yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

\* \* \* \* \*

A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight,[21] to proue a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies.

¶ The Table of the matters in euery Chapter of this discourse.

Capitulo 1.

To prone by authoritie a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India.

Capitulo 2.

To prone by reason a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, Moluccae, &c.

Capitulo 3.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauailes the opening of this Northwest passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.



Capitulo 4.

To proue by circumstance, that the Northwest passage hath bene sailed throughout.

Capitulo 5.

To proue that such Indians as haue bene driuen vpon the coastes of Germanie came not thither by the Southeast, and Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

Capitulo 6.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow passage nauigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To proue that these Indians came by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What seuerall reasons were alleaged before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of her Highnesse priuie Council, by M. Anth. Ienkinson a Gentleman of great trauaile and experience, to proue this passage by the Northeast, with my seuerall answers then alleaged to the same.

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Capitulo 9.

How that this passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discovered.

To proue by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cathaia, and the East India.

## Chapter 1.

When I gaue my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia, and Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to bee an Iland enuironed round about with Sea, hauing on the Southside of it the frete or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the sea that seuereth it from Groneland, thorow which Northern Seas the Passage lyeth, which I take now in hand to discover.

Plato in Timaeo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Afrike and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibraltar, nauigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis did as well enioy the gouernance of all Affrike, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to proue Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinaeus Siculus[22] in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there haue bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraued with the Image of Augustus Caesar: which pieces were sent to the Pope for a testimonie of the matter, by Iohn Rufus Archbishop of Consentinum.

[Sidenote: Prodns pag. 24.] Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus,[23] an excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Graecian,[24] and Proclus,[25] and Philo[26] the famous Iew (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato,) to be ouerflowen and swallowed vp with water, by reason of a mightie earthquake, and streaming downe of the heauenly Fludgates. [Sidenote: Iustine Lib. 4.] The like whereof happened vnto some part of Italy, when by

the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iustine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chanced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders.

[Sidenote: Plinie.] And also the Cities of Pyrrha and Antissa, about Meotis palus: and also the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene swallowed vp with the Sea, and are not at this day to be discerned: By which accident America grew to be ['be be' in original—KTH] vnknownen of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately discovered againe by Americus Vespucius,[27] in the yeere of our Lord 1497. which some say to haue bene first discovered by Christophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

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The same calamitie happened vnto this Isle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the Southeast parts of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our vsual moneth, depending a Luminari minori.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then those Western Islands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.[28]

[Sidenote: A minore ad maius.] Then, if when no part of the sayd Atlantis, was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coast round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was (since that time) swallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the olde deeps and chanel, but rather be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then should we now doubt of our Northwest passage and nauigation from England to India? &c. seeing that Atlantis now called America, was euer knowen to be an Island, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which by accesse of more water could not be diminished.

Also Aristotle in his booke De Mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus[29] in his annotations vpon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifestly doth appeare, Asia, Africk and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen) is but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the sea Atlantine: which likewise proueth America to be an Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, or the rest.

[Sidenote: Strabo lib. 15] Also many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean Sea, (which lieth East of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that sea also on the West coasts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coasts is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

[Sidenote: Valerius Anselmus[30] in Catalogo annorum et principum. fol. 6. Gen. 9. 10.] So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the sea adioining to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the same mountaine: but that those seas and the mountaine Atlas were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, sometimes king thereof, who was Iaphet yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was diuided between the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet.

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Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest will be found fauourable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleeeue the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Phylosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers, as Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyccardinus,[31] Michael Tramasinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius, [32] who doth coast out in his generall Mappe set out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northwest side of America, from Hochalega to Cape de Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Islands disioyned by a great Sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and painefull trauellers haue affirmed with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with small danger passe to Cataia, the Molluccae, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, than either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe, from the nearest parte, of any of their countreys within Europe.

What moued these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende so many and sundry trauellers of both ages haue allowed the same: [Marginal note: We ought by reasons right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.] But I coniecture that they would neuer haue so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to haue lead them therevnto.

[Sidenote: A Nauigation of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time.] Now least you should make small accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongst fables of no importance: I haue for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue and translated into English by M. Nowel seruant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer of England, wherein there is described a Nauigation which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, king of Westsaxe Anno 871. the words of which discourse were these: [Sidenote: A perfect description of our Moscouie voyage.] Hee sailed right North, hauing alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine sea, continuing his course, vntill hee perceiued that the coast bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to stay vntill he had a westerne winde, or somewhat upon the North, and sayled thence directly East alongst the coast, so farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill hee had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not howe farre into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauell in the space of fiue dayes,

where hee discovered a mighty riuer, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.[33]

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[Sidenote: By Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, Chancellor and Borough.[34]] Whereby it appeareth that he went the very same way, that we now doe yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moscouia, which no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by sea, vntil it was since discovered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt; but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new discovery, being nothing so indeede, as by this discourse of Ochther it appeareth.

Neuerthelesse if any man should haue taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he should haue bene thought but simple: considering that this Nauigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure author, and yet we in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeeue this passage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainly set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables and discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied but left as a matter doubtfull.

To prooue by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, &c.

Chap. 2. [3 in original—KTH]

[Sidenote: Experimented by our English fishers.] First, all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the end any Riuer, Bay, or Hauen is, the shallower it waxeth, (although by some accidentall barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you sayle West from Island towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the seas: which giueth vs good hope of continuance of the same Sea with Mar del Sur, by some fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

2 Also if that America were not an Island, but a part of the continent adioyning to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, and Quinsay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time haue made some road into it hoping to haue found some like commodities to their owne.

[Sidenote: Neede makes the old wife to trotte.] 3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore haue sought farre and neere for new seats, driuen therevnto through the necessitie of their cold and miserable countreys) would in all this time haue found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene neuer so strait or difficult; the countrey being so temperate pleasant and fruitfull, in comparison of their owne. But there was neuer any such people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who first discovered the Inland of that





countrey: which Spaniards or Frenchmen must then of necessitie haue seene some one ciuil man in America, considering how full of ciuill people Asia is; But they neuer saw so much as one token or signe, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

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4 Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America haue entred Asia, if it were so ioyned: yet some one sauage or wandring beast would in so many yeres haue passed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proueth America, not onely to be one Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia: But also that the people of those Countreys, haue not had any traffique with each other.

5 Moreouer at the least some one of those painful trauellers, which of purpose haue passed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to discouer, would as it is most likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or els haue declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venetus,[35] who liued and dwelt a long time in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the sea coastes of Mangia, ouer against it where he was embarked, and performed a great Nauigation along those seas: Neither yet Verarzanus,[36] or Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, who trauelled the North part of America by land, euer found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea [Marginal note: The Sea hath three motions. 1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem. 2 Motum fluxus et refluxus. 3 Motum circularem. Ad caeli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) mouentur.] runneth by nature circularly from the East to the West, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aswel celestiall as elemental; which motion of the waters is most euidently seene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southside of Afrike where the current that runneth from the East to the West is so strong (by reason of such motion) that the Portugals in their voyages Eastward to Calicut, in passing by Cap. de buona Speranca are enforced to make diuers courses, the current there being so swift as it striketh from thence all along Westward vpon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth; and not hauing free passage and entrance thorow, the fret towards the West, by reason of the narrownesse of the sayd Straite of Magelian [sic—KTH], it runneth to salue this wrong, (Nature not yeelding to accidentall restraints) all along the Easterne coastes of America, Northwards so far as Cape Fredo, being the farthest knowne place of the same continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithall the trending of the land.

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[Sidenote: Posita causa ponitur effectus.] 8 So that this current being continually maintained with such force, as Iaques Cartier[37] affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sayled along the coastes of America, then either it must be of necessitie haue way to passe from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Westward towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salue his former wrongs, by the authority before named: or els it must needes strike ouer, vpon the coast of Island, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are East from the sayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Speranca, vpon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, vpon which coastes Iaques Cartier met with the same, considering the shortnesse of the Cut from the sayd Cape Fredo, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coasts, through the narrow seas, which it doth not, but is digested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there thorow this fret.

[Sidenote: Conterenus.] The like course of the water in some respect happeneth in the Mediterrane sea, (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the current which cometh from Tanais, and Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coasts of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coastes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

[Sidenote: An objection answered.] It may (peraduenture) bee thought that this course of the sea doth sometime surcease, and thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Iaques Cartier found it: Wherevnto I answer this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coast of America, or elsewhere this current is not sensibly perceui'd, yet it hath euermore such like motion, either in the vppermost or nethermost part of the sea; as it may be proued true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, fastening to the nethermost corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you shall plainly perceiue, the course of the water, and current running with such course in the bottome. [Marginal note: The sea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concaua superficie aquae.]

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soeuer you be off the land.

9 Also there commeth another current from out the Northeast from the Scythian Sea (as M. Ienkinson a man of rare vertue, great trauail and experience, told me) which runneth Westward towards Labrador, [Marginal note: The yce set westward euery yeere from Island. Auth. Iona Arngriimo.] as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these currents, must haue way thorow this our fret, or else encounter together and runne contrarie courses; in one line, but no such conflicts of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrador, or Terra noua, as witnesse our yeerely

fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there disgested, as aforesayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

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10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not haue beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, had there not beene some thorow passage by the fret aforesayd, and so by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides and courses of the sea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as fresh riuers are by springs, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaccessse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such circular motion as aforesayd. [Marginal note: The flowing is occasioned by reason that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction.] And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur [Marginal note: An experience to prooue the falling of this current into Mar del Sur.] is prooued by the testimonie and experience of Bernard de la Torre, who was sent from P. de la Natiuidad to the Moluccae, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hispania, which Bernard sayled 750. Leagues, on the Northside of the Aequator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeast, the which droue him backe againe to Tidore.

Wherefore, this current being proued to come from C. de buona Speranca to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straites, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iaques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike ouer vpon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backside of America: therefore this current (hauing none other passage) must of necessity fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and so trending by the Moluccae, China, and C. de buona Speranca, maintaineth it selfe, by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we haue now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shall be sufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded vpon experience, assureth vs of this passage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I haue added in this chapter following, some further prooue hereof, by the experience of such as haue passed some part of this discouerie: and in the next adioining to that the authority of those, which haue sailed wholly, thorow euery part thereof.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Chap. 3.



Paulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee sayled 1500 miles vpon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but also as farre as he could discern.

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[Sidenote: Alcatrarzi be Pelicanes.] 2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Ceuola, through the country of Quiuira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great sea, where were certaine ships laden with Merchandise, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrarzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of siluer, who signified by signes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewise proueth America by experience to be disioyned from Cataia: on that part by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues thereof: for that so farre as is discovered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

[Sidenote: Baros lib. 9. Of his first Decas cap 1.] 3. In like maner, Iohn Baros[38] testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where he himselfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coast trendeth from thence Northeast, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the said Cosmographers knew no cause to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whose experiences America is prooued to be separate from those parts of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the iudgements of these learned men only, I haue searched what might be further sayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciscus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Island, and likewise Gronland: and that Gronland is distant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreouer, Aluaros Nunnius[39] a Spaniard, and learned Cosmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into those parts, and sayled 900 miles upon the Northeast coastes of America doe in part confirme the same.

6 Likewise Hieronymus Fracastorius,[40] a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North parts of the same land.

7 Also Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard say at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

[Sidenote: Written in the discourses of Nauigation.] Furthermore, Sebastian Cabota by his personal experience and trauel hath set foorth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queens Maiesties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discouery by king Henrie the seuenth, and entred the same fret: affirming that he sayled very farre Westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador the eleuenth of Iune, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe,[41]and finding the Seas still open, sayd, that he

might, and would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene.

Now as these mens experience hath proued some part of this passage: so the chapter following shal put you in full assurance of the rest, by their experiences which haue passed through euery part thereof.



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To prooue by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.

Chap. 4.

The diuersitie betwene brute beastes and men, or betwene the wise and the simple is, that the one iudgeth by sense onely, [Marginal note: Quinque sensus. 1 Visus. 2 Auditus. 3 Olfactus. 4 Gustus. 5 Tactus. Singularia sensu, vniuersalia vero mente percipiuntur.] and gathereth no surety of any thing that he hath not seene, felt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both sorts, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

1 First, as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

3 Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempest, vpon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France.

[Sidenote: Lib. 2. cap. 66.] 3 And Plinie vpon the same sayth, that it is no maruel though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a nauigable passage that way, through which those Indians came.

[Sidenote: Pag. 590.] 4 And for the better prooue that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to proue my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coastes of Germany, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of marchandize.

5 Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians vpon the coast of Germanie. [Marginal note: Auouched by Franciscus Lopes de Gomara in his historie of India, lib. I. cap. 10.]

6 Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, vpon the coast of the sayd countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly haue come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

To prooue that these Indians aforenamed came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrike, or America.

Cap. 5.

First, they could not come from the Southeast by the Cape de bona Speranca, because the roughnes of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greatest armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could liue in those outragious seas without shipwracke (being a vessel of very small burden) and haue conducted themselues to the place aforesayd, being men vnexpert in the Arte of nauigation.

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2 Also, it appeareth plainly that they were not able to come from amongst the coast of Afrike aforesayd, to those parts of Europe, because the winds doe (for the most part) blow there Easterly off from the shore, and the current running that way in like sort, should haue driuen them Westward vpon some part of America: for such winds and tides could neuer haue led them from thence to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforesayd, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilful mariners to haue conducted them such like courses as were necessary to performe such a voiage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driuen to the West (as they must haue bene, comming that way) then they should haue perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coast of Afrike) vntill they came to America, nor from America vntill they arriued vpon some part of Europe, or the Islands adioyning to it, to haue refreshed themselues.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might haue recouered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt haue stricken vpon some other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Isles of the Acores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would haue departed vndiscovered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in those dayes any such ship or men but only vpon the coasts of Germanie, where they haue bene sundry times and in sundry ages cast aland: neither is it like that they would haue committed themselues againe to sea, if they had so arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

[Sidenote: This fifth reason by later experience is proued vtterly vntrue.] 5 And by the Southwest it is vnpossible, because the current aforesayd which commeth from the East, striketh with such force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possibly a Canoa, with such vnskilfull mariners) can come into our Western Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

[Sidenote: That the Indians could not be natiues either of Africa, or of America.] 6 And further, to prooue that these people so arriuing vpon the coast of Germany, were Indians, and not inhabters of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifest, because the natiues both of Africa and America neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither mastes nor sailes, (except onely vpon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships) but do carie themselues from place to place neere the shore by the ore onely.

To prooue that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow nauigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

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It is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelffie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be nauigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

[Sidenote: Quicquid naturali loco priuatur, quam citissime corrumpitur.] [Sidenote: Qualis causa, talis effectus.] 2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zone, could endure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation the passage by the Northeast cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabiants of this cold climate (whose Summer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene stroken to death with the cold dampes of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishap, and yet the aire in such like Eleuation is alwaies cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole wil so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoise or strike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught vs) without the vse whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Also the aire is so darkened with continuall mists and fogs so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such eleuation doth very suddenly vary, which things must of force haue bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

[Sidenote: Similium similis est ratio.] 6 Moreouer, all baies, gulfes, and riuers doe receiue their increase vpon the flood, sensibly to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any main sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other known hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receiue their increase vpon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West, as M. Ienkinson affirmed vnto me: and therefore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiuing increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean by the East.

7 Moreouer, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut vp from the maine sea (as in all those aboue mentioned) the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which proueth but small continuance of that sea toward the East.

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[Sidenote: Quicquid corrumpitur a contrario corrumpitur.] 8 Also, the further yee goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West only, seeing Euery thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then must it be like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and eleuation.[42]

[Sidenote: Omne simile gignit sui simile.] And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and such like freshets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermost parts thereof by the riuers Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that eleuation, of like it should be alwaies frozen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) because the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the vppermost part, and the extreme coldnesse of the earth in the bottome, the sea there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidentall coldnesse doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angles, it can neuer be dissolued after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that eleuation, to preuaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolued, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the sunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a nauigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to liue.

11 Further, the ice being once broken, it must of force so driue with the windes and tides, that no ship can saile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subiect to danger through the great Islands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the sailers great danger) farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should be any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it should cut off Ciremissi, and Turbi Tartari, with Vzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are known to be adioyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorowe passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can Nauigate in so shallow a Sea: and ships of small burden are very vnfit and vnprofitable, especially towards the blustering North to performe such a voyage.

To prooue that the Indians aforementioned, came only by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage by experience.

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Cap. 7.

It is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is vnlikely that they should come, either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage hauing bene alreadie so many wayes prooued, by disproouing of the others, &c. I shall the lesse neede in this place, to vse many words otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, hauing these many reasons to leade me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kind of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vse of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, having so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, [Marginal note: True both in ventis oblique flantibus, as also in ventis ex diamentro spitantibus.] because the coast whereon they were driuen, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly want, and therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Speranca, then must they (as aforesaid) haue fallen vpon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coasts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then vpon the coasts of Cerremissi, Tartarji, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon these coasts (as aforesaid) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without shipwracke vpon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken vpon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discouery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most part of those countries, by which they must haue come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.



So that it plainely appeareth that those Indians (which as you haue heard in sundry ages were driuen by tempest vpon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreouer, the passage is certainly prooued by a Nauigation that a Portugall made, who passed through this fret, giuing name to a promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioyning vnto Polisacus fluuius.

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8 Also one Scolmus a Dane entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Saluattera, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from vs to Cataia, constantly to be beleueed in America nauigable. And further said in the presence of sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest passage, and shewed Saluattera (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (as he returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certainty) such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: [Marginal note: The words of the king of Portugall to Andro Vrdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northwest passage from England to Cataia.] For that (said the King) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Saluattera reported) was the greatest Discouerer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Saluattera being perswaded of this passage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie me in this Discouery, which of like he would not haue done if he had stood in doubt thereof. [43]

[Sidenote: An obiection.] And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so least it might be objected that these things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past) might serue litle to prooue this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknown: to remooue this doubt let this suffice: [Sidenote: Aristotle lib. de mundo, cap. 2. Berosus lib. 5.] That Aristotle (who was 300. yeeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berosus (who liued 330 yeres before Christ) hath these words, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester be these wordes, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Assuerus liued 580 yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where he speaketh of the conquests of Alexander) mentioneth India. Also, Arianus, Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India vnder his gouernment. All which assureth vs, that both India and Indians were knowen in those dayes.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not only assure our selues of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is nauigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebastian Cabota,



Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

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And yet notwithstanding all this, there be some that haue a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my seuerall answers ensue in the chapter following.

Certaine reasons alleaged for the proouing of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of the Counsell, by Master Anthoni Ienkinson, with my seuerall answers then vsed to the same.

Cap. 8.

Because you may vnderstand as well those things alleaged against me, as what doth serue for my purpose, I haue here added the reasons of Master Anthony Ienkinson a worthy gentleman, and a great traoueller, who conceiued a better hope of the passage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

[Sidenote: The Northwest passage assented vnto.] He first said that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest according to mine opinion: but assured he was, that there might be found a nauigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeouored to prooue three wayes.

[Sidenote: The first reason.] The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he sayled very farre towards the Southeast, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

[Sidenote: The answer or resolution.] Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vse of the Sea Card, Compasse or Starre, which he confessed to be true: and therefore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place vnknown from the sight of the land.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the shore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

[Sidenote: Visus nonnunquam fallitur in suo obiecto.] And further, it might be that the poore Fishermen through simplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which prooue (vnder correction) giueth small assurance of a Nauigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the world, For that be iudged by the eye onely, seeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

[Sidenote: The second reason or allegation.] His second reason is, that there was an Vnicornes horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (said he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare



Glaciale, there being no Vnicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia: which reason (in my simple iudgement) forceth as litle.

[Sidenote: The answer or resolution.] First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

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Also the tides running too and fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Vnicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts thereunto adioyning, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zieglerus writeth in his historie of Scondia.

And as Albertus saieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Vnicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no.

[Sidenote: The third and last reason or assertion.] His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West.

[Sidenote: The answer or resolution.] Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Maeotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Graecia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenius, and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to prooue a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my seuerall answers thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or despaire of either at your pleasure.[44]

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

First, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous speedie and luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue so long comfortlesse, voide of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or vnderstanding may iudge.

[Sidenote: Some doubt of this.] 2 Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccae are neerer vnto vs by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two fiue parts, which is almost by the halfe.



3 Also we may haue by the West a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such eleuation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well saile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moscouia, and returne in the nauigable season of the yeere, and from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartari, which stande at 80 degrees of the Septentrional latitude, it is at the least 400 leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeast.

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5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60 degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterly windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must haue by the Northeast sundry windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your iourney should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so neere the Pole. As we are taught by sir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7. Moreouer, it is very doubtfull, whether we should long inioy that trade by the Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities thereof once knowne to the Moscouite, what priuilege so euer hee hath granted, seeing pollicy with the masse of excessiue gaine, to the inriching (so greatly) of himselfe and all his dominions would perswade him to presume the same, hauing so great opportunitie to vtter the commodities of those countries by the Narue.

But by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince liuing, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Also the Queenes Maiesties dominions are neerer the Northwest passage then any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessitie succour themselues and their ships vpon some part of the same, if any tempestuous weather should happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Maiesties nauie, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffike insuing vpon this discouerie, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all these things were, as we haue heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would ensue, this passage once discouered.

Cap. 10.

First, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse the wealth of all the East parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East parts of the

world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, a wonderfull inriching to our prince, and an vnspeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we should share with the Portugall in the East, and the Spaniard in the West, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

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3 Also we might sayle to diuers very rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iurisdicions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, siluer, precious stones, cloth of gold, silkes, all maner of spices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their iournies, cannot well attaine vnto.

4 Also we might inhabite some part of those countreyes, and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallows.

5 Moreouer, we might from all the aforesaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our staple some conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or some other part, whereas it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage.

6 Beside vttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much esteeme: as appeareth in Hester, where the pompe is expressed of the great king of India, Assuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and siluer, as part of his greatest treasure: not mentioning either veluets, silkes, cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, or such like, being in those countreyes most plentifull: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, so that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Also, here we shall increase both our ships and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8 And also haue occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to haue our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discouery, without iniury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their vsed trades, whereby they might take any iust occasion of offence.

Thus haue I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer iudge me fantasticke in this matter: seeing I haue conceiued no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discouery hath bene diuers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted and performed.





It hath bene offered by Stephen Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Vllua testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would haue set him forth in it (as the story mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres had not caused him to surcease the same.

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[Sidenote: This discovery offered.] And the king of Portugall fearing least the Emperour would haue perseuered in this his enterprise, gaue him to leaue the matter vnattempted, the summe of 350000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not haue giuen to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

[Sidenote: This discovery attempted.] It hath bene attempted by Sebastian Cabota in the time of king Henry the seuenth, by Corterialis the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

[Sidenote: This discovery performed.] And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforesaid, and by Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

Also diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to haue discovered the same: The discoverers spending and consuming their victuals in searching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now easily be found out in short time: and that with little ieopardie and lesse expences.

For America is discovered so farre towards the North as Cape Frio,[45] which is 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning is knowen to stand but at 72 degrees. [Sidenote: The labour of this discoverie shortned by other mens trauell.] So that wee haue but 10 degrees to saile North and South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: [Sidenote: Why the kings of Spaine and Portugal would not perseuer in this discovery.] and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not haue sit out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselues all that trade they now vse, and feare to deale in this discovery, least the Queenes Maiestie hauing so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to 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, haue commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon 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.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to prooue that there were such Islands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discovered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Islands set foorth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the same) from 942 yeeres before Christ, vntill that day.

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Moreouer, Columbus himselfe had neither seene America nor any other of the Islands about it, neither, vnderstood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them, but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which should haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but roue at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit myselfe haue not seene this passage nor any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers most credible men, which haue both seene and passed through some and euery part of this discouery, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, and indifferently weighed together, with the wonderfull commodities which this discouery may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needs conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and diuers other learned men, who said, that this discouery hath bene reserued for some noble prince or worthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiring you to accept in good part this briefe and simple discourse, written in haste, which if I may perceiue that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large discourse, which I haue written onely of this discouery.

And further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I wil at at leasure make you partaker of another simple discourse of nauigation, wherein I haue not a little trauelled, to make my selfe as sufficient to bring these things to effect, as I haue bene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I haue deuised to amend the errors of vsuall sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bignesse.

And haue also deuised therein a Spherical instrument, with a compasse of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to pricke the sea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discouery, to know at the first entring of any fret whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre soeuer the sea stretcheth itself into the land.

Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

[Sidenote: Pereas qui vmbras times.] And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countreys seruice, and his owne honour: seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno.

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Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prooue a passage by the Northwest,  
learnedly written by M. Richard Willes, Gentleman.

Foure famous wayes there be spoken of to those fruitfull and wealthie Islands, which wee doe vsually call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. These Islands, although they stand East from the Meridian, distant almost halfe the length of the worlde, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, possessed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully sought in respect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerously brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portugalls in comparison of the Molucchians for neerenesse vnto vs, for like situation Westward as we haue, for their vsuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeasterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. [Sidenote: 1 By the Southeast.] Their voyage is very well vnderstood of all men, and the Southeasterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good hope more spoken of, better knowen and trauelled, then that it may seeme needefull to discourse thereof any further.

[Sidenote: 2 By the Southwest.] The second way lyeth Southwest, betweene the West India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow straight where Magellan first of all men that euer we doe read of, passed these latter yeeres, leauing therevnto therefore his name. [Sidenote: This is an error.] This way no doubt the Spaniardes would commodiously take, for that it lyeth neere vnto their dominions there, could the Easterne current and leuant windes as easily suffer them to returne, as speedily therewith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impossibility of striuing against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is litle or nothing vsed, although it be very well knowen.

[Sidenote: 3 By the Northeast.] The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowned knight sir Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approued by [Sidenote: Ortel. tab. Asiae 3.] experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the vnlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwayes clad with yce and snow, or at the least continually pestred therewith, if happily it be at any time dissolued: besides bayes and shelfes, the water waxing more shallow toward the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the cold clime, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the vncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, fiue moneths long.

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[Sidenote: 4 By the Northwest.] A fourth way to go vnto these aforesaid happy Islands Moluccae sir Humphrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterprise of itselfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserue high praise, and whensoever it shal be finished, the fruits thereof cannot be smal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, and fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voiage not throughly knownen, and therefore gainesaid by many, after this maner.

[Sidenote: Ob. 1.] First, who can assure vs of any passage rather by the Northwest then by the Northeast? do not both waves lye in equall distance from the North Pole? Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent vnder like eleuation? Is not the Ocean sea beyond America farther distant from our Meridian by 30. or 40. degrees West, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eastward, if Ortelius generall Carde of the world be true: [Sidenote: In Theatro.] In the Northeast that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happe by the Northwest? Who hath gone for triall sake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayo?

[Sidenote: Ob. 2.] If you seeke the aduise herein of such as make profession in Cosmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest children, will answere by their mappes with a negatiue, concluding most of the Sea within the land, and making an end of the world Northward, neere the 63. degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly florished, was receiued in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: tibi seruiat vltima Thyle, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreme part of the world habitable toward the North. Ioseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germaine, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, haue continued the West Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way.

The same doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his sea Carde, neuerthesse doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulfe betwixt the West Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be trauelled for the causes in the first obiection alledged, or cleane shut vp from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

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[Sidenote: Ob. 3.] Thirdly, the greatest fauourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any such passage be, it lieth subiect vnto yce and snow for the most part of the yeere, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolued the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the sunne maketh a certaine season in those parts, how shall it be possible for so weake a vessel as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole llands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche side, and at the mouth of that gulfe, issuing downe furiously from the north, and safely to passe, when whole mountaines of yce and snow shall be tumbled downe vpon her?

[Sidenote: Ob. 4.] Well, graunt the West Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulfe lie neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61. and 64. degrees north, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our countryman Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee haue free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moscouia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no passage by Sea through Moscouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforesaid Mediterranean sea, we saile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and spices from the Moluccaes vp the Red sea or Arabian gulph to Sues, scarcely three dayes iourney from the aforesayd hauen: yet haue wee no way by sea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Isthmos or litle straight of land betweene the two seas. In like maner although the Northerne passage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the West Ocean beyond America, vsually called Mar del Zur, known to be open at 40. degrees eleuation from the Island Iapan, yea, three hundred leagues Northerly aboue Iapan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow passage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforesaid it falleth out, Asia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion seeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruseth our Cosmographers doings. Iosephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemispheres of the world, but also in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the same opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the West Indies were part of Asia. Which sentence well agreeth with that old conclusion in the Schooles. Quicquid praeter Africam et Europam est, Asia est, Whatsoeuer land doeth neither apperteine vnto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Asia.

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[Sidenote: Ob. 5.] Furthermore it were to small purpose to make so long, so painefull, so doubtfull a voyage by such a new found way, if in Cathayo you should neither bee suffered to land for silkes and siluer, nor able to fetch the Molucca spices and pearle for piracie in those Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabitors vnder a great penaltie to let in any stranger into those countreys, shall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there imprisoned with other Portugals: as also in the Iaponish letters, how for that cause the worthy traueeller Xauierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great summe of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie vsed in those Seas no man can be ignorant of, that listeth to reade the Iaponish and East Indian historie.

[Sidenote: Ob. 6.] Finally, all this great labour would be lost, all these charges spent in vaine, if in the ende our traueellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring safely home into their owne natiue countrey that wealth and riches, which they in forreine regions with aduenture of goods, and danger of their liues haue sought for. By the Northeast there is no way, the Southeast passage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of those Seas. At the Southwest Magellans experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are persuaded by reason, how the Easterne current striketh so furiously on that straight, and falleth with such force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ship can returne that way into our West Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truly it is, then wee may say that the aforesayd Easterne current or leuant course of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, loseth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other current from out the Northeast, in the passage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of necessity caryed: hauing none other way to maintaine it selfe in circular motion, and consequently the force and fury thereof to be no lesse in the straight of Anian, where it striketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any such straight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both straights being of like bredth: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for nauigation in that region we doe finde precisely set downe.

Neuerthesse to approue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northwest from out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of three brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Frisius recordeth, and left a name vnto that straight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that passed this straight, of whom Master Frobisher speaketh, that was imprisoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbon, to verifie the olde Spanish prouerbe, I suffer for doing well. Likewise Andrew Vrdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde (for he was a great discouerer) made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath bene seene by Gentlemen of good credite.



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[Sidenote: Cic. 1. de orat. Arist. pri. Metaph.] Now if the obseruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the best Philosophers that euer were doe affirme: truely the voyage of these aforesayd trauellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northwest, do most euidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that passage free. [Sidenote: Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.] So much the more we are so to thinke for that the first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith, is the history of trauell, that is, reports made by trauellers skilful in Geometrie and Astronomie, of all such things in their iourney as to Geographie doe belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now answeere to those arguments that seemed to make against this former conclusion.

[Sidenote: Sol. 1.] The first obiection is of no force, that generall table of the world set forth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly skilleth not, being vnskilfully drawen for that point: as manifestly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the same with Gemma Frisius his vniuersall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebastian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this case before all Mercator and Ortelius other doings: for that Cabota was not onely a skilful Sea man, but a long traueller, and such a one as entred personally that straight, sent by king Henry the seuenth to make this aforesayd Discouerie, as in his owne discourse of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northwestern straight lyeth neere the 318. Meridian, betweene 61. and 64. degrees in the eleuation, continuing the same bredth about 10 degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropicke of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur, at the least 18 degrees more in bredth there, then it was where it first began: otherwise I could as well imagine this passage to be more vnlikely then the voyage to Moscouia, and more impossible then it for the farre situation and continuance thereof in the frostie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very possible and most likely in comparison thereof, for that it neither coasteth so farre North as the Moscouian passage doeth, neither is this straight so long as that, before it bow downe Southerly towards the Sunne againe.

[Sidenote: Sol. 2.] The second argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was aboue sixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all passages Northward from the eleuation of 63. degrees: he knewe no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet haue the Portugals trended the Cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and trauelled to Iapan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia and America: our merchants in the time of king Edward

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the sixt discovered the Moscouian passage farther North than Thyle, and shewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland and Norway: the like our Northwesterne trauellers haue done, declaring by their nauigation that way, the ignorance of all Cosmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the West Indies with that frosty region vnder the north pole. As for Virgil he sang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other poet did of the hot Zone.

[Sidenote: Ouid. 1. Meta.] Quarum quae media est, non est habitabilis aestu. Imagining, as most men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether dishabited for heat, though presently wee know many famous and worthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Island of S. Thomas neere AEthiopia, and the wealthy Islands for the which chiefly all these voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the Equinoctiall line.

[Sidenote: Sol. 3.] To answeere the third obiection, besides Cabota and all other trauellers nauigations, the onely credit of M. Frobisher[46] may suffice, who lately through all these Islands of ice, and mountaines of snow, passed that way, euen beyond the gulfes that tumbleth downe from the North, and in some places though he drewe one inch thicke ice, as he returning in August did, yet came he home safely againe.

[Sidenote: Sol. 4.] The fourth argument is altogether friuolous and vaine, for neither is there any isthmus or strait of land betweene America and Asia, ne can these two landes ioyntly be one continent. [Sidenote: Lib. Geog.] The first part of my answere is manifestly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this facultie the price. The author of that booke likewise [Greek: peri kosmou] to Alexander, attributed vnto Aristotle, is of the same opinion that Homer and Strabo be of, in two or three places. Dionisius in [Greek: oikoumenaes periaegaesi] hath this verse [Greek: otos hokeanos peridedrome gaian hapasan.] So doth the Ocean Sea runne round about the worlde: speaking onely of Europe, Afrike and Asia, as then Asia was trauelled and knowen. [Sidenote: Note.] With these Doctours may you ioyne Pomponius Mela. cap. 2. lib 1. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. and Pius 2. cap 2. in his description of Asia. [Sidenote: Richard Eden.] All the which writers doe no lesse confirme the whole Easterne side of Asia to be compassed about with the sea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timaeo, vnder the name Atlantis, the West indies to be an Island, as in a special discoure thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the sentence of Proclus, Marsilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an island. Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Dionysius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Asia, Afrike, and Europe to be enuironed with the Ocean. I may therefore boldly say (though later intelligences thereof had we none at all) that Asia and the West Indies be not tied together by any Isthmos or straight of land, contrary to the opinion of some new Cosmographers, by whom doubtfully this matter hath bin brought in controuersie. And thus much for the first part of my answere vnto the fourth obiection.

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[Sidenote: Lib. 2. Meteor. cap 1.] The second part, namely that America and Asia cannot be one continent, may thus be prooued, [Greek: kata taen taes gaes koilotaeta rhei kai ton potamon to plaethos.] The most Riuers take downe that way their course, where the earth is most hollow and deepe, writeth Aristotle: and the Sea (sayeth he in the same place) as it goeth further, so it is found deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moscouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their streames Northward out of Moscouia into the sea? Which way doeth that sea strike: The South is maine land, the Easterne coast waxeth more and more shalow: from the North, either naturally, because that part of the earth is higher Aristot. 2. Met. cap. 1. or of necessitie, for that the forcible influence of some Northerne starres causeth the earth there to shake off the Sea, as some Philosophers doe thinke: or finally for the great store of waters engendered in that frostie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber, in 2. Meteor. cap. 6. From the North, I say, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeasterne currant must at the length abruptly bow towards vs South on the West side of Finmarke and Norway: or else strike downe Southwest aboue Groneland and Iseland, into the Northwest straight we speake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the situation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobisher experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobisher the further he trauailed in the former passage, as he tolde me, the deeper always he found the Sea. Lay you now the summe hereof together. The riuers runne where the chanelles are most hollow, the Sea in taking his course waxeth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeasterne current striketh downe into the straight we speak of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and snowe falling downe furiously out from the land vnder the North pole. [Sidenote: Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67] Where store of water is, there is it a thing impossible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, but waxeth deeper, there can be discovered no land, finally, whence I pray you came the contrary tide, that M. Frobisher mette withall after he had sailed no small way in that passage, if there be any Isthmos or straight of land betwixt the aforesayd Northwestern gulfe, and Mar del Zur, to ioyn Asia and America together? That conclusion frequented in scholes Quicquid praeter, &c. was meant of the partes of the world then knowen, and so it is of right to be vnderstood.

[Sidenote: Sol. 5.] The fift obiection requireth for answere wisdom and policie in the trauailer to winne the Barbarians fauour by some good meanes: and so to arme and strengthen himselfe, that when he shal haue the repulse in one coast, he may safely trauaile to an other, commodiously taking his conuenient times, and discretely making choise of them with whom hee will throughly deale. To force a violent entry, would for vs Englishmen be very hard, considering the strength and valour of so great a Nation, farre distant from vs, and the attempt thereof might be most perilous vnto the doers, vnlesse their part were very good.

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Touching their lawes against strangers, you shall reade neuerthelesse in the same relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is woont to graunt free accesse vnto all foreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandise, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntill such time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coast to be a circumcised Saracene: wherefore some of them were put to the sword, the rest were scattered abroad: at Fuquien a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be seene. As for the Iapans they be most desirous to be acquainted with strangers. The Portingals though they were straitly handled there at the first, yet in the ende they found great fauor at the Prince his hands, insomuch that the Loutea or president that misused them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth those seas, the Portingals, the Saracens, and Moores trauaile continually vp and downe that reach from Iapan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and shall an Englishman, better appointed then any of them all (that I say no more of our Nauie) feare to saile in that ocean? What seas at all doe want piracie? what Nauigation is there voyde of perill?

[Sidenote: Sol. 6.] To the last argument. Our trauailers neede not to seeke their returne by the Northeast, neither shall they be constrained, except they list, either to attempt Magellans straight at the Southwest, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeast: they may returne by the Northwest, that same way they doe goe forth, as experience hath shewed.

The reason alleadged for proofof the contrary may be disproued after this maner. And first it may be called in controuersie, whether any current continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no: For learned men doe diuersly handle that question. [Sidenote: Luc. lib. 1. Pharsal.] The naturall course of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth most lowe and deepe: in respect whereof, it was erst sayd, the seas doe strike from the Northern landes Southerly. Violently the seas are tossed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreased and diminished by the course of the Moone, hoised vp and downe through the sundry operations of the Sunne and the starres: finally, some be of opinion, that the seas be carried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the highest moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of ayre and fire, with the rest of the heauenly spheres, are from the East vnto the West. [Sidenote: What the Easterne current is.] And this they doe call their Easterne current, or leuant stream. Some such current may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neerenesse thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and blustering Easterne windes violently driuing the seas Westwards: howbeit,

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in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, and the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the West and South, as from the East, this rule doeth not effectually withholde vs from trauailing Eastward, neither be we kept euer backe by the aforesaid Leuant windes and streame. But in the Magellans streight wee are violently driuen backe West: Ergo, through the Northwesternne straight or Annian frette shall we not be able to retorne Eastward? It followeth not. The first, for that the northwesternne straight hath more sea roome at the least by one hundreth English myles, than Magellans frette hath, the onely want whereof causeth all narrow passages generally to be most violent. So would I say in the Anian gulfe, if it were so narrow as Don Diego and Zalterius haue painted it out, any retorne that way to bee full of difficulties, in respect of such streightnesse thereof, not for the neerenesse of the Sunne, or Easterne windes violently forcing that way any leuant streame: But in that place there is more sea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Frisius, and that which Tramezine imprinted be true.

And hitherto reason see I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings, as to any of the rest. [Sidenote: Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.] It must be Peregrinationis historia, that is, true reportes of skilfull trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in such controuersies of Geographie must put vs out of doubt. Ortelius in his vniuersall tables, in his particular Mappes of the West Indies, of all Asia, of the Northern kingdomes, of the East Indies, Mercator in some of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuersall table of the Globe diuided, in his sea Carde, and particuler tables of the East Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe so much differ from Gemma Frisius and Cabota, among themselues, and in diuers places from themselues, concerning the diuers situation and sundry limits of America, that one may not so rashly, as timely surmise, these men either to be ignorant in those points touching the aforesaid region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the world, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

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The first Voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest, for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall, Master in the Gabriel, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

The 7. of Iune being Thursday, the two Barks, viz. the Gabriel, and the Michael [Marginal note: M. Matthew Kinderslye was Captaine of the Michael.] and our Pinnesse set saile at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Detford, and there we ancred: the cause was that our Pinnesse burst her bouldsprit, and foremast aboard of a ship that rode at Detford, else wee meant to haue past that day by the Court then at Grenewich.

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The 8. day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and set saile all three of vs, and bare downe by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance and made the best shew we could: Her Maiestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade vs farewell, with shaking her hand at vs out of the window. Afterward shee sent a Gentleman aboard of vs, who declared that her Maiestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The same day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of vs, and declared to the company, that her Maiestie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wished vs happie successe.

The 12. day being ouer against Grauesend, by the castle or blockehouse, we obserued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compasse is 11. degrees and a halfe.

[Sidenote: Faire Island.] The 24. day at 2. of the clocke after noone, I had sight of Faire yle,[47] being from vs 6. leagues North and by East, and when I brought it Northwest and by North, it did rise at the Southermost ende with a litle hommocke, and swampe in the middes.

[Sidenote: Shotland.] The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northwest and by North a fresh gale, I cast about to the Westward, the Southermost head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthwest from me, and the land of Faire yle, West Southwest from me. I sailed directly to the North head of that said land, sounding as I ranne in, hauing 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde shels: and within halfe a mile of that Island, there are 36. fathoms, for I sailed to that Island to see whether there were any roadeesteede for a Northwest winde, and I found by my sounding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the shoare, 28. fathome, and so did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foresaile, and mizen till it was a high water vnder the Island. The tide setteth there Northwest and Southeast: the flood setteth Southeast, and the ebbe Northwest.

The 26. day hauing the winde at South a faire gale, sayling from Faire yle to Swinborne head, I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being West Northwest from me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head East southeast from me, I found my eleuation [Marginal note: By eleuation he meaneth the distance of the sunne from the zenith.] to be 37. degr and my declination 22. degr. 46 min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. [Sidenote: S. Tronions.] At that present being neere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as also to take in fresh water, I plyed roome with a sound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in seuen fathoms water, and faire sande. You haue comming in the sounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms,



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and the sound lyeth in North northwest, and there we roade to a West sunne, and stopped our leake, and hauing refreshed our selues with water, at a North northwest sunne, I set saile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southest, and turned out till wee were cleare of the sound, and so sailed West to go cleare of the Island of Fowlay.

[Sidenote: Fowlay Island.] And running off toward Fowlay,[48] I sounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and streamie ground, and also I sounded Fowlay being North from mee one league off that Islande, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and streamie ground, like broken otmell, and one shell being redde and white like mackerell.

[Sidenote: Latitude 59. deg. 59. min. Here they begin to saile West and by North.] The 27. day at a South sunne I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being from me two leagues East Northeast: I found my selfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min truly obserued, the winde at South Southwest: I sailed West and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the wind at South, a faire gale the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I sounded hauing 60. fathome, with little stones and shels, the Island from vs 8. leagues East.

[Sidenote: July the first.] The first of Iuly, from 4. to 8. a clocke, wee sailed West 4. glasses 4. leagues, and at that present we had so much winde that we spooned afore the sea Southwest 2. leagues.

The 3. day we found our Compasse to bee varied one point to Westwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we sailed West and by North 6 leagues.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West and by North 4. leagues. [Sidenote: The Compasse varying Westwards one point.] At that present I found our compasse to be varied 11 deg. and one 4. part to the Westwards, which is one point.

[Sidenote: The Island of Friseland.] The 11. day at a Southeast sunne we had sight of the land of Friseland bearing from vs West northwest 16. leagues, and rising like pinacles of steeples, and all couered with snowe. I found my selfe in 61. degr. of latitude. Wee sailed to the shoare and could finde no ground at 150. fathoms, we hoised out our boate, and the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the shoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce, they could not get on land, and so they came aboard againe: We had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reason of the fogge. Yet from Thursday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we sailed Southwest 20. leagues.

The 18. day at a Southwest sunne I found the sunne to be eleuated 33. deg. And at a Southsoutheast sunne 40. deg. So I obserued it till I found it at the highest, and then it was eleuated 52. deg. [Sidenote: The variation of the needle two points and a halfe to

the West.] I iudged the variation of the Compasse to be 2. points and a halfe to the Westward.

[Sidenote: A great drift of yce.] The 21. day we had sight of a great drift of yce, seeming a firme land, and we cast Westward to be cleare of it.



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[Sidenote: The latitude of 62. degrees 2. min.] The 26. we had sight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, and two minutes.

[Sidenote: Sight of land supposed to haue been Labrador.] The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing vp of the fogge, we had sight of lande, which I supposed to be Labrador, with great store of yce about the land: I ranne in towards it, and sownded, but could get no ground at 100. fathom, and the yce being so thicke, I could not get to the shoare, and so lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Munday we came within a mile of the shoare, and sought a harborowe: all the sownd was full of yce, and our boate rowing a shoare, could get no ground at 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the shoare: then we sailed Eastnortheast along the shoare, for so the lande lyeth, and the currant is there great, setting Northeast, and Southwest: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, wee would haue seene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ship may driue a league and a halfe, in one houre, with that tide.

This day at 4. of the clocke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had sight of a head land, as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by East, and we sailed Northeast, and by North to that land, and when we came thither, wee could not get to the lande for yce: for the yce stretched along the coast, so that we could not come to the land, by fiue leagues.

[Sidenote: August.] Wednesday the first of August it calmed, and in the after noone I caused my boate to be hoysed out, being hard by a great Island of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and sounded within two Cables length of it, and had sixteene fathome, and little stones, and after that sownded againe within a Minion shot, and had ground at an hundreth fathome, and faire sand: we sownded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had sixtie fathome rough ground, and at that present being aboard, that great Island of yce fell one part from another, making a noyse as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke I sownded againe, and had 90. fathome, and small blacke stones, and little white stones like pearles. The tide here did set to the shoare.

The tenth I tooke foure men, and my selfe, and rowed to shoare to an Island one league from the maine, and there the flood setteth Southwest alongest the shoare, and it floweth as neere as I could iudge so too, I could not tarry to prooue it, because the ship was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a shoare, it was a low water. I went to the top of the Island, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and so without tarrying I came aboard.

[Sidenote: They enter the Streit in the latitude of 63. deg. and 8. min.] The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degr. and eight minutes, and this day we entred the streight.

The 12. wee set saile towardes an Island, called the Gabriels Island, which was 10 leagues then from vs.

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We espied a sound, and bare with it, and came to a Sandie Baye, where we came to an anker, the land being East southeast off vs, and there we rode al night in 8. fathome water. It floweth there at a Southeast Moone. We called it Priors sownd, being from the Gabriels Island, tenne leagues.

The 14, we waied, and ranne into another sownde, where wee ankered in 8. fathome water, faire sand, and black oaze, and there calked our ship, being weake from the wales vpward, and tooke in fresh water.

The 15. day we waied, and sailed to Priors Bay, being a mile from thence.

The 16. day was calme, and we rode still, without yce, but presently within two houres it was frozen round about the ship, a quarter of an ynch thicke, and that day very faire, and calme.

The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Island.

The 18. day we sailed North northwest, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tough oaze, vnder Burchers Island, which is from the former Island, ten leagues.

[Sidenote: Sight of the Countrey people.] The 19. day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our boat, with eight men in her, to rowe vs a shoare, to see if there were any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Island, we had sight of seuen boates, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: whereupon we returned aboard againe: at length we sent our boate with fiue men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the shoare, rowing after our boate, till such time as they sawe our ship, and then they rowed a shoare: then I went on shore my selfe, and gaue euery of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboard of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on shoare againe. Whereupon all the rest came aboard with their boates, being nineteene persons, and they spake, but we vnderstoode them not.

[Sidenote: The description of the people.[49]] They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale skinnies, and so doe the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe streekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of Seales skinnies, with a keele of wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, saue only they be flat in the bottome, and sharpe at both ends.

The twentieth day wee wayed, and went to the Eastside of this island, and I and the Captaine, with foure men more went on shoare, and there we sawe their houses, and the people espying vs, came rowing towards our boate: whereupon we plied toward our boate: and wee being in our boate and they ashoare, they called to vs, and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife: [Sidenote: 5 of our men taken by the people.] so the



Captaine and I willed fiue of our men to set him a shoare at a rocke, and not among the company, which they come from, but their wilfulnesse was such, that they would goe to them, and so were taken themselues, and our boate lost.

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The next day in the morning, we stooode in neere the shoare, and shotte off a fauconet, and sounded our trumpet, but we could hear nothing nothing of our men: this sound wee called the fiue mens sound, and plyed out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and ooze: and riding there all night, in the morning, the snow lay a foote thicke vpon our hatches.

The 22. day in the morning we wayed, and went againe to the place we lost our men, and our boate. We had sight of foureteene boates, and some came neere to vs, but wee could learne nothing of our men: among the rest, we intised one boate to our ships side, with a Bell, and in giuing him the Bell, we tooke him, and his boate, and so kept him, and so rowed downe to Thomas Williams Island, and there ankered all night.

[Sidenote: They returne.] The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were thwart of Trumpets Island.

The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Island, and at 8. of the clocke at night, we had the Cape Labrador as we supposed West from vs, ten leagues.

The 28. day we went our course Southeast.

We sailed Southeast, and by East, 22. leagues.

The first day of September in the morning we had sight of the land of Friseland being eight leagues from vs but we could not come neerer it, for the monstrous yce that lay about it. From this day, till the sixth of this Moneth, we ranne along Island, and had the South part of it at eight of the clocke, East from vs ten leagues.

The seuenth day of this moneth we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowen into the sea out of our waste, but he caught hold of the foresaile sheate, and there held till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.

The 25 day of this moneth we had sight of the Island of Orkney, which was then East from vs.

[Sidenote: The Sheld.] The first day of October we had sight of the Sheld, and so sailed about the coast, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The language of the people of Meta incognita.

Argoteyt, a hand.

Cangnawe, a nose.

Arered, an eye.

Keiotot, a tooth.

Mutchatet, the head.

Chewat, an eare.



Comagaye, a legge.  
Atoniagay, a foote.  
Callagay, a paire of breeches.  
Attegay, a coate.  
Polleuetagay, a knife.  
Accaskay, a shippe.  
Coblone, a thumb.  
Teckkere, the foremost finger.  
Ketteckle, the middle finger.  
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.  
Yacketrone, the little finger.

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The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577. with a description of the Countrey, and people: Written by Master Dionise Settle.

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On Whitsunday, being the sixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577. Captaine Frobisher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maiesties ships, called The Aide, of nine score tunnes, or thereabouts: and two other Little Barkes likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Master Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: accompanied with seuen score Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, well furnished with victuals, and other prouision necessarie for one halfe yeere, on this his second voyage, for the further discovering of the passage to Cathay, and other Countreys, thereunto adiacent, by West and Northwest nauigations: which passage or way, is supposed to bee on the North and Northwest part of America: and the said America to be an Island inuironed with the sea, where through our Merchants may haue course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northernmost parts of Europe, to those Orientall coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that do or shall frequent the same. Our said Captaine and General of this present voyage and company hauing the yeere before, with two little pinnesses, to his great danger, and no small commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministred (to the benefite of his Prince, and natiue Country) to aduenture himelfe further therein. As for the second voyage, it seemeth sufficient that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and Countreys, which in his first voyage the yeere before he had found out.

[Sidenote: The Islands Orcades, or Orkney.] Vpon which considerations, the day and yeere before expressed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an accomplishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoised vp sailes, and with a merrie winde the 7. of Iune we arriued at the Islands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. subiect and adiacent to Scotland where we made prouision of fresh water; in the doing wherof our Generall licensed the Gentlemen and souldiers for their recreation to go on shore. [Sidenote: The Orcadians upon smal occasion flee their home.] At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with shrieks and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perswasions we reclaimed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or some other enemies, that mooue them to such sudden feare. Their houses are very simply builded with Pibble stone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the midst thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of ciuilitie. [Sidenote: No wood in Orkney.] They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes, and Cowshards.

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They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fish, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dresse their meat very filthily, and eate it without salt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. [Sidenote: Fisher men of England haue daily traffique to Orkney.] The fisher men of England can better declare the dispositions of those people then I: wherefore I remit other their vsages to their reports, as yeerely repaires thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

[Sidenote: In Iune and Iuly no night in those West and Northwest regions.] We departed herehence the 8. of Iune, and followed our course betweene West and Northwest, vntill the 4. of Iuly: all which time we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe away the time: a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in vnknown seas, and long nauigations, especially, when both the winds and raging surges do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those parts not 6. weekes, while the sunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raised to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth much longer.

[Sidenote: Great abundance of Firre trees floting in the sea.] All along these seas, after we were sixe dayes sailing from Orkney, we met floting in the sea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and so driuen into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fuell, but such as they take vp vpon their coastes. [Sidenote: Inquire further of this current.] It seemeth, that these trees are driuen from some part of the New found land, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.[50]

The 4. of Iuly we came within the making of Frisland.[51] From this shoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, shewing aboue the sea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we supposed fast on ground, where with our lead we could scarce sound the bottome for depth.

[Sidenote: Yce, snow, and haile in Iune and Iuly.] Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, and pleasant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and especially in a place or Parallele, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrees: at which height other Countreys more to the North, yea vnto 70. degrees, shew themselues more temperate then this doth.

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All along this coast yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke, and so defendeth the countrey, that those that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3. dayes together attempted with the ship boate to haue gone on shoare, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it vntill a more conuenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountains covered with snow, except in such places, where through the steepest of the mountaines of force it must needs fall. Foure dayes coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. [Sidenote: Friseland subiect to fogge.] Little birds, whiche we iudged to haue lost the shore, by reason of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much subiect vnto, came flying into our ships, which causeth vs to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh shew or signification.[52]

From hence we departed the eight of Iuly: and the 16. of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yeere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Island as we iudge, lying neere the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island called Halles Isle, after the name of the Master of the ship, neere adiacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. [Sidenote: Frobishers streight.] Betweene the which two Islands there is a large entrance or streight, called Frobishers streight,[53] after the name of our Generall, the firste finder thereof. This said streight is supposed to haue passage into the sea of Sur, which I leaue vnknown as yet.

It seemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should haue more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantity of yce, which commeth floting from this coast, euen vnto Friseland, causing that Countrey to seeme more vntemperate then others, much more Northerly then the same.

I cannot iudge that any temperature vnder the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (considering that the Sunnes eleuation surmounteth not 23. degrees and 30. minuts) can haue power to [Sidenote: Islands of yce comparable to mountaines.] dissolue such monstrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the hope of the said day of halfe a yeere.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.



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[Sidenote: Captaine Frobisher his speciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.] At our first comming, the straights seemed to be shut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no litle cause of discomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two little Pinnesses prepared of purpose, passed twise thorow them to the East shore, and the llands thereunto adiacent: and the ship, with the two Barks lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the yce.

[Sidenote: The order of the people appearing on shoare.] Whilest he was searching the Countrey neere the shoare, some of the people of the Countrey shewed themselues leaping and dauncing, with strange shrikes and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall desirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, caused kniues, and other things to be profered vnto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing some thing of theirs to counteruaile the same. [Sidenote: Fierce and bold people.] At the length two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to stay, and went vnto them: who after certaine dumbe signes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly escaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not respecting the rest of our companie which were readie for their defence,) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: [Sidenote: One taken.] we tooke the one, and the other escaped.

Whilest our Generall was busied in searching the Countrey, and those Islands adiacent on the Eastshoare, the ship and barks hauing great care, not to put farre into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the yce, which was so monstrous, that euen the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient, to haue shiuered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not provided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well discerne to flee from such imminent dangers, which we auoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4 houres. [Sidenote: Richard Cox, Master gunner. Master lackman. Andrew Dier.] If we had not incurred this danger amongst those monstrous Islands of yce, we should haue lost our Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Master Gunner, Master lackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Mates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearsed, before we would with our owne safetie, runne into the seas, to the destruction of our sayd Generall, and his company.

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The day following, being the 19. of Iulie, our captaine returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowels of those barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all satisfied.

[Sidenote: lackmans sound.] Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the streights, the Northwest and West winds dispersed the yce into the sea, and made vs a large entrance into the streights, so that without any impediment, on the 19. of Iulie we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our Generall and Master with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shoare, and found out a faire Harborough for the ship and barks to ride in, and named it after our Masters mate, lackmans sound, and brought the ship, barks and all their company to safe anker, except one man, which died by Gods visitation.

At our first arriuall, after the ship rode at anker, our generall, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entred the lande, hauing special care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee should all with one voyce, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our safe arriuall: secondly beseech him, that it would please his diuine Maiestie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the rest of our company in this order tooke possession of the [Sidenote: Possession taken.] Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Christian studie and endeuour, those barbarous people trained vp in Paganisme, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of saluation in Christ our Redeemer. With other words very apt to signifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and Countrey: whereby all suspicion of an vndutifull subiect, may credibly be iudged to be vtterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen and other deserue worthily herein their due praise and commendation.

These things in this order accomplished, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne safegard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beast his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessarie affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Ensigne displaid, so farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped vp stones on high mountaines, and other places in token of possession, as likewise to signifie vnto such as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that possession is taken in the behalfe of some other Prince, by those who first found out the Countrey.

[Sidenote: Yce needfull to be regarded of sea faring men.] Who so maketh nauigations to those Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious sea to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of yce; a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.



We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anker, to haue continuall watch, with boats and men ready with halsers to knit fast vnto such yce, as with the ebbe and flood were tossed to and fro in the harborough, and with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ship.

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Our Generall certaine dayes searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two little barks, and men sufficient to the East shore being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, souldier, and sailers, vntill such time as he either thought good to send or come for them.

[Sidenote: Stones glister with sparkles like gold.] The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether sparkled, and glister in the Sunne like gold: [Sidenote: A common prouerb.] so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Prouerb: All is not gold that glistereth.

[Sidenote: The sea Vnicorne.] On this West shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horne streight and torquet,[54] of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollow, into the which some of our sailers putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the triall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the verture whereof we supposed it to be the sea Vnicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ship and barks to anker in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himselfe satisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke aforesaid was Captaine, accompanied with our master and his Mate: who coasting along the West shore not farre from whence the ship rode, they perceived a faire harborough, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seale skins, vnto which the Captaine, our said Master, and other company resorted. [Sidenote: The people fled at the sight of our men.] At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: neuerthelesse they went to their tents, where leauing certaine trifles of ours, as glasses, bels, kniues, and such like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs, except one dogge. They did in like maner leaue behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine lost the yere before, and in that peoples custody, might (if any of them were aliue) be advertised of our presence and being there.

[Sidenote: Master Philpot. Master Beast.] On the same day after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, vnder the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (vnto whom in our Generall his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Beast, al the rest were obedient) went a shore, determining to see, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attaine to some knowledge of those men whom our Generall lost the yeere before.

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At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooued their tents further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. We parting our selues into two companies, and compassing a mountaine came suddenly vpon them by land, who espying vs, without any tarrying fled to their boates, leauing the most part of their oares behind them for haste, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinesses met them and droue them to shore: but if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to haue chased them.

[Sidenote: A fierce assault of a few.] When they were landed they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes; and perceiuing themselues thus hurt, they desperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselues: which if they had not done, but had submitted themselues, or if by any meanes we could haue taken them aliue (being their enemies as they iudged) we would both haue saued them, and also haue sought remedy to cure their wounds receiued at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death then otherwise to be saued by vs: the rest perceiuing their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a deuill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her go: the yong woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks sound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

[Sidenote: Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiarity.] Having this knowledge both of their fiercenesse and cruelty, and perceiuing that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed our selues, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spoyle of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shoes of our men, whom we lost the yeere before: on nothing else vnto them belonging could we set our eyes.

[Sidenote: Boates of skinnnes.] Their riches are not gold, siluer or precious Drapery, but their tents and boates, made of the skins of red Deare and Seale skins; also dogges like vnto woolues, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commoditie needefull for our vse.

[Sidenote: Our departure from the West shoare.] Thus returning to our ship the 3. August, we departed from the West shore supposed firme with America, after we had ankered there 13. dayes: and so the 4. thereof we came to our Generall on the East shore and ankered in a faire Harborough name Anne Warwicks sound, vnto which is

annexed an Island both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warwickses sound and Isle.

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In this Isle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to freight both the ship and barks, with such stone or supposed gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his first, and this his second navigation to these Countreys.

[Sidenote: The countrey people shew themselues vnto vs.] In the meane time of our abode here some of the countrey people came to shew themselues vnto vs, sundry times on the maine shore, neere adiacent to the saide Isle. Our Generall desirous to haue some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perswaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens, that three of his fiue men were aliue, and desired penne, ynck, and paper, and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring those of our men which were liuing, with them.

They also made signes or tokens of their king, whom they called Cacough, and how he was carried on mens shoulders, and a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse and stature.

[Sidenote: Their vsage in traffique or exchange.] With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid vpon the shore, and the partie gone away, they tooke vp: which likewise they do when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they thinke will counteruaile the same, and not coming neere together. It seemeth they haue been vsed to this trade or traffique, with some other people adioining, or not farre distant from their Countrey.

[Sidenote: The people shew themselues the third time.] After 4. dayes some of them shewed themselues vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Island, with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signes dismissed them and returned to his company.

[Sidenote: The people shew themselues againe on firme land.] An other time as our said Generall was coasting the Countrey with two little Pinnesses, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villans, with a white skin allured vs to them. [Sidenote: Their first meanes to allure vs to shore.] Once again, our Generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neere the shore whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, and those 3. in sight labouring by all meanes possible that some would come on land: and perceiuing we made no hast by words nor friendly

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signes, which they vsed by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but 3. in sight, they sought further meanes to prouoke vs therevnto. [Sidenote: Their second meanes.] One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we tooke vp with the Boate hooke, as necessary victuals for the relieuing of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceiued themselues deceiued of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. [Sidenote: Their third and craftiest allurement.] Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full shew of their craftie natures, and subtile sleights, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himselfe impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficulty: and to couer his craft the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places where he seemed vnable to passe, he tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leauing him (as it should seeme) all alone, who playing his counterfeit pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke some of vs to come on shore, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our party good with a lame man.

[Sidenote: Compassion to cure a crafty lame man.] Our Generall hauing compassion of his impotency, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he caused a souldier to shoote at him with his Caleeuer, which grased before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, slings, and darts. Our Generall caused some caleeuers to be shot off at them, whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more feare of vs.

This was all the answer for this time we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their crafty dealing at these three seuerall times being thus manifest vnto vs, may plainely shew their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We iudged that they vsed these stratagemes, thereby to haue caught some of vs, for the deliuering of the man, woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women weare their haire long and knit vp with two loupes, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred vpon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, wherevpon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eate yce, that is hard frosen, as pleasantly as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.



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If they for necessities sake stand in need of the premisses, such grasse as the countrey yeeldeth they plucke vp and eate, not deintily, or salletwise to allure their stomacks to appetite: but for necessities sake without either salt, oiles or washing, like brute beasts deuouring the same. They neither vse table, stoole, or table cloth for comlines; but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their kniues in like sort, they vse their tongues as apt instruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

[Sidenote: Dogges like vnto wolues.] They frank or keepe certaine dogs not much vnlike Wolues, which they yoke together, as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or traile: and so carry their necessities ouer the yce and snow from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect signes. [Sidenote: They eate dogs flesh.] And when these dogs are not apt for the same vse: or when with hunger they are constrained for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: so that they are as needfull for them in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for vs.

They apparell themselues in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other to defend them from the cold.

[Sidenote: Hoods and tailes to their apparell.] They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they giue when they thinke to gratifie any friendship shewed vnto them: a great signe of friendship with them. The men haue them not so side[55] as the women.

The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the wast to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Vpon their legges they weare hose of leather, with the furre side inward two or three paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose they put their kniues, needles, and other thing needfull to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw the said hose, and so in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dresse their skinnes very soft and souple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre side inward: and Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none but the said skinnes.

Those beasts, fishes, and foules, which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houses, bedding, hose, shooes, threed, and sailes for their boates, with many other necessities whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

[Sidenote: Their houses of Seale skins and firre.] Their houses are tents made of Seale skins, pitched vp with 4. Firre quarters foure square meeting at the top, and the skins

sewed together with sinews, and laid thereupon: they are so pitched vp, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or against the Sunne.

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They haue other sorts of houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skinne layd ouer them, to with stand the raine, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto I thinke they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and foule, and so leaue them vntil the next time they come thither again.

[Sidenote: Their weapons of defence.] Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and slings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinews, not glued too, but fast girded and tyed on. Their bow strings are likewise sinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they passe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers the penne end being cut away, and the fethers layd vpon the arrow with the broad side to the wood; insomuch that they seeme when they are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. [Sidenote: Three sorts of heads to their arrowes.] They haue also three sorts of heads to those arrowes: one sort of stone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone, much like vnto a stopt head, with a hooke on the same: the third sort of bone likewise made sharpe at both sides, and sharpe pointed. They are not made very fast but lightly tyed to, or else set in a nocke, that vpon small occasion the arrowes leaue these heads behind them: and they are of small force, except they be very neere when they shoote.

[Sidenote: two sorts of darts.] Their Darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore end and likewise in the midst: their proportions are not much vnlike our toasting yrons, but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater then the first aforesayd, with a long bone made sharpe on both sides not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their most hurtfull weapon.

[Sidenote: Two sortes of boates made of leather.] They haue two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein sixteene or twenty men may sit: they haue for a sayle drest the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they sew together: the other boate is but for one man to sit and row in with one oare.

[Sidenote: They vse to foule, fish, and hunt.] Their order of fishing, hunting, and fouling are with these said weapons; but in what sort, or how they vse them we haue no perfect knowledge as yet.

[Sidenote: It is to be supposed that their inhabiting is elsewhere.] I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparell, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey seemeth to be infected with all: neither do I see any signe likely to performe the same.

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Those houses or rather dennes which stand there, haue no signe of footway, or any thing else troden, which is one of the chieft tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they haue sufficiently hunted and fished, they remoue to other places: and when they haue sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter stations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertility which I coniecture to be in that Countrey.

[Sidenote: Their vse of yron.] They haue some yron whereof they make arrow heads, kniues, and other little instruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

It seemeth that they haue conuersation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receiue the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a sound.

[Sidenote: Anthropophagi.] What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idoll they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence, I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans flesh then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell it neuer so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

There is no maner of creeping beast hurtfull, except some Spiders (which as many affirme, are signes of great store of gold) and also certaine stinging Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth, and itcheth very sore.

They make signes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

[Sidenote: Description of the Countreis.] The Countreys on both sides the streights lye very high with rough stony mountaines, and great quantitie of snow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no grasse, except a little which is much like vnto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turffes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe there is nothing fit or profitable for the vse of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantity of Deere, whose skins are like vnto Asses, there heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our parts or Countreys: their feete likewise are as great as our oxens, which we measured to be seuen or eight ynches in breadth. There are also hares, wolues, fishing beares, and sea foule of sundry sorts.

As the Countrey is barren and vnfertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same to any perfection; but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fouling, with raw flesh and warme blood to satisfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

[Sidenote: A signe of Earthquakes or thunder.] There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monstrous mountaines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinarie meanes that one is separated from another, which is discordant from all other Quarries.

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[Sidenote: No riuers, but such as the Sunne doth cause to come of Snow.] There are no riuers or running springs, but such as through the heate of the Sunne, with such water as decendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of snow do lie, are engendred.

[Sidenote: A probability that there should be neither spring or riuer in the ground.] It argueth also that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is so frozen within, that that water which should haue recourse within the same to maintaine springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is seene elsewhere. Such valleis as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne decendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanisheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occasion or continuall standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or fiue fathomes within the ground for lacke of the said moisture, the earth (euen in the very summer time) is frozen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can vnknit them.

Also where the water in those valleis can haue no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frozen: as by skarres that remaine thereof in Summer may easily be perceiued: so that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolue the extremitie of cold that commeth in Winter.

[Sidenote: Springs nourish gold.] Neuerthelesse I am assured that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters haue recourse, and emptie themselues out of sight into the Sea, which through the extremitie of the frost are constrained to doe the same: by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs haue their recourse, which is the only nutriment of golde and Minerals within the same.

There is much to be sayd of the commodities of these Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

The 24. of August after we had satisfied our minds with freight sufficient for our vessels, though not our couetous desires with such knowledge of the Countrey people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed therehence. [Sidenote: Our departure from those Countreys.] The 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and so sailed to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Hauen to conduct the ship.

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[Sidenote: How and when we lost our 2. Barks which God neuerthelesse restored.] We lost our two Barks in the way homeward, the one the 29. of August, the other the 21. of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homeward cast ouer borde with a surge of the Sea.

[Sidenote: The conclusion.] I could declare vnto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of such places and regions as we haue bene at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to Sea-faring men, which seeme not altogether strange, but I let them passe to their reports as men most apt to set forth and declare the same. I haue also left the names of the Countreys on both the shores vntouched, for lacke of vnderstanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

Countreys new discovered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name giuen by the discouerers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our generall named sundry Islands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of diuers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one shore as also on the other.

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The third and last voyage vnto Meta Incognita, made by M. Martin Frobisher, in the yeere 1578. Written by Thomas Ellis.

These are to let you know, that vpon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen being Viceadmirall whose Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Master, Christopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whose Captaine was M. Henrie Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ships came to Grauesend, where wee ankered and abode the comming of our Fleete which were not yet come.

The 27. of the same moneth our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things prest in a readinesse, the wind fauouring, and tide seruing, we being of sailes in number eight, waied ankers and hoised our sailes toward Harwich to meete with our Admirall, and the residue which then and there abode arriuall: where we safely arriued the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we with the discharge of certaine pieces saluted, acording to order and duety, and were welcommed with the like courtesie: which being finished we landed; where our Generall continued mustering his souldiers and Miners, and setting things in order appertaining to the voyage vntill the last of the said moneth of May, which day we hoised our sailes, and committing ourselues to the conducting of Almightye God, we set forward toward the west Countrey in such luckie

wise and good successe, that by the fift of Iune we passed the Dursies, being the vtmost part of Ireland to the Westward.



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And here it were not much amisse nor farre from our purpose, if I should a little discourse and speake of our aduentures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plimmouth, as also the meeting certaine poore men, which were robbed and spoyled of all that they had by Pirates and Rouers: amongst whom was a man of Bristow, on whom our Generall vsed his liberality, and sent him away with letters into England.

But because such things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the same) to that from the which I haue digressed and swarued, I meane our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne wind, sometimes hindered of our course againe by the Westernne blasts, vntill the 20. day of the foresayd moneth of Iune, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land and was almost cleane couered with snow, so that we might see nought but craggie rockes and the topes of high and huge hilles, sometimes (and for the most part) all couered with foggie mists. There might we also perceiue the great Isles of yce lying on the seas, like mountaines, some small, some big, of sundry kinds of shapes, and such a number of them, that wee could not come neere the shore for them.

Thus sailing amongst the coast, at the last we saw a place somewhat voyd of yce, where our Generall (accompanied with certaine other) went a shore, where they sawe certaine tents made of beasts skinnes; and boates much the like vnto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish, skins, and other trifles: amongst the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or els a traffike with some other nation. The men ran away, so that wee coulde haue no conference or communication with them. [Sidenote: The curtesie of our Generall.] Our Generall (because hee would haue them no more to flee, but rather encouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement that his men should take nothing away with them, sauing onely a couple of white dogs, for the which he left pinnes, poynts, kniues, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and so came aboard, and hoysed sailes, and passed forwards.

But being scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a foggy and hidious mist that we could not see one another: whereupon we stroke our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night till the next day that the mist brake vp: so that we might easily perceiue all the ships thus sailing together all that day, vntill the next day, being the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the danger thereof.

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But one of our small Barkes named the Michael, whose Captaine was Master Kinderslie, the master Bartholomew Bull, lost our company, insomuch that we could not obtaine the sight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to speak further anon when occassion shall be ministred, and opportunitie serue. Thus we continued in our course vntill the second of Iuly, on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland, where we saw so much yce, that we thought it vnpossible to get into the Straights; yet at the last we gaue the aduenture and entred the yce.

[Sidenote: The Michael. The Iudith. M. Fenton. Charles lackman.] Being amongst it wee sawe the Michael, of whom I spake before, accompanied with the Iudith, whose Captaine was Master Fenton, the Master Charles lackman, bearing into the foresayd yce, farre distant from vs, who in a storme that fell that present night, (whereof I will at large God willing, discourse hereafter) were seuered from vs, and being in, wandred vp and downe the Straights amongst the yce many dayes in great perill, till at the last, by the prouidence of God, they came safely to harbor in their wished Port in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, the 20. of Iuly aforesayd, tenne dayes before any of the other shippes: [Sidenote: The Countesse of Warwicks sound.] who going on shore found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their provision in great heapes of stones being both of flesh and fish, which they had killed; whereof wee also found great store in other places after our arriual. They found also diuers engines, as bowes, slings, and darts. They found likewise certaine pieces of the Pinnesse which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinnesse he had sunke, minding to haue it againe the next yeere.

Now seeing I haue entreated so much of the Iudith and the Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other ships, and will speake a little of the storme which fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

[Sidenote: Our entrance and passage &c.] At the first entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the most part, being a league in compasse, the yce being round about vs and inclosing vs, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waues began to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere vs, and comming on so fast vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

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[Sidenote: Barke Dionyse.] At the last the Barke Dionyse being but a weake ship, and bruised afore amongst the yce, being so leake that no longer she could tarry aboute the water, sanke without sauing any of the goods which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole Fleete, that we thought verily we should haue tasted of the same sauce. But neuerthelesse we seeing them in such danger, manned our boates and saued all men in such wise, that not one perished: God be thanked.

[Sidenote: Narow shifts for safetie.] The storme still increased and the yce inclosed vs, so that we were faine to take downe top and top mastes: for the yce had so inuironed vs, that we could see neither land nor sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cut our cables to hang ouer boord for fenders, somewhat to ease the ships sides from the great and driry strokes of the yce: some with Capstan barres, some fending off with oares, some with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, some going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the ship. But the rigorousnes of the tempest was such, and the force of the yce so great, that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresaid prouision, but likewise so raised the sides of the ships, that it was pitifull to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

[Sidenote: Gods prouidence.] Thus we continued all that dismall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant death: but our God (who neuer leaueth them destitute which call vpon him, although he often punisheth for amendements sake) in the morning caused the winds to cease, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: so that we might perceiue about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of wind which our God sent vs, we bent our selues. And furthermore, hee prouided better for vs then we deserued or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, he sent vs a fresh gale at West or at West Southwest, which set vs cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he sent vs so pleasant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Thus we ioyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our sailes and lay a hull, praying God for our deliuerance, and stayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, sauing onely they of whom I spake before and the ship which was lost, then at the last we hoised our sailes, and lay bulging off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the yce that wee might get into the Straights.

[Sidenote: A mountaine of yce appearing in sundry figures.] And as we thus lay off and on we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which surpassed all the rest that euer we saw: for we iudged it to be neere fourescore fathomes aboue water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that we could perceiue, being there nine score fathoms deepe, and of compasse about halfe a mile.

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[Sidenote: A fog of long continuance.] Also the fift of Iuly there fell a hidious fogge and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same: so that one shippe could not see another. [Sidenote: A current to the Northwest.] Therefore we were faine to beare a small sayle and to obserue the time: but there ran such a current of a tide, that it set vs to the Northwest of the Queenes foreland the backside of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no sight either of Sunne or Starre) we scarce knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of Iuly we lost the company of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

[Sidenote: The Gabriel. The people offer to traffike with vs.] The 16. day one of our small Barkes named The Gabriel was sent by our Generall to beare in with the land to descrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which seemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules and skins for kniues, and other trifles: whose courtesie caused vs to thinke, that they had small conuersation with other of the Straights.

Then we bare backe againe to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Islands whereon we went on shore, and found where the people had bene: but we saw none of them. This day we were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the first. For through the darknesse and obscuritie of the fogie mist, we were almost run on rocks and Islands before we saw them: But God (euen miraculously) prouided for vs, opening the fogges that we might see clearely, both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or els without faile we had ruinously runne vpon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our instant case, wee cast about to get againe on Sea bord, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praised God. The cleare continued scarce an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

[Sidenote: Warning pieces of safe passage discharged.] Then the Rearadmirall and the Beare got themselues cleare without danger of yce and rocks, strooke their sailes and lay a hull, staying to haue the rest of the Fleet come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themselues from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Rearadmirall discharged certaine warning pieces to giue notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following of her) might set themselues free, which they did that day.

Then hauing gathered our selues together we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our selues distant from the coast till the 19. day of Iuly; at which time the fogges brake vp and dispersed, so that we might plainly and clearly behold the pleasant ayre, which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie mists: and after that time we were not much incumbred therewith vntill we had left the confines of the Countrey.

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[Sidenote: A faire sound betweene the Queenes foreland and lackmans sound.] Then we espying a fayre sound, supposed it to goe into the Straights betweene the Queenes foreland and lackmans sound, which proued as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the Gabriel to discouer it, who passed through with much difficulty: for there ran such an extreme current of a tide, with such a horrible gulfe, that with a fresh gale of wind they were scarce able to stemme it: yet at length with great trauaile they passed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Busse of Bridgewater: who altogether aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obtaine their wished Port. But they were so incombred that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Allen, and the Gabriel bare in with the Westerne shore, where they found harbour, and there moored their ships vntill the fourth of August, at which time they came to vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake which caused her to cast againe to Seabord and so was mended.

We sailed along still by the coast vntill we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforesaid, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters doe credibly report) doeth flow nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point wee discovered certaine lands Southward, which neither time nor opportunitie would serue to search. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights, we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulging vp and downe euer since her departure alone, neuer finding any of her company. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whom againe we intended to venture and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea bord.

[Sidenote: An horrible snowe fell in Iuly.] There fell also the same day being the 26. of Iuly, such an horrible snow, that it lay a foot thick vpon the hatches which frose as it fell.

We had also at other times diuers cruell stormes both of snow and haile, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that wee were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually consented to our valiant Generall once againe to giue the onset.

The 28. day therefore of the same Iuly we assayed, and with little trouble (God be prayed) we passed the dangers by day light. [Sidenote: The time of our setting forward, &c.] Then night falling on the face of the earth, wee hulled in the cleare, til the chearefull light of the day had chased away the noysome darkenesse of the night: at which time we set forward towards our wished Port: by the 30. day wee obtained our expected desire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no smal ioy vnto the General, and great consolation to the heauie hearts of those wearied wights.

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The 30. day of Iuly we brought our ships into the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and moored them, namely these ships, The Admirall, the Rearadmirall, the Francis of Foy, the Beare Armenel, the Salomon, and the Busse of Bridgewater: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shore vpon the Countesses lland, where he set his Miners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our Generall himselfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into sundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrey. [Sidenote: The Countesse of Sussex lland.] He found out one Mine vpon an Island by Beares sound, and named it the Countesse of Sussex Island. [Sidenote: Winters Fornace.] One other was found in Winters Fornace, with diuers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly to be laden. [Sidenote: Dauids Sound.] In the same rodes he mette with diuers of the people of the Countrey at sundry times, as once at a place called Dauids sound: who shot at our men, and very desperately gaue them the onset, being not aboue three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a dozen: but seeing themselues not able to preuaile, they tooke themselues to flight; whom our men pursued, but being not vsed to such craggie cliffes, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

[Sidenote: The policie of the people for the safetie of themselues.] We also saw of them at Beares sound, both by Sea and land in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the sound (as they came diuers times, because the Harbor was not very good) the ship laded, and departed againe: then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceiued the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselues standing vpon high cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their Botes very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertisement, sent for the Captaines and Gentlemen of the ships, to accompany and attend vpon him, with the Captaine also of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the Fleebote hauing lost vs the 26. day in the great snow, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good Oare, wherewith they laded themselues, and came to seeke the Generall: so that now we had all our Shippes, sauing one Barke, which was lost, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who (compelled by what furie I knowe not) forsooke our company, and returned home without lading.

[Sidenote: Their speedie flight at our Generalls arriuall.] Our Generall accompanied with his Gentlemen, (of whom I spake) came altogether to the Countesse of Sussex Island, neere to Beares sound: where he manned out certaine Pinasses, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriuall, fledde away with all speede, and in haste left certaine darts and other engines behinde them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.



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The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in botes vpon the Sea gaue chase to them in a Pinnesse vnder saile, with a fresh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he sailed, the further off he was from them: which well shewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commaunded vs to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Seaboard with our ships: for whilest we were in the Countrey, we were in continual danger of freeing in: for often snowe and haile often falling, the water was so much frozen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could scarce rowe our botes or Pinnesses, especially in Diers sound, which is a calme and still water: which caused our Generall to make the more haste, so that by the 30. day of August we were all laden, and made all things ready to depart.

[Sidenote: Gentlemen should haue inhabited the Countrey.] But before I proceede any further herein, to shew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Captaine Fenton, and those Gentlemen which should haue inhabited all the yeere in those Countries, whose valiant mindes were much to be commended: For doubtlesse they had done as they intended if lucke had not withstoode their willingnesse.

For the Barke Dionyse which was lost, had in her much of their house which was prepared and should haue bene builded for them, with many other implements. Also the Thomas of Ipswich which had most of their prouision in her, came not into the Streights at all: neither did we see her since the day we were separated in the great snow, of which I spake before. For these causes, hauing not their house, nor yet prouision, they were disappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ships, and so came away with vs.

[Sidenote: An house tricked and garnished with diuers trinkets.] But before we tooke shipping, we builded a litle house in the Countesse of Warwicks Island, and garnished it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glasses, Kombes, Babes on horsebacke and on foote, with innumerable other such fansies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to some familiaritie against other yeeres.

Thus hauing finished all things we departed the Countrey, as I sayd before: but because the Busse had not lading enough in her, she put into Beares sound to take in a little more. In the meane while the Admirall, and the rest without at Sea stayed for her. And that night fell such an outrageous tempest, beating on our shippes with such vehement rigor, that anchor and cable auailed nought: for we were driuen on rockes and Islands of yce, insomuch that (had not the great goodnesse of God bene miraculously shewed to vs) we had bene cast away euery man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one shippe (I thinke) that escaped without damage. Some lost anchor and also cables, some botes, some Pinnesses: some anchor, cables, boates, and Pinnisses.

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This boystrous storme so seuered vs from one another, that one shippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Rearadmirall, or any other ship of our company. Our Generall being on land in Beares sound could not come to his shippe, but was compelled to goe aboard the Gabriel where he continued all the way homeward: for the boystrous blasts continued so extreamey and so long a time, that they sent vs homewarde (which was Gods fauour towardes vs) will we, nill we, in such haste as not any one of vs were able to keepe in company with other, but were separated. And if by chance any one Shippe did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of sayle, or mette, as they often did: yet was the rigour of the wind so hidious, that they could not continue company together the space of one whole night.

[Sidenote: Our entring the coastes dangerous.] Thus our iourney outward was not so pleasant, but our comming thither, entering the coasts and countrey, by narrow Streights, perillous yce, and swift tides, our times of aboade there in snowe and stormes, and our departure from thence the 31. of August with dangerous blustering windes and tempests, which that night arose, was as vncomfortable: separating vs so as we sayled, that not any of vs mette together, vntill the 28. of September, which day we fell on the English coastes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and passed the channell, vntill our arriuall in the riuier of Thames.

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The report of Thomas Wiars passenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Busse of Bridgewater, wherein Iames Leech was Master, one of the ships in the last Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher 1578. concerning the discouerie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.

The Busse of Bridgewater was left in Beares sound at Meta incognita, the second day of September behinde the Fleete in some distresse, through much winde, ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two. The third of September being fayre weather, and the winds North northwest she set sayle, and departed thence, and fell with Frisland on the 8. day of September at sixe of the clocke at night, and then they set off from the Southwest point of Frisland, the wind being at East, and East Southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at West northwest faire weather, they steered Southeast, and by south, and continued that course vntill the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about fiue leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The master accompted that the Southeast poynt of Frisland was from him



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at that instant when hee first descryed this new Islande, Northwest by North, 50. leagues. [Sidenote: The Island in length 25 leagues. This Iland is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1 second part.] They account this Island to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1 second part or there about. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the 13. day three of the clocke in the afternoone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them Northwest by North. [Sidenote: Two harboroughs in this Island.] There appeared two Harboroughs vpon that coast: the greatest of them seuen leagues to the Northwards of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the same land, and also twenty or thirty leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They plyed their Voyage homewards, and fell with the West part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

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Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple Esquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these and of such other things, not vnmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.

That the first Seate be chosen on the seaside, so as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Nauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your Seate safe from the enemie: and so as the enemie shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroad without, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall be least subiect to annoy of the enemie, so may you by your Nauie within passe out to all parts of the world, and so may the Shippes of England haue accesse to you to supply all wants, so may your commodities be caryed away also. This seat is to be chosen in a temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoles or turfe, with fish, flesh, graine, fruites, herbes, and rootes, or so many of those as may suffice every necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of siluer, copper, quicksiluer, or of any such precious thing, the wants of those needful things may be supplied from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of; Slate stone to tyle withall, or such clay as maketh tyle; Stone to wall withall, if Brycke may not bee made; Timber for buylding easely to be conueied to the place; Reede to couer houses or such like, if tyle or slate be not—are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil sort be kept together.

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The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandise. If they shall liue without sea traffique, at the first they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miserable by infinite wants that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of themselues to depart, or else easely they will be consumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and so the enterprise becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purposes that may be taken in hand.

And by trade of marchandise they can not liue, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde comoditie. And therefore you ought to haue most speciall regard of that poynt, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate may draw to you accesse of Nauigation for the same, or that by your owne Nauigation you may cary the same out, and fetch home the supply of the wants of the seate.

Such Nauigation so to be employed shall, besides the supply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of such things as are brought to you out of England by Sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curtesie and much forbearing of reuenge to the Inland people be vsed: so shall you haue firme amitie with your neighbours, so shall you haue their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and so shall you waxe rich and strong in force. Diuers and seuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of some portable or Nauigable riuier, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of such a one is most requisite: And so is it of effect for the dispersing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For so may you best discouer all the natural commodities of their countrey, and also all their wants, al their strengths, all their weaknesse, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the clymate and of the soyle be matters that are to be respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flats, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of Portugal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you haue wonne one noble comoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate be such as may yeeld you the Grape as good as that at Burdeaux, as that in Portugal, or as that about Siuil in Spaine, or that in the Islands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a workeman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dresse Resigns[56] of the sunne and other, &c.

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Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Oliue tree to growe; Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you finde the wilde Oliue there it may be grafted.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the West Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue Hides of beasts fitte for sole Lether, &c. It will be a marchandize right good, and the Sauages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the soyle shall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenge, Lemonds, Potatoes, &c. there may arise some trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of some other, then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise, ships and houses, &c.

And because traffique is a thing so materiall, I wish that great obseruation be taken what euery soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soeuer, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeuour, and to send vs notice home, that thereupon we may deuise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the Sauages to enioy any whole country or any more than the scope of a citie, yet if we might enioy traffique, and be assured of the same, we might be much enriched, our Nauie might be increased, and a place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or ciuil warres should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt soyle, we might so vse the matter, as we should not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resignes, orenge, lemons, Spanish skins, &c. Nor vpon France for woad, baysalt, and Gascoyne wines, nor on Eastland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly enrich our doubtfull friends, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now wee doe: and should by our owne industries and the benefities of the soyle there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boords, fish, golde, siluer, copper, tallow, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common vses at home there.

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If you can keepe a safe Hauen, although you haue not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue traffique by sea vpon one shore or other, vpon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the shore side or vpon any portable riuer, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, boates, and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great seruice, and therefore consideration would be had of such places.

And if such port and chosen place of settling were in possession and after fortified by arte, although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enioy any traffique with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victuall themselues of fish to serue every necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so haue vent of their marchandize of England and also haue victual, or by meanes hereupon to be vsed, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauy at the settling place, they should find out along the tract of the land to haue traffique, and at diuers Islands also. And so this first seat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernor. And if the place first chosen should not so well please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might be an easie remoue, and that might be raised, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoyd an ill neighbour.

If the soyles adioyning to such conuenient Hauen and settling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilful in drayning are to be caryed thither. For arte may worke wonderful effects therein, and make the soyle rich for many vses.

To plant vpon an Island in the mouth of some notable riuer, or vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no such Island be, were to great end. For if such riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertil soyles, and traffike on the one or on the other side of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other pettie king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both Barges and Boates may be made for the safe passage of such as shall pierce the same. These are to be couered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the sauage from the rower.

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Since euery soile of the worlde by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soile without and within, and we shall devise if neede require to amend the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we shall in fiue drifats[57] furnish you with such kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer following yeeld you some fruite, and the yeere next following, as much as shall suffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shall be able to encrease you within lesse then seuen yeeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of diuers parishes, which at the first setling may stand you in great stead, if the soile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld present reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefor I make mention of these thus specially, to the end you may haue it specially in minde.

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A true discourse of the three Voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Before which as a necessary Preface is prefixed a twofolde discourse, containing certaine reasons to proue all partes of the World habitable. Penned by Master George Best, a Gentleman employed in the same voyages.

What commodities and instructions may be reaped by diligent reading this Discourse.

1 First, by example may be gathered, how a Discoverer of new Countries is to proceede in his first attempt of any Discoverie.

2 Item, how he should be provided of shipping, victuals, munition, and choice of men.

3 How to proceede and deale with strange people, be they neuer so barbarous, cruell and fierce, either by lenitie or otherwise.

4 How trade of Merchandize may be made without money.

5 How a Pilot may deale, being inuironed with mountaines of yce in the frozen sea.

6 How length of dayes, change of seasons, Summers and Winters doe differ in sundry regions.

7 How dangerous it is to attempt new Discoveries, either for the length of the voyage, or the ignorance of the language, the want of Interpreters, new and vnaccustomed Elements and ayres, strange and vnsauoury meates, danger of theeues and robbers,

fiercenesse of wilde beastes and fishes, hugenessse of woods, dangerousnesse of Seas, dread of tempestes, feare of hidden rockes, steepnesse of mountaines, darknesse of sudden falling fogges, continuall paines taking without any rest, and infinite others.

8. How pleasant and profitable it is to attempt new Discoueries, either for the sundry sights and shapes of strange beastes and fishes, the wonderfull workes of nature, the different maners and fashions of diuers nations, the sundry sortes of gouernment, the sight of strange trees, fruite, foules, and beasts, the infinite treasure of Pearle, Golde and Siluer, the newes of newe found landes, the sundry positions of the Sphere, and many others.

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9. How valiant Captaines vse to deale vpon extremitie, and otherwise.

10 How trustie souldiers dutifully vse to serue.

11 Also here may bee seene a good example to be obserued of any priuate person, in taking notes, and making obseruations of all such things as are requisite for a Discouerer of newe Countries.

12 Lastly, the Reader here may see a good paterne of a well gouerned seruice, sundry instructions of matters of Cosmographie, Geographie, and Nauigation, as in reading more at large may be seene.

Experiences and reasons of the Sphere, to prooue all partes of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the position of the fiue Zones.

[Sidenote: Experience to proue that Torrida Zone is habitable.] First, it may be gathered by experience of our Englishmen in Anno 1553. For Captaine Windam made a Voyage with Merchandise to Guinea, and entred so farre within the Torrida Zona, that he was within three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, and his company abiding there certaine Moneths, returned, with gaine.

Also the Englishmen made another Voyage very prosperous and gainefull, An. 1554. to the coasts of Guinea, within 3. degrees of the Equinoctiall. And yet it is reported of a trueth, that all the tract from Cape de las Palmas trending by C. de tres puntas alongst by Benin, vnto the Ile of S. Thomas (which is perpendicular under the Equinoctiall)[58] all that whole Bay is more subiect to many blooming and smothering heates, with infectious and contagious ayres, then any other place in all Torrida Zona: and the cause thereof is some accidents in the land. For it is most certaine, that mountains, Seas, woods and lakes, &c, may cause through their sundry kinde of situation, sundry strange and extraordinary effects, which the reason of the clyme otherwise would not giue. I mention these Voyages of our Englishmen, not so much to prooue that Torrida Zona may bee, and is inhabited, as to shew their readinesse in attempting long and dangerous Nauigations. Wee also among vs in England, haue blacke Moores, AEthiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after a small continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and why should not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what should I name any more experiences, seeing that all the coastes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Spanyardes, French, and some Englishmen, who there haue built Castles and Townes. [Sidenote: Marochus more hote then about the Equinoctiall.] Onely this I will say to the Merchants of London, that trade yeerely to Marochus, it is very certaine, that the greatest part of the burning Zone is farre more temperate and coole in Iune, then the Countrey of Marochus, as shall appeare by these reasons and experiences following. For let vs first consider the bignesse of this burning Zone (which as euery man knoweth, is 47. degrees) each Tropicke, which are the bounders thereof, being



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28. degrees and a halfe distant from the Equinoctiall. Imagine againe two other Parallels, on each side the Equinoctiall about 20. degrees, which Paralels may be described either of them twice a yeere by the Sunne, being in the first degrees of Gemini the 11. of May, and in Leo the 13. of Iuly, hauing North Latitude. And againe, the Sunne being in the first degrees of Sagittarius, the 12. of Nouember, and in Aquarius the 9. of Ianuary, hauing South latitude, I am to prooue by experience and reason that all that distance included betweene these two Paralels last named (conteyning 40. degrees in latitude, going round about the earth, according to longitude) is not onely habitable, but the same most fruitfull and delectable, and that if any extremitie of heate bee, the same not to be within the space of twenty degrees of the Equinoctiall on either side, but onely vnder and about the two Tropickes, and so proportionally the nearer you doe approach to eyther Tropicke, the more you are subiect to extremitie of heate (if any such be) and so Marochus being situate but sixe or seuen degrees from the Tropicke of Cancer, shall be more subiect to heate, then any place vnder or neere the Equinoctiall line.[59]

[Sidenote: Marueilous fruitfull soile vnder the Equinoctiall.] And first by the experience of sundry men, yea thousands, Trauailers and Merchants, to the East and West Indies in many places, both directly vnder, and hard by the Equinoctiall, they with one consent affirme, that it aboundeth in the middest of Torrida Zona with all manner of Graine, Hearbes, grasse, fruite, wood and cattell, that we haue heere, and thousandes other sortes, farre more wholesome, delectable and precious, then any wee haue in these Northerne climates, as very well shall appeare to him that will reade the Histories and Nauigations of such as haue traueiled Arabia, India intra and extra Gangem, the Islands Moluccae, America, &c. which all lye about the middle of the burning Zone, where it is truly reported, that the great hearbes, as are Radish, Lettuce, Colewortes, Borage, and such like, doe waxe ripe, greater, more sauourie and delectable in taste then ours, within sixteene dayes after the seede is sowen. Wheate being sowed the first of Februarie, was found ripe the first of May, and generally, where it is lesse fruitfull, the wheate will be ripe the fourth moneth after the seed is sowne, and in some places will bring forth an eare as bigge as the wrist of a mans arme containing 1000. graines; Beanes, peace, &c. are there ripe twice a yeere. Also grasse being cut downe, will grow vp in sixe dayes aboue one foote high. If our cattell be transported thither, within a small time their young ones become of bigger stature, and more fat than euer they would haue bene in these countreys. [Sidenote: Great trees.] There are found in euery wood in great numbers, such timber trees as twelue men holding handes together are not able to fathome. [Sidenote: Commodities and pleasures vnder the Equinoctiall.] And to be short,



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all they that haue bene there with one consent affirme, that there are the goodliest greene medowes and plaines, the fairest mountaines couered with all sorts of trees and fruites, the fairest valleys, the goodliest pleasant fresh riuers, stored with infinite kinde of fishes, the thickest woods, green and bearing fruites all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, siluer, and all other kinde of Metals, all kinde of spices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health, are there in such abundance, as hitherto they haue bene thought to haue beene bred no where else but there. And in conclusion, it is nowe thought that no where else but vnder the Equinoctiall, or not farre from thence, is the earthly Paradise, and the onely place of perfection in this worlde. And that these things may seeme the lesse strange, because it hath bene accompted of the olde Philosophers, that there coulde nothing prosper for the extreme heat of the Sunne continually going ouer their heades in the Zodiacke, I thought good here to alleadge such naturall causes as to me seeme very substantiall and sure reasons.

[Sidenote: Heat is caused by two meanes that is by his maner of Angle and by his continuance.] First you are to vnderstand that the Sunne doeth worke his more or lesse heat in these lower parts by two meanes, the one is by the kinde of Angle that the Sunne beames doe make with the earth, as in all Torrida Zona it maketh perpendicularly right Angles in some place or other at noone, and towards the two Poles very oblique and vneuen Angles. And the other meane is the longer or shorter continuance of the Sunne about the Horizon. So that wheresoeuer these two causes do most concurre, there is most excesse of heat: and when the one is wanting, the rigor of the heat is lesse. For though the Sunne beames do beat perpendicularly vpon any region subiect vnto it, if it hath no continuance or abode about the Horizon, to worke his operation in, there can no hote effect proceed. For nothing can be done in a moment. [Sidenote: Note this reason.] And this second cause mora Solis supra Horizontem, the time of the sunnes abiding about the Horizon, the old Philosophers neuer remembred, but regarded onely the maner of Angles that the Sunne beames made with the Horizon, which if they were equall and right, the heat was the greater, as in Torrida Zona: if they were vnequall and oblique, the heat was the lesse, as towards both Poles, which reason is very good and substantiall: for the perpendicular beames reflect and reuerberate in themselues, so that the heat is doubled, euery beame striking twice, and by vniting are multiplied, and continue strong in forme of a Columne. But in our latitude of 50. and 60. degrees, the Sunne beames descend oblique and slanting wise, and so strike but once and depart, and therefore our heat is the lesse for any effect that the Angle of the Sunne beames make. Yet because wee haue a longer continuance of the Sunnes presence about our Horizon then they haue vnder the Equinoctial; by this continuance the heat is increased, for it shineth to vs 16. or 18. houres sometime, when it continueth with them but twelue houres alwayes.

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And againe, our night is very short, wherein cold vapours vse to abound, being but sixe or eight houres long, whereas theirs is alwayes twelue houres long, by which two aduantages of long, dayes and short nights, though we want the equalitie of Angle, it commeth to passe that in Sommer our heat here is as great as theirs is there, as hath bene proued by experience, and is nothing dissonant from good reason. Therefore whosoeuer will rightly way the force of colde and heat in any region, must not onely consider the Angle that the Sunne beames make, but also the continuance of the same aboue the Horizon. As first to them vnder the Equinoctiall the Sunne is twice a yeere at noone in their Zenith perpendicular ouer their heads, and therefore during the two houres of those two dayes the heat is very vrgent, and so perhaps it will be in foure or fiue dayes more an houre euery day, vntill the Sunne in his proper motion haue crossed the Equinoctiall; so that this extreme heat caused by the perpendicular Angle of the Sunne beames, endureth but two houres of two dayes in a yeere. But if any man say the Sunne may scalde a good while before and after it come to the Meridian, so farre forth as reason leadeth, I am content to allow it, and therefore I will measure and proportion the Sunnes heat, by comparing the Angles there, with the Angles made here in England, because this temperature is best knowne vnto vs. As for example, the 11. day of March, when vnder the Equinoctiall it is halfe houre past eight of the clocke in the morning, the Sunne will be in the East about 38. degrees aboue the Horizon, because there it riseth alwayes at six of the clocke, and moueth euery houre 15. degrees, and so high very neere will it be with vs at London the said eleuenth day of March at noone. And therefore looke what force the Sunne hath with vs at noone, the eleventh of March, the same force it seemeth to haue vnder the Equinoctial at half an houre past eight in the morning, or rather lesse force vnder the Equinoctiall, For with vs the Sunne had bene already sixe houres aboue the horizon, and so had purified and clensed all the vapours, and thereby his force encreased at noone; but vnder the Equinoctiall, the Sunne hauing bene vp but two houres and an halfe, had sufficient to doe, to purge and consume the cold and moyst vapours of the long night past, and as yet had wrought no effect of heate. And therefore I may boldly pronounce, that there is much lesse heate at halfe an houre past eight vnder the Equinoctiall, then is with vs at noone: a fortiori. But in March we are not onely contented to haue the Sunne shining, but we greatly desire the same. Likewise the 11. of Iune, the Sunne in our Meridian is 62 degrees high at London: and vnder the Equinoctiall it is so high after 10 of the clocke, and seeing then it is beneficial with vs; a fortiori it is beneficiall to them after 10 of the clocke.

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And thus haue wee measured the force of the Sunnes greatest heate, the hottest dayes in the yeere, vnder the Equinoctiall, that is in March and September, from sixe till after tenne of the clocke in the morning, and from two vntill Sunne set. And this is concluded, by respecting onely the first cause of heate, which is the consideration of the Angle of the Sunne beames, by a certaine similitude, that whereas the Sunne shineth neuer aboue twelue houres, more then eight of them would bee coole and pleasant euen to vs, much more to them that are acquainted alwayes with such warme places. So there remaineth lesse then foure houres of excessiue heate, and that onely in the two Sommer dayes of the yeere, that is the eleueuth day of March, and the fourteenth of September: for vnder the Equinoctiall they haue two Sommers, the one in March, and the other in September, which are our Spring and Autumne: and likewise two Winters, in Iune and December, which are our Sommer and Winter, as may well appeare to him that hath onely tasted the principles of the Sphere. But if the Sunne bee in either Tropicke, or approaching neere thereunto, then may wee more easily measure the force of his Meridian altitude, that it striketh vpon the Equinoctiall. As for example, the twelfth of Iune the Sunne will be in the first degree of Cancer. Then look what force the heate of the Sunne hath vnder the Equinoctiall, the same force and greater it hath in all that Parallel, where the Pole is eleuated betweene fourtie and seuen, and fourtie and eight degrees. [Sidenote: Paris in France is as hote as vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune.] And therefore Paris in France the twelfth day of Iune sustaineth more heate of the Sunne, then Saint Thomas Iland lying neere the same Meridian doeth likewise at noone, or the Ilands Traprobana, Molluccae, or the firme lande of Peru in America, which all lye vnderneath the Equinoctiall. For vpon the twelfth day of Iune aforesaide, the Sunne beames at noone doe make an Isoscheles Triangle, whose Vertex is the Center of the Sunne, the Basis a line extended from Saint Thomas Iland vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto Paris in France neere the same Meridian: therefore the two Angles of the Base must needs be equal per 5. primi,[60] Ergo the force of the heat equal, if there were no other cause then the reason of the Angle, as the olde Philosophers haue appointed. [Sidenote: In Iune is greater heat at Paris then vnder the Equinoctiall.] But because at Paris the Sunne riseth two houres before it riseth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, and setteth likewise two houres after them, by meanes of the obliquitie of the Horizon, in which time of the Sunnes presence foure houres in one place more then the other, it worketh some effect more in one place then in the other, and being of equall height at noone, it must then needs follow to be more hote in the Parallel of Paris, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall.

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[Sidenote: The twilights are shorter, and the nights darker vnder the Equinoctiall then at Paris.] Also this is an other reason, that when the Sunne setteth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, it goeth very deepe and lowe vnder their Horizon, almost euen to their Antipodes, whereby their twilights are very short, and their nights are made very extreeme darke and long, and so the moysture and coldnesse of the long nights wonderfully encreaseth, so that at length the Sunne rising can hardly in many houres consume and driue away the colde humours and moyst vapours of the night past, which is cleane contrary in the Parallel of Paris: for the Sunne goeth vnder their Horizon but very little, after a sloping sort, whereby their nights, are not very darke, but lightsome, as looking into the North in a cleare night without cloudes it doeth manifestly appeare, their twilights are long: for the Parallel of Cancer cutteth not the Horizon of Paris at right Angles, but at Angles very vneuen, and vnlike as it doeth the Horizon of the Equinoctiall. Also the Sommer day at Paris is sixteene houres long, and the night but eight: where contrarywise vnder the Equinoctiall the day is but twelue houres long, and so long is also the night, in whatsoever Parallel the Sunne be: and therefore looke what oddes and difference of proportion there is betweene the Sunnes abode about the Horizon in Paris, and the abode it hath vnder the Equinoctiall, (it being in Cancer) the same proportion would seeme to be betweene the heate of the one place, and heate of the other: for other things (as the Angle of the whole arke of the Sunnes progresse that day in both places) are equall.

But vnder the Equinoctiall the presence and abode of the Sunne about the Horizon is equall to his absence, and abode vnder the Horizon, eche being twelue houres. And at Paris the continuance and abode of the Sunne is about the Horizon sixteene houres long, and but eight houres absence, which proportion is double, from which if the proportion of the equalitie be subtracted to finde the difference, there will remaine still a double proportion, whereby it seemeth to follow, that in Iune the heate of Paris were double to the heate vnder the equinoctiall. For (as I haue said) the Angles of the Sunne beames are in all points equall, and the cause of difference is, *Mora Solis supra Horizontem*, the stay of the Sunne in the one Horizon more then in the other. [Sidenote: In what proportion the Angle of the Sun beames heateth.] Therefore, whosoever could finde out in what proportion the Angle of the Sunne beames heateth, and what encrease the Sunnes continuance doeth adde thereunto, it might expresly be set downe, what force of heat and cold is in all regions.

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Thus you partly see by comparing a Climate to vs well knowen and familiarly acquainted by like height of the Sunne in both places, that vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune is no excessiue heat, but a temperate aire rather tendering to cold. [Sidenote: They vse and haue neede of fire vnder the Equinoctiall.] For as they haue there for the most part a continuall moderate heat, so yet sometime they are a little pinched with colde, and vse the benefite of fire as well as we, especially in the euening when they goe to bed, for as they lye in hanging beds tied fast in the vpper part of the house, so will they haue fires made on both sides their bed, of which two fires, the one they deuise superstitiously to driue away spirits, and the other to keepe away from them the coldnesse of the nights.

[Sidenote: Colde intermingled with heate vnder the Equinoctiall.] Also in many places of Torrida Zona, especially in the higher landes somewhat mountainous, the people a little shrinke at the colde, and are often forced to prouide themselues clothing, so that the Spaniards haue found in the West Indies many people clothed, especially in Winter, whereby appeareth, that with their heat there is colde intermingled, else would they neuer prouide this remedy of clothing, which to them is rather a griefe and trouble then otherwise. For when they goe to warres, they will put off all their apparel, thinking it to be cumbersome, and will alwayes goe naked, that they thereby might be more nimble in their fight.

Some there be that thinke the middle Zone extremely hot, because the people of the cuntry can, and doe liue without clothing, wherein they childishly are deceiued: for our Clime rather tendeth to extremitie of colde, because wee cannot liue without clothing: for this our double lining, furring, and wearing so many clothes, is a remedy against extremitie, and argueth not the goodnesse of the habitation, but inconuenience and iniury of colde: and that is rather the moderate, temperate, and delectable habitation, where none of these troublesome things are required, but that we may liue naked and bare, as nature bringeth vs forth.

[Sidenote: Ethiopians blacke, with curled haire.] Others againe imagine the middle Zone to be extreme hot, because the people of Africa, especially the Ethiopians, are so cole blacke, and their haire like wooll curled short, which blacknesse and curled haire they suppose to come onely by the parching heat of the Sunne, which how it should be possible I cannot see: for euen vnder the Equinoctiall in America, and in the East Indies; and in the Ilands Moluccae the people are not blacke, but tauney and white, with long haire vncurled as wee haue, so that if the Ethiopians blacknesse came by the heate of the Sunne, why should not those Americans and Indians also be as blacke as they, seeing the Sunne is equally distant from them both, they abiding in one Parallel: for the concaue and conuexe Superficies of the Orb of the Sunne is

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concentrike, and equidistant to the earth; except any man should imagine somewhat of Aux Solis, and Oppositum, which indifferently may be applied aswel to the one place as to the other. [Sidenote: The Sunne heateth not by his neerenesse, but onely by reflection.] But the Sunne is thought to giue no otherwise heat, but by way of Angle in reflection, and not by his neerenesse to the earth: for throughout all Africa, yea in the midst of the middle Zone, and in all other places vpon the tops of mountaines there lyeth continuall snow, which is nearer to the Orbe of the sunne, then the people are in the valley, by so much as the height of these moantaines amount vnto, and yet the Sunne notwithstanding his neerenesse, can not the melt snow for want of conuenient place of reflections. Also the middle region of the aire where all the haile, frost, and snow is engendred, is neerer vnto the Sunne then the earth is, and yet there continueth perpetuall cold, because there is nothing that the Sunne beames may reflect against, whereby appeareth that the neerenesse of the body of the Sunne worketh nothing.

[Sidenote: A blacke Moores sonne borne in England.] Therefore to returne againe to the blacke Moores. I myself haue seen an Ethiopian as blacke as a cole brought into England, who taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father was, although England were his natie countrey; and an English woman his mother: whereby it seemeth this blacknes proceedeth rather of some natural infection of that man which was so strong, that neither the nature of the Clime, neither the good complexion of the mother concurring, coulde any thing alter, and therefore wee cannot impute it to the nature of the Clime. [Sidenote: The colour of the people in Meta Incognita. The complexion of the people of Meta incognita.] And for a more fresh example, our people of Meta Incognita (of whom and for whom this discourse is taken in hand) that were brought this last yeere into England, were all generally of the same colour that many nations be, lying in the midst of the middle Zone. And this their colour was not onely in the face which was subiect to Sunne and aire, but also in their bodies, which were still couered with garments as ours are, yea the very sucking childe of twelue moneths age had his sonne of the very same colour that most haue vnder the equinoctiall, which thing cannot proceed by reason of the Clime, for that they are at least ten degrees more towards the North then wee in England are, No, the Sunne neuer commeth neere their Zenith by fourtie degrees: for in effect, they are within three or foure degrees of that which they call the frozen Zone, and as I saide, fourtie degrees from the burning Zone, whereby it followeth, that there is some other cause then the Climate or the Sonnes perpendicular reflexion, that should cause the Ethiopians great blacknesse. And the most probable cause to my judgement is, that this blackenesse proceedeth of some naturall infection of the first inhabitants of that Countrey, and so all the whole progenie of them descended, are still polluted with the same blot of infection. Therefore it shall not bee farre from our purpose, to examine the first originall of these blacke men, and howe by a lineall discent they haue hitherto continued thus blacke.



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[Sidenote: The cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse.] It manifestly and plainly appeareth by Holy Scripture, that after the generall inundation and ouerflowing of the earth, there remained no moe men aliue but Noe his three sonnes, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, who onely were left to possesse and inhabite the whole face of the earth: therefore all the sundry discents that vntil this day haue inhabited the whole earth, must needes come of the off-spring either of Sem, Cham, or Iaphet, as the onely sonnes of Noe, who all three being white, and their wiues also, by course of nature should haue begotten and brought forth white children. But the enuie of our great and continuall enemy the wicked Spirite is such, that as hee could not suffer our olde father Adam to liue in the felicity and Angeliike state wherein hee was first created, but tempting him sought and procured his ruine and fall: so againe, finding at this flood none but a father and three sonnes liuing, hee so caused one of them to transgresse and disobey his fathers commaundement, that after him all his posterity shoulde bee accursed.

[Sidenote: The Arke of Noe.] The fact of disobedience was this: When Noe at the commandement of God had made the Arke and entred therein, and the flood-gates of heauen were opened, so that the whole face of the earth, euery tree and mountaine was couered with abundance of water, hee straitely commaunded his sonnes and their wiues, that they should with reuerence and feare beholde the iustice and mighty power of God, and that during the time of the flood while they remained in the Arke, they should vse continencie, and abstaine from carnall copulation with their wines: and many other precepts bee gaue vnto them, and admonitions touching the iustice of God, in renenging sinne, and his mercie in deliuering them, who nothing deserued it. Which good instructions and exhortations notwithstanding his wicked sonne Cham disobeyed, and being perswaded that the first childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) should inherite and possesse all the dominions of the earth, hee contrary to his fathers commandement while they were yet in the Arke, vsed company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to dis-inherite the off-spring of his other two brethren: for the which wicked and detestable fact, as an example for contempt of Almighty God, and disobedience of parents, God would a sonne should bee borne whose name was Chus, who not [Sidenote: Chus the sonne of Cham accursed.] onely it selfe, but all his posteritie after him should bee so blacke and lothsome, that it might remaine a spectacle of disobedience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and cursed Chus came all these blacke Moores which are in Africa, for after the water was vanished from off the face of the earth, and that the lande was dry, Sem chose that part of the land to inhabite in, which nowe is called Asia, and Iaphet had that which now is called Europa, wherein wee dwell, and Africa remained for Cham and his blacke sonne [Sidenote: Africa was called Chamesis.] Chus, and was called Chamesis after the fathers name, being perhaps a cursed, dry, sandy, and vnfruitfull ground, fit for such a generation to inhabite in.

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Thus you see, that the cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse is the curse and naturall infection of blood, and not the distemperature of the Climate; Which also may bee prooued by this example, that these blacke men are found in all parts of Africa, as well without the Tropickes, as within, euen vnto Capo de buona Speranza Southward, where, by reason of the Sphere, should be the same temperature that is in Sicilia, Morea and Candie, where al be of very good complexions. Wherefore I conclude, that the blacknesse proceedeth not of the hotenesse of the Clime, but as I saide, of the infection of blood, and therefore this their argument gathered of the Africans blacknesse is not able to destroy the temperature of the middle Zone. Wee may therefore very well bee ascertained, that vnder the Equinoctiall is the most pleasant and delectable place of the worlde to dwell in; where although the Sunne for two houres in a yeere be direct ouer their heades, and therefore the heate at that time somewhat of force, yet [Sidenote: Greatest temperature vnder the Equinoctial] because it commeth so seldome, and continueth so small a time, when it commeth, it is not to bee wayed, but rather the moderate heate of other times in all the yeere to be remembred. And if the heate at any time should in the short day waxe somewhat vrgent, the coldnesse of the long night there would easily refresh it, according as Henterus sayeth, speaking of the temperature vnder the Equinoctiall.

Quodque die solis violento incanduit aestu,  
Humida nox reficit, paribusque refrigerat horis.

If the heate of the Sunne in the day time doe burne or parch any thing, the moysture of the night doeth coole and refresh the same againe, the Sunne being as long absent in the night, as it was present in the day.

Also our Authour of the Sphere, Johannes de Sacro Bosco, in the Chapter of the Zodiacke, deriueth the Etymologie of Zodiacus, of the Greeke word Zoe, which in Latine signifieth Vita, life; for out of Aristotle hee alleadgeth, that *Secundum accessum et recessum solis in Zodiaco, fiunt generationes et corruptiones in rebus inferioribus*: according to the Sunnes going to and fro in the Zodiacke, the inferiour bodies take their causes of generation and corruption. [Sidenote: Vnder the Equinoctiall is greatest generation.] Then it followeth, that where there is most going to and fro, there is most generation and corruption: which must needes be betweene the two Tropikes; for there the Sunne goeth to and fro most, and no where else but there. Therefore betweene the two Tropikes, that is, in the middle Zone, is greatest increase, multiplication, generation, and corruption of things, which also wee finde by experience; for there is Sommer twice in the yeere, and twice Winter, so that they haue two Haruests in the yeere, and continuall Spring. Seeing then the middle Zone falleth out so temperate, it resteth to declare where the hottest part of the world should bee, for we finde some places more hote then others.



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To answer this doubt, reason perswadeth, the hottest place in<sup>[61]</sup> the world to be vnder and about the two Tropikes; for there more then in any other place doe both the [Sidenote: Greatest heate vnder the Tropicks.] causes of heate concur, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames, at right angles, and a greater continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon, the Pole there being eleuated three or foure and twentie degrees. And as before I concluded, that though the Sunne were perpendicular to them vnder the Equinoctiall, yet because the same continued but a small time (their dayes being short, and their nights long) and the speedie departure of the Sunne from their Zenith, because of the suddaine crossing of the Zodiacke with the Equinoctiall, and that by such continuall course and recourse of hote and colde, the temperature grew moderate, and very well able to be endured: so nowe to them vnder the two Tropikes, the Sunne hauing once by his proper motion declined twentie degrees from the Equinoctiall, beginneth to drawe neere their Zenith, which may be (as before) about the eleuenth day of May, and then beginneth to sende his beames almost at right Angles, about which time the Sunne entreth into the first degree of Gemini, and with this almost right Angle the Sunne beames will continue vntill it be past Cancer, that is, the space of two monethes euery day at noone, almost perpendicular ouer their heades, being then the time of Solstitium Aestiuale: which so long continuance of the Sunne about their Zenith may cause an extreeme heate (if any be in the world) but of necessitie farre more heate then can be vnder the Equinoctiall, where the Sunne hath no such long abode in the Zenith, but passeth away there hence very quickly. Also vnder the Tropikes, the day is longer by an houre and a halfe, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall; wherefore the heate of the Sunne hauing a longer time of operation, must needes be encreased, especially seeing the night wherein colde and moysture doe abound vnder the Tropickes, is lesse then it is vnder the Equinoctiall. Therefore I gather, that vnder the Tropickes is the hottest place, not onely of Torrida Zona, but of any other part of the world, especially because there both causes of heate doe concur, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames two monethes together, and the longer abode of the Sunnes presence aboue the Horison. And by this meanes more at large is prooued, that Marochus in Summer is farre more hote, then at any time vnder the Equinoctiall, because it is situate so neere the Tropick of Cancer, and also for the length of their dayes. Neither yet doe I thinke, that the Regions situate vnder the Tropicks are not habitable, for they are found to be very fruitfull also; although Marochus and some other parts of Afrike neere the Tropike for the drinesse of the natie sandie soile, and some accidents may seeme to some to be intemperate for ouer much heat. For Ferdinandus Ouiedus<sup>[62]</sup> speaking of Cuba and Hispaniola, Ilands of America, lying hard vnder, or by the Tropike of Cancer, saith, that these Ilands haue as good pasture for cattell, as any other countrey in the world.

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Also, they haue most holesome and cleare water, and temperate aire, by reason whereof the heards of beastes are much bigger, fatter, and of better taste, then any in Spaine, because of the ranke pasture, whose moysture is better digested in the hearbe or grasse, by continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, whereby being made more fat and vnctious, it is of better and more stedfast nourishment: For continuall and temperate heate doeth not onely drawe much moysture out of the earth to the nourishment of such things as growe, and are engendred in that Clime, but doeth also by moderation preserue the same from putrifying, digesting also, and condensating or thickning the said moist nourishment into a gumme and vnctious substance, whereby appeareth also, that vnder the Tropikes is both holesome, fruitefull, and pleasant habitation, whereby lastly it followeth, that all the [Sidenote: Vnder the Tropickes is moderate temperature.] middle Zone, which vntill of late dayes hath bene compted and called the burning, broyling, and parched Zone, is now found to be the most delicate, temperate, commodious, pleasant and delectable part of the world, and especially vnder the Equinoctiall.

Hauing now sufficiently at large declared the temperature of the middle Zone, it remaineth to speake somewhat also of the moderate and continuall heate in colde Regions, as well in the night as in the day all the Sommer long, and also how these Regions are habitable to the inhabitants of the same, contrary to the opinion of the olde writers.

Of the temperature of colde Regions all the Sommer long, and also how in Winter the same is habitable, especially to the inhabitants thereof.

The colde Regions of the world are those, which tending toward the Poles Arctike, and Antarctike, are without the circuite or boundes of the seuen Climates: which assertion agreeable to the opinion of the olde Writers, is found and set out in our authour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacrobosco, where hee plainely saith, that without the seuenth Climate, which is bounded by a Parallel passing at fiftie degrees in Latitude, all the habitation beyonde is discommodious and intolerable. [Sidenote: Nine Climates.] But Gemma Frisius a late writer finding England and Scotland to be without the compasse of those Climates, wherein hee knewe to bee very temperate and good habitation, added thereunto two other Climates, the vttermost Parallel whereof passeth by 56. degrees in Latitude, and therein comprehendeth ouer and aboue the first computation, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Moscouia, &c which all are rich and mightie kingdomes.

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[Sidenote: A comparison between Marochus and England.] The olde writers perswaded by bare conjecture, went about to determine of those places, by comparing them to their owne complexions, because they felt them to bee hardly tolerable to themselues, and so took thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth; as if a man borne in Marochus, or some other part of Barbarie, should at the latter end of Sommer vpon the suddeine, either naked, or with his thinne vesture, bee brought into England, hee would judge this Region presently not to bee habitable, because hee being brought vp in so warme a Countrey, is not able here to liue, for so suddeine an alteration of the colde aire: but if the same man had come at the beginning of Sommer, and so afterward by little and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himselfe with the frost of Autumne, it would haue seemed by degrees to harden him, and so to make it farre more tollerable, and by vse after one yeere or two, the aire would seeme to him more temperate. It was compted a great matter in the olde time, that there was a brasse pot broken in sunder with frosen water in Pontus, which after was brought and shewed in Delphis, in token of a miraculous colde region and winter, and therefore consecrated to the Temple of Apollo.

This effect being wrought in the Parallel of fouretie three degrees in Latitude, it was presently counted a place very hardly and vneasily to be inhabited for the great colde. And how then can such men define vpon other Regions very farre without that Parallel, whether they were inhabited or not, seeing that in so neere a place they so grossely mistooke the matter, and others their followers being contented with the inuentions of the olde Authors, haue persisted willingly in the same opinion, with more confidence then consideration of the cause: so lightly was that opinion receiued, as touching the vnhabitable Clime neere and vnder the Poles.

[Sidenote: All the North regions are habitable.] Therefore I am at this present to proue, that all the land lying betweene the last climate euen vnto the point directly vnder either poles, is or may be inhabited, especially of such creatures as are ingendred and bred therein. For indeed it is to be confessed, that some particular liuing creature cannot liue in euery particular place or region, especially with the same ioy and felicitie, as it did where it was first bred, for the certeine agreement of nature that is betweene the place and the thing bred in that place; as appeareth by the Elephant, which being translated and brought out of the second or third climat, though they may liue, yet will they neuer ingender or bring forth yong.[63] Also we see the like in many kinds of plants and herbs; for example, the Orange trees, although in Naples they bring forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onely faire greene leaues, but not any fruit: and translated into England, they will hardly beare either flowers, fruit, or leaues, but are the next Winter pinched and withered with cold: yet it followeth not for this, that England, Rome, and Florence should not be habitable.

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[Sidenote: Two causes of heat.] In the prouing of these colde regions habitable, I shalbe very short, because the same reasons serve for this purpose which were alleged before in the proouing the middle Zone to be temperate, especially seeing all heat and colde proceed from the Sunne, by the meanes either of the Angle which his beames do make with the Horizon, or els by the long or short continuance of the Suns presence aboue ground: so that if the Sunnes beames do beat perpendicularly at right Angles, then there is one cause of heat, and if the Sunne do also long continue aboue the Horizon, then the heat thereby is much increased by accesse of this other cause, and so groweth to a kinde of extremitie. And these two causes, as I sayd before, do most concurre vnder the two Tropicks, and therefore there is the greatest heat of the world. And likewise, where both these causes are most absent, there is greatest want of heat, and increase of colde (seeing that colde is nothing but the priuation and absence of heate) and if one cause be wanting, and the other present the effect will grow indifferent. Therefore this is to be vnderstood, that the neerer any region is to the Equinoctiall, the higher the Sunne doth rise ouer their heads at noone, and so maketh either right or neere right Angles, but the Sunne tarieth with them so much the shorter time, and causeth shorter dayes, with longer and colder nights, to restore the damage of the day past, by reason of the moisture consumed by vapour. But in such regions, ouer the which the Sunne riseth lower (as in regions extended towards either pole) it maketh there vnequall Angles, but the Sunne continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and causeth so much shorter and warmer nights, as retaining warme vapours of the day past. For there are found by experience Summer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when vnder the Equinoctiall they are found very cold. [Sidenote: Hote nights nere the pole. Colde nights vnder the Equinoctiall.] This benefit of the Sunnes long continuance and increase of the day, doth argument so much the more in colde regions as they are nerer the poles, and ceaseth not increasing vntill it come directly vnder the point of the pole Arcticke, where the Sunne continueth aboue ground the space of sixe moneths or halfe a yere together, and so the day is halfe a yere long, that is the time of the Sunnes being in the North signes, from the first degree of Aries vntill the last of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March vntill the 14 of September. [Sidenote: One day of sixe moneths.] The Sunne therefore during the time of these sixe moneth without any offence or hinderance of the night, giueth his influence vpon those lands with heat that neuer ceaseth during that time, which maketh to the great increase of Summer, by reason of the Sunnes continuance. [Sidenote: Moderate heat vnder the poles.] Therefore it followeth, that though the Sunne be not there very high ouer

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their heads, to cause right angle beames, and to giue great heat, yet the Sun being there sometimes about 24 degrees high doth cast a conuenient and meane heate, which there continueth without hindrance of the night the space of sixe moneths (as is before sayd) during which time there followeth to be a conuenient, moderate and temperate heat: or els rather it is to be suspected the heat there to be very great, both for continuance, and also, Quia virtus vnita crescit, the vertue and strength of heat vnited in one increaseth. If then there be such a moderate heate vnder the poles, and the same to continue so long time; what should mooue the olde writers to say there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certainty of this temperate heat vnder both the poles might more manifestly appeare, let vs consider the position and quality of the sphere, the length of the day, and so gather the height of the Sunne at all times, and by consequent the quality of his angle, and so lastly the strength of his heat.

Those lands and regions lying vnder the pole, and hauing the pole for their Zenith, must needs haue the Equinoctiall circle for their Horizon: therefore the Sun entring into the North signes, and describing euery 24 houres a parallel to the Equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of Primum mobile, the same parallels must needs be wholly aboue the Horizon: [Sidenote: The Sunne neuer setteth in 182 dayes.] and so looke how many degrees there are from the first of Aries to the last of Virgo, so many whole reuolutions there are aboue their Horizon that dwell vnder the pole, which amount to 182, and so many of our dayes the Sunne continueth with them. During which time they haue there continuall day and light, without any hindrance of moist nights. [Sidenote: Horizon and Equinoctiall all one vnder the pole.] Yet it is to be noted, that the Sunne being in the first degree of Aries, and last degree of Virgo, maketh his reuolution in the very horizon, so that in these 24 houres halfe the body of the Sunne is aboue the horizon, and the other halfe is vnder his only center, describing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

And therefore seeing the greatest declination of the Sunne is almost 24 degrees, it followeth, his greatest height in those countries to be almost 24 degrees. [Sidenote: London.] And so high is the Sun at noone to vs in London about the 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of Scorpio, and likewise the 21 of Ianuary being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force the Sun at noone hath in London the 29 of October, the same force of heat it hath, to them that dwell vnder the pole, the space almost of two moneths, during the time of the Summer solstitium, and that without intermingling of any colde night; so that if the heat of the Sunne at noone could be well measured in London (which is very hard to do because of the long nights which ingender great moisture and cold) then would manifestly appeare by expresse numbers the maner of the heat vnder the poles, which certainly must needs be to the inhabitants very commodious and profitable, if it incline not to ouermuch heat, and if moisture do not want.

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For as in October in England we finde temperate aire, and haue in our gardens hearbs and floures notwithstanding our cold nights, how much more should they haue the same good aire, being continuall without night. This heat of ours continueth but one houre, while the Sun is in that meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heat is weake, and by the coolnesse of the night vanisheth, that heat is strong, and by continuall accesse is still increased and strengthened. [Sidenote: Comodious dwelling vnder the poles.] And thus by a similitude of the equal height of the Sun in both places appeareth the commodious and moderate heat of the regions vnder the poles.

And surely I cannot thinke that the diuine prouidence hath made any thing vncommunicable, but to haue giuen such order to all things, that one way or other the same should be imployed, and that euery thing and place should be tollerable to the next: but especially all things in this lower world be giuen to man to haue dominion and vse thereof. Therefore we need no longer to doubt of the temperate and comodious habitation vnder the poles during the time of Summer.

[Sidenote: The night vnder the poles.] But all the controuersie consisteth in the Winter, for then the Sunne leaueth those regions, and is no more seene for the space of other sixe moneths, in the which time all the Sunnes course is vnder their horizon for the space of halfe a yere, and then those regions (say some) must needs be deformed with horrible darknesse, and continuall night, which may be the cause that beasts can not seeke their food, and that also the colde should then be intollerable. By which double euils all liuing creatures should be constrained to die, and were not able to indure the extremity and iniury of Winter, and famine insuing thereof, but that all things should perish before the Summer following, when they should bring forth their brood and yoong, and that for these causes the sayd Clime about the pole should be desolate and not habitable. To all which objections may be answered in this maner: First, that though the Sunne be absent from them those six moneths, yet it followeth not that there should be such extreme darknesse; for as the Sunne is departed vnder their horizon, so is it not farre from them: and not so soone as the Sunne falleth so suddenly commeth the darke night; but the euening doth substitute and prolong the day a good while after by twilight. After which time the residue of the night receiueth light of the Moone and Starres, vntill the breake of the day, which giueth also a certaine light before the Sunnes rising; so that by these meanes the nights are seldome darke; which is verified in all parts of the world, but least in the middle Zone vnder the Equinoctiall, where the twilights are short, and the nights darker then in any other place, because the Sunne goeth vnder their horizon so deepe, even to their antipodes. We see in England in the Summer nights when the Sunne goeth not farre vnder the horizon, that by the light of the Moone and Starres we may trauell all night, and if occasion were, do some other labour also. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattell can see to feed in the nights, seeing we are so well certified thereof by our experience: and by reason of the sphere our nights should be darker then any time vnder the poles.



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The Astronomers consent that the Sunne descending from our vpper hemisphere at the 18 parallel vnder the horizon maketh an end of twilight, so that at length the darke night insueth, and that afterward in the morning the Sun approching againe within as many parallels, doth driue away the night by accesse of the twilight. Againe, by the position of the sphere vnder the pole, the horizon, and the equinoctiall are all one. These reuolutions therefore that are parallel to the equinoctiall are also parallel to the horizon, so that the Sunne descending vnder that horizon, and there describing certaine parallels not farre distant, doth not bring darke nights to those regions vntill it come to the parallels distant 18 degrees from the equinoctiall, that is, about the 21 degree of Scorpio, which will be about the 4 day of our Nouember, and after the Winter solstitium, the Sunne returning backe againe to the 9 degree of Aquarius, which will be about the 19 of January; [Sidenote: The regions vnder the poles want twilights but sixe weeks.] during which time onely, that is, from the 4 day of Nouember vntill the 19 day of Ianuary, which is about six weeks space, these regions do want the commodity of twilights: therefore, during the time of these sayd six moneths of darknesse vnder the poles, the night is destitute of the benefit of the Sunne and the sayd twilights onely for the space of six weeks or thereabout. And yet neither this time of six weeks is without remedy from heauen; for the Moone with her increased light hath accesse at that time, and illuminateth the moneths lacking light euery one of themselues seuerally halfe the course of that moneth, by whose benefit it commeth to passe that the night named extreame darke possesseth those regions no longer then one moneth, neither that continually, or all at one time, but this also diuided into two sorts of shorter nights, of the which either of them indureth for the space of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordingly. [Sidenote: Winter nights vnder the pole tolerable to liuing creatures.] And this reason is gathered out of the sphere, whereby we may testifie that the Summers are warme and fruitfull, and the Winters nights vnder the pole are tolerable to liuing creatures. And if it be so that the Winter and time of darknesse there be very colde, yet hath not nature left them vnprouided therefore: for there the beastes are couered with haire so much the thicker in how much the vehemency of colde is greater; by reason whereof the best and richest furies are brought out of the coldest regions. Also the fowles of these colde countreys haue thicker skinnnes, thicker feathers; and more stored of downe then in other hot places. Our English men that trauell to S. Nicholas, and go a fishing to Wardhouse, enter farre within the circle Artike, and so are in the frozen Zone, and yet there, aswell as in Island and all along those Northern Seas, they finde the greatest store of the greatest fishes that are; as Whales, &c. and also abundance of meane fishes; as Herrings, Cods, Haddocks, Brets, &c. which argueth that the sea as well as the land may be and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countreys.

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[Sidenote: An obiection of Meta incognita.] But some perhaps will maruell there should be such temperate places in the regions about the poles, when at vnder 62 degrees in latitude our captaine Frobisher and his company were troubled with so many and so great mountaines of fleeting ice, with so great stormes of colde, with such continuall snow on tops of mountaines, and with such barren soile, there being neither wood nor trees, but low shrubs, and such like. To all which obiections may be answered thus: First, those infinite Islands of ice were ingendred and congealed in time of Winter, and now by the great heat of Summer were thawed, and then by ebs, floods, winds, and currents, were driuen to and fro, and troubled the fleet; so that this is an argument to proue the heat in Summer there to be great, that was able to thaw so monstrous mountaines of ice. As for continuall snow on tops of mountaines, it is there no otherwise then is in the hottest part of the middle Zone, where also lieth great snow all the Summer long vpon tops of mountaines, because there is no sufficient space for the Sunnes reflexion, whereby the snow should be molten. Touching the colde stormy winds and the barrennesse of the country, it is there as it is in Cornwall and Deuonsbire in England, which parts though we know to be fruitfull and fertile, yet on the North side thereof all alongst the coast within seuen or eight miles off the sea there can neither hedge nor tree grow, although they be diligently by arte husbanded and seene vnto: and the cause thereof are the Northerne driuing winds, which comming from the sea are so bitter and sharpe that they kill all the yong and tender plants, and suffer scarce any thing to grow; and so it is in the Islands of Meta incognita, which are subiect most to East and Northeastern winds, which the last yere choaked vp the passage so with ice that the fleet could hardly lecouer their port. [Sidenote: Meta Incognita inhabited.] Yet notwithstanding all the obiections that may be, the countrey is habitable; for there are men, women, children, and sundry kind of beasts in great plenty, as beares, deere, hares, foxes and dogs: all kinde of flying fowles, as ducks, seamewes, wilmots, partridges, larks, crowes, hawks, and such like, as in the third booke you shall vnderstand more at large. Then it appeareth that not onely the middle Zone but also the Zones about the poles are habitable.

[Sidenote: Captaine Frobishers first voyage.] Which thing being well considered, and familiarly knowne to our Generall captaine Frobisher, aswell for that he is thorowly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere and all other skilles appertaining to the arte of nauigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same by many yeres experience both by sea and land, and being persuaded of a new and nerer passage to Cataya then by Capo de buona Speranca, which the Portugals yerely vse: he began first with himselfe to deuise, and then with his friends



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to conferre, and layed a plaine plat vnto them that that voyage was not onely possible by the Northwest, but also he could proue easie to be performed. And farther, he determined and resolued with himselfe to go make full prooffe thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or els neuer to returne againe, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet vndone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof he had concerned in his minde a great hope by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here for sundry causes I leaue vntouched, yet he wanted altogether meanes and ability to set forward, and performe the same. Long time he conferred with his priuate friends of these secrets; and made also many offers for the performing of the same in effect vnto sundry merchants of our countrey about 15 yeres before he attempted the same, as by good witnesse shall well appeare (albeit some euill willers which challenge to themselues the fruits of other mens labours haue greatly iniured him in the reports of the same, saying that they haue bene the first authours of that action, and that they haue learned him the way, which themselues as yet haue neuer gone) but perceiuing that hardly he was hearkened vnto of the merchants, which neuer regard, vertue without sure, certaine, and present gaines, he repaired to the Court (from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good causes haue their chiefe increase and maintenance) and there layed open to many great estates and learned men the plot and summe of his deuice. And amongst many honourable minds which fauoured his honest and commendable enterprise, he was specially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke, whose fauourable minde and good disposition hath alwayes bene ready to countenance and aduance all honest actions with the authours and executors of the same: and so by meanes of my lord his honourable countenance he receiued some comfort of his cause, and by litle and litle, with no small expense and paine brought his cause to some perfection and had drawen together so many aduenturers and such summes of money as might well defray a reasonable charge to furnish himselfe to sea withall.

He prepared two small barks of twenty and fiue and twenty tunne a piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresayd two barks, and one small pinnesse of ten tun burthen, hauing therein victuals and other necessities for twelue moneths prouision, he departed vpon the sayd voyage from Blacke-wall the 15 of Iune anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named the Gabriel, and the other The Michael; and sailing Northwest from England vpon the 11 of Iuly he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he iudged to be Frisland (whereof some authors haue made mention) but durst not approach the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay alongst the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a litle. Not farre from

thence he lost company of his small pinnesse, which by meanes of the great storme he supposed to be swallowed vp of the Sea, wherein he lost onely foure men.

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[Sidenote: The Michael returned home.] Also the other barke named The Michael mistrusting the matter, conueyed themselues priuily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captaine notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his toppe mast blowen ouerboord with extreame foule weather, continued his course towards the Northwest, knowing that the sea at length must needs haue an ending, and that some land should haue a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the least to bring true prooffe what land and sea the same might be so farre to the Northwestwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore discovered. And the twentieth of Iuly he had sight of an high land, which he called Queene Elizabeths Forland, after her Maiesties name. And sailing more Northerly alongst that coast, he descried another forland with a great gut, bay, or passage, diuided as it were two maine lands or continents asunder. There be met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coueting still to continue his course to the Northwards, was alwayes by contrary winde detained ouerthwart these straights, and could not get beyond.

[Sidenote: Frobishers first entrance within the streights.] Within few dayes after he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the same straights, or els conueyed some other way: wherefore he determined to make prooffe of this place, to see how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himselfe thorow the same into some open sea on the backe side, whereof he conceiued no small hope, and so entred the same the one and twentieth of Iuly, and passed aboue fifty leagues therein, as he reported, hauing vpon either hand a great maine or continent. And that land vpon his right hand as he sailed Westward he iudged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be diuided from the firme of America, which lieth vpon the left hand ouer against the same.

[Sidenote: Frobishers streights.] This place he named after his name, Frobishers streights, like as Magellanus at the Southwest end of the world, hauing discovered the passage to the South sea (where America is diuided from the continent of that land, which lieth vnder the South pole) and called the same straights, Magellanes straits.

After he had passed 60 leagues into this foresayd straight, he went ashore, and found signes where fire had bene made.

He saw mighty deere that seemed to be mankinde, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to vse defence and policy to saue his life.

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In this place he saw and perceiued sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither. [Sidenote: The first sight of the Sauages.] And being ashore vpon the top of a hill, he perceiued a number of small things fleeting in the sea afarre off, which he supposed to be porposes or seales, or some kinde of strange fish; but comming neerer, he discouered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend downe from the hill, certaine of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, hauing stollen secretly behinde the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himselfe to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger, and saued his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily deuoured the same before our mens faces. And to shew their agility, they tried many masteries vpon the ropes of the ship after our mariners fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their armes, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of scales, and beares skinnes, and such like with our men; and receiued belles, looking glasses, and other toyes, in recompense thereof againe. [Sidenote: Fiue Englishmen intercepted and taken.] After great curtesie, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captaines direction, began more easily to trust them; and fiue of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were neuer since heard of to this day againe: so that the captaine being destitute of boat, barke, and all company, had scarcely sufficient number to conduct backe his barke againe. He could neither conuey himselfe ashore to rescue his men (if he had bene able) for want of a boat; and againe the subtile traitours were so wary, as they would after that neuer come within our mens danger. The captaine notwithstanding desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them: and therefore to deceiue the deceiuers he wrought a pretty policy; for knowing wel how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a pretty lowbell, making signes that he would giue him the same that would come and fetch it. [Sidenote: Taking of the first Sauage.] And because they would not come within his danger for feare, he flung one bell vnto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost, And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came nere the ship side to receiue the bel; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himselfe: for the captaine being readily prouided let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him with maine force boat and all into his barke out of the sea. Whereupon when he found himselfe in captiuity, for very choler and disdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but liued vntill he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea.



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[Sidenote: Frobishers returne.] Now with this new pray (which was a sufficient witnesse of the captaines farre and tedious trauell towards the vnknownen parts of the world, as did well appeare by this strange infidell, whose like was neuer seene, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither knownen nor vnderstood of any) the sayd captaine Frobisher returned homeward, and arriued in England in Harwich the 2 of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cataya.

And it is especially to be remembred that at their first arriuall in those parts there lay so great store of ice all the coast along so thicke together, that hardly his boate could passe vnto the shore. [Sidenote: The taking possession of Meta incognita.] At length, after diuers attempts he commanded his company, if by any possible meanes they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoeuer thing they could first finde, whether it were liuing or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he tooke in behalfe of the Queenes most excellent Maiesty, thinking that thereby he might iustify the hauing and inioying of the same things that grew in these vnknownen parts.

[Sidenote: How the ore was found by chance.] Some of his company brought floures, some greene grasse; and one brought a piece of blacke stone much like to a sea cole in colour, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of mettall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the iudgment of the captaine at first sight; and yet for nouelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came.

After his arriuall in London, being demanded of sundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that countrey, he had nothing left to present them withall but a piece of this blacke stone. And it fortun'd a gentlewoman one of the aduenturers wiues to haue a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glistened with a bright marquesset of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certaine Goldfiners in London to make assay thereof, who gaue out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. [Sidenote: Many aduenturers.] Afterwards, the same Goldfiners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselues to aduenture for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to haue a lease at her Maiesties hands of those places, whereby to inioy the masse of so great a publike profit vnto their owne priuate gaines.

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In conclusion, the hope of more of the same golde ore to be found kindled a great opinion in the hearts of many to aduance the voyage againe. [Sidenote: In the second voyage commission was giuen onely for the bringing of ore.] Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the yere folowing, and the captaine more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore then for the searching any further discouery of the passage. And being well accompanied with diuers resolute and forward gentlemen, her Maiesty then lying at the right honourable the lord of Warwicks house in Essex, he came to take his leaue, and kissing her hignesse hands, with gracious countenance and comfortable words departed toward his charge.

A true report of such things as happened in the second voyage of captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discouery of a new passage to Cataya, China and the East India, by the Northwest. Ann. Dom. 1577.

Being furnished with one tall ship of her Maiesties, named The Ayde, of two hundred tunne, and two other small barks, the one named The Gabriel, the other The Michael, about thirty tun a piece, being fitly appointed with men, munition, victuals, and all things necessary for the voyage, the sayd captaine Frobisher, with the rest of his company came aboard his ships riding at Blackwall, intending (with Gods helpe) to take the first winde and tide seruing him, the 25 day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1577.

The names of such gentlemen as attempted this discouery, and the number of souldiers and mariners in ech ship, as followeth.

Aboord the Ayd being Admirall were the number of 100 men of all sorts, whereof 30 or moe were Gentlemen and Souldiers, the rest sufficient and tall Sailers.

Aboord the Gabriel being Viceadmirall, were in all 18 persons, whereof sixe were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboord the Michael were 16 persons, whereof fiue were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboord the Ayde was:

Generall of the whole company for her Maiestie: Martin Frobisher.

His Lieutenant George Best.

His Ensigne Richard Philpot.

Corporall of the shot Francis Forfar.

The rest of the gentlemen: Henry Carew.

Edmund Stafford.

John Lee.

M. Haruie.

Mathew Kinersley.

Abraham Lins.  
Robert Kinersley.  
Francis Brakenbury.  
William Armshow.

The Master Christopher Hall.  
The Mate Charles Lackman.  
The Pilot Andrew Dier.  
The Master gunner Richard Cox.

Aboord the Gabriell was:

Captaine Edward Fenton  
One Gentleman William Tamfield.  
The Maister William Smyth.

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Aboord the Michaell was:

Captaine Gilbert Yorke.

One Gentleman Thomas Chamberlaine.

The Maister Iames Beare.

On Whitsunday being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anker at Blackwall, and fell that tyde downe to Grauesend, where we remained vntill Monday, at night.

[Sidenote: They receiued the communion.] On Monday morning the 27 of May, aboard the Ayde we receiued all the Communion by the Minister of Grauesend, and prepared vs as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

[Sidenote: The number of men in this voyage.] Tuesday the eight and twenty of May, about nine of the clocke at night, we arriued at Harwitch in Essex and there stayed for the taking in of certaine victuals, vntill Friday being the thirtieth of May, during which time came letters from the Lordes of the Councell, straightly commanding our General, not to exceede his complement and number appointed him, which was, one hundred and twentie persons: whereupon he discharged many proper men which with vnwilling mindes departed.

[Sidenote: The condemned men discharged.] He also dismissed all his condemned men, which he thought for some purposes very needefull for the voyage, and towards night vpon Friday the one and thirtieth of May we set saile, and put to the Seas againe. [Sidenote: The first arriuall after our departing from England.] And sailing Northward alongst the East coasts of England and Scotland, the seuenth day of Iune we arriued in Saint Magnus sound in Orkney Ilands, called in Latine Orcades, and came to anker on the South side of the Bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall where we set saile first leagues.[64]

Here our companie going on lande, the Inhabitants of these Ilandes beganne to flee as from the enemie, whereupon the Lieutenant willed euery man to stay together, and went himselfe vnto their houses, to declare what we were and the cause of our comming thither, which being vnderstood after their poore maner they friendly entreated vs, and brought vs for our money such things as they had. [Sidenote: A Mine of siluer found in Orkney.] And here our gold finders found a Mine of siluer.

Orkney is the principall of the Isles of the Orcades, and standeth in the latitude of fiftie nine degrees and a halfe. The countrey is much subiect to colde, answerable for such a climate, and yet yeeldeth some fruites, and sufficient maintenance for the people contented so poorely to liue.





There is plentie ynough of Poultrey, store of egges, fish, and foule.

For their bread they haue Oaten Cakes, and their drinke is Ewes milke, and in some partes Ale.

Their houses are but poore without and sluttish ynough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable.

For their fire they burne heath and turffe, the Countrey in most parts being voide of wood.

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They haue great want of Leather, and desire our old Shoes, apparell, and old ropes (before money) for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coine. [Sidenote: Kyrway the chiefe towne of Orkney.] The chiefe towne is called Kyrway.[65]

[Sidenote: S. Magnus sound why so called.] In this Island hath bene sometime an Abbey or a religious house called Saint Magnus, being on the West side of the Ile, whereof this sound beareth name, through which we passed. Their Gouvernour chiefe Lord is called the Lord Robert Steward, who at our being there, as we understood, was in durance at Edinburgh, by the Regents commandement of Scotland.

After we had prouided vs here of matter sufficient for our voyage the eight of Iune wee set sayle againe, and passing through Saint Magnus sound hauing a merrie winde by night, came cleare and lost sight of all the land, and keeping our course West Northwest by the space of two dayes, the winde shifted vpon vs so that we lay in trauerse on the Seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our course to the westward, and sometime to the Northward, as the winde shifted. And hereabout we met with 3 saile of English fishermen from Iseland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters vnto our friends in England. [Sidenote: Great bodies of trees driuing in the seas.] We trauersed these Seas by the space of 26 dayes without sight of any land, and met with much drift wood, and whole bodies of trees. [Sidenote: Monstrous fish and strange foule liuing onely by the Sea.] We sawe many monstrous fishes and strange foules, which seemed to live onely by the Sea, being there so farre distant from any land. At length God fauoured vs with more prosperous windes, and after wee had sayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of Iuly the Michael being foremost a head shot off a peece of Ordinance, and stroke all her sayles, supposing that they had descryed land which by reason of the thicke mistes they could not make perfit: [Sidenote: Water being blacke and smooth signifieth land to be neere.] howbeit, as well our account as also the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and smooth, did plainly declare we were not farre off the coast. [Sidenote: Ilands of yce.] Our Generall sent his Master aboard the Michael (who had beene with him the yeere before) to beare in with the place to make prooffe thereof, who descryed not the land perfect, but sawe sundry huge Ilands of yce, which we deemed to be not past twelue leagues from the shore, [Sidenote: The first sight of Frisland the 4. of Iuly.] for about tenne of the clocke at night being the fourth of Iuly, the weather being more cleare, we made the land perfect and knew it to be Frislande. And the heighth being taken here, we found ourselues to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Southermost part of this land. Betweene Orkney and Frisland are reckoned leagues. [66]

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[Sidenote: Frisland described.] This Frislande sheweth a ragged and high lande, hauing the mountaines almost couered ouer with snow amongst the coast full of drift yce, and seemeth almost inaccessible, and is thought to be an Iland in bignesse not inferiour to England, and is called of some Authors, West Frislande, I thinke because it lyeth more West then any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude to the Northward very farre as seemed to vs, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren Venetians, Nicholaus and Antonius Zeni, who being driuen off from Ireland with a violent tempest made shipwracke here, and were the first knowen Christians that discovered this land about two hundred yeares sithence, and they haue in their Sea cardes set out euery part thereof and described the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as ciuill and religious people as we. And for so much of this land as we haue sayled amongst, comparing their Carde with the coast, we finde it very agreeable. [Sidenote: An easie kind of Fishing.] This coast seemeth to haue good fishing, for we lying becalmed let falle a hooke without any bayte and presently caught a great fish called a Hollibut, who serued the whole companie for a dayes meate, and is dangerous meate for surfetting. [Sidenote: White Corral got by sounding.] And sounding about fiue leagues off from the shore, our leade brought vp in the tallow a kinde of Corral almost white, and small stones as bright as Christall: and it is not to be doubted but that this land may be found very rich and beneficial if it were thoroughly discovered, although we sawe no creature there but little birdes. [Sidenote: Monstrous Isles of yce, in taste fresh, wherehence they are supposed to come.] It is a maruellous thing to behold of what great bignesse and depth some Ilands of yce be here, some seuentie, some eightie fadome vnder water, besides that which is aboue, seeming Ilands more then halfe a mile in circuit. All these yce are in tast fresh, and seeme to be bredde in the sounds thereabouts, or in some lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driuen amongst the coastes. [Sidenote: The opinion of the frozen seas is destroyed by experience.] We found none of these Ilands of yce salt in taste, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the Ocean Sea water which is alwayes salt, but of some standing or little moouing lakes or great fresh waters neere the shore, caused eyther by melted snowe from tops of mountaines, or by continuall accesse of fresh riuers from the land, and intermingling with the Sea water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreame frost) may cause some part of salt water to freese so with it, and so seeme a little brackish, but otherwise the maine Sea freeseth not, and therefore there is no Mare Glaciale or frozen Sea, as the opinion hitherto hath bene. Our Generall prooued landing here twice, but by the suddaine fall of mistes (whereunto this coast is much subiect) he was like to loose sight

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of his ships, and being greatly endangered with the driuing yce amongst the coast, was forced aboard and faine to surcease his pretence till a better opportunitie might serue: and hauing spent foure dayes and nights sayling amongst this land, finding the coast subiect to such bitter colde and continuall mistes he determined to spend no more time therein, but to beare out his course towards the streights called Frobishers streights after the Generals name, who being the first that euer passed beyond 58 degrees to the Northwardes, for any thing that hath beene yet knowen of certaintie of New found land, otherwise called the continent or firme land of America, discovered the saide straights this last yere 1576.

[Sidenote: The Stirrage of the Michael broken by tempest.] Betweene Frisland and the Straights we had one great storme, wherein the Michael was somewhat in danger, hauing her Stirrage broken, and her toppe Mastes blowen ouer boord, and being not past 50 leagues short of the Straights by our account, we stroke sayle and lay a hull, fearing the continuance of the storme, the winde being at the Northeast, and hauing lost companie of the Barks in that flaw of winde, we happily met againe the seuenteenth day of Iuly, hauing the euening before seene diuers Ilands of fleeting yce, which gaue an argument that we were not farre from land. [Sidenote: The first entrance of the Straights.] Our Generall in the morning from the maine top (the weather being reasonable cleare) descried land, but to better assured he sent the two Barks two contrarie courses, whereby they might discry either the South or North foreland, the Ayde lying off and on at Sea, with a small sayle by an Iland of yce, which was the marke for vs to meet together againe. [Sidenote: Halles Iland.] And about noone, the weather being more cleare, we made the North foreland perfite, which otherwise is called Halles Iland, and also the small Iland bearing the name of the sayd Hall whence the Ore was taken vp which was brought into England this last yeere 1576 the said Hall being present at the finding and taking vp thereof, who was then Maister in the Gabriell with Captaine Frobisher. At our arriuall here all the Seas about this coast were so couered ouer with huge quantitie of great yce, that we thought these places might onely deserue the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Isie Sea.

[Sidenote: The description of the straights.] This North forland is thought to be deuided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little sound called Halles sound, which maketh it an Iland, and is thought little lesse then the Ile of Wight, and is the first entrance of the Straights vpon the Norther side, and standeth in the latitude of sixtie two degrees and fiftie minutes, and is reckoned from Frisland leagues.[67] God hauing blessed vs with so happie a land-fall, we bare into the Straights which runne in next hand, and somewhat further vp to the Northwarde, and came

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as neere the shore as wee might for the yce, and vpon the eighteenth day [Sidenote: No more gold Ore found in the first Iland.] of Iuly our Generall taking the Goldfiners with him, attempted to goe on shore with a small rowing Pinnesse, vpon the small Islande where the Ore was taken vp, to prooue whether there were any store thereof to be found, but he could not get in all that Iland a peece so bigge as a Walnut, where the first was found. But our men which sought the other Ilands thereabouts found them all to haue good store of the Ore, whereupon our Generall with these good tidings returned aboard about tenne of the clocke at night, and was ioyfully welcommed of the company with a volie of shot. [Sidenote: Eggs and foules of Meta incognita. Snares set to catch birds withall.] He brought egges, foules, and a young Seale aboard, which the companie had killed ashore, and hauing found vpon those Ilands ginnes set to catch fowle, and stickes newe cut, with other things, he well perceiued that not long before some of the country people had resorted thither.

Hauing therefore found those tokens of the peoples accesse in those parts, and being in his first voyage well acquainted with their subtill and cruell disposition, hee provided well for his better safetie, and on Friday the nineteenth of Iuly in the morning early, with his best companie of Gentlemen and souldiers to the number of fortie persons, went on shore, aswell to discouer the Inland and habitation of the people, as also to finde out some fit harborowe for our shippes. And passing towardes the shoare with no small difficultie by reason of the abundance of yce which lay amongst the coast so thicke together that hardly any passage through them might be discouered, we arriued at length vpon the maine of Halles greater Iland, and found there also aswell as in the other small Ilands good store of the Ore. [Sidenote: The building of a Columne, called Mount Warwicke.] And leauing his boates here with sufficient garde we passed vp into the country about two English miles, and recouered the toppe of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a Columne or Crosse of stones heaped vp of a good heighth together in good sort, and solemnly sounded a Trumpet, and saide certaine prayers kneeling about the Ensigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwicke, in remembrance of the Right Honorable the Lord Ambrose Dudley Earle of Warwicke, whose noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gaue great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retyred our companies not seeing any thing here worth further discouerie, the country seeming barren and full of ragged mountaines and in most parts couered with snow.

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[Sidenote: The first sight of countrey people, wafting with a flagge.] And thus marching towards our botes, we espied certaine countrey people on the top of Mount Warwick with a flag wafting vs backe againe and making great noise with cries like the mowing of Buls seeming greatly desirous of conference with vs: whereupon the Generall being therewith better acquainted, answered them againe with the like cries, whereat and with the noise of our trumpets they seemed greatly to reioice, skipping, laughing, and dancing for ioy. And hereupon we made signes vnto them, holding vp two fingers, commanding two of our men to go apart from our companies, whereby they might do the like. [Sidenote: The meeting apart of two Englishmen with two of that countrey.] So that forthwith two of our men and two of theirs met together a good space from company, neither partie hauing their weapons about them. Our men gaue them pins and points and such trifles as they had. And they likewise bestowed on our men two bow cases and such things as they had. They earnestly desired our men to goe vp into their countrey, and our men offered them like kindnesse aboard our ships, but neither part (as it seemed) admitted or trusted the others courtesie. [Sidenote: The order of their traffique.] Their maner of traffique is thus, they doe vse to lay downe of their marchandise vpon the ground, so much as they meane to part withal, and so looking that the other partie with whom they make trade should do the like, they themselues doe depart, and then if they doe like of their Mart they come againe, and take in exchange the others marchandise, otherwise if they like not, they take their owne and depart. The day being thus well neere spent, in haste wee retired our companies into our boates againe, minding forthwith to search amongst the coast for some harborow fit for our shippes, for the present necessitie thereof was much, considering that all this while they lay off and on betweene the two landes, being continually subiect aswell to great danger of fleeting yce, which enuironed them, as to the sodaine flawes which the coast seemeth much subiect vnto. But when the people perceiued our departure, with great tokens of affection they earnestly called vs backe againe, following vs almost to our boates: whereupon our Generall taking his Master with him, who was best acquainted with their maners, went apart vnto two of them, meaning, if they could lay sure hold vpon them, forcibly to bring them aboard, with intent to bestow certaine toyes and apparell vpon the one, and so to dismisse him with all arguments of curtesie, and retaine the other for an Interpreter. [Sidenote: Another meeting of two of our men with two of theirs.] The Generall and his Maister being met with their two companions together, after they had exchanged certaine things the one with the other, one of the Saluages for lacke of better marchandise, cut off the tayle of his coat (which is a chiefe ornament among them)

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and gaue it vnto our Generall for a present. But he presently vpon a watchword giuen with his Maister sodainely laid hold vpon the two Saluages. But the ground vnderfoot being slipperie with the snow on the side of the hill, their handfast fayled and their prey escaping ranne away and lightly recouered their bow and arrowes, which they had hid not farre from them behind the rockes. [Sidenote: The Englishmen chased to their boates.] And being onely two Saluages in sight, they so fiercely, desperately, and with such fury assaulted and pursued our Generall and his Master, being altogether vnarmed, and not mistrusting their subiltie that they chased them to their boates, and hurt the Generall in the buttocke with an arrow, who the rather speedily fled backe, becasuse they suspected a greater number behind the rockes. Our souldiers (which were commanded before to keepe their boates) perceiuing the danger, and hearing our men calling for shot came speedily to rescue, thinking there had bene a greater number. But when the Saluages heard the shot of one of our caliuers (and yet hauing first bestowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men speedily following them. [Sidenote: One of that Countreymen taken.] But a seruant of my Lorde of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and vncumbred with any furniture hauing only a dagger at his backe ouertooke one of them, and being a Cornishman and a good wrastler, shewed his companion such a Cornish tricke, that he made his sides ake against the ground for a moneth after. And so being stayed, he was taken alieue and brought away, but the other escaped. Thus with their strange and new prey our men repaired to their boates, and passed from the maine to a small Iland of a mile compasse, where they resolved to tarrie all night; for euen now a sodaine storme was growen so great at sea, that by no meanes they could recouer their ships. And here euery man refreshed himselfe with a small portion of victuals which was laide into the boates for their dinners, hauing neither eate nor drunke all the day before. But because they knewe not how long the storme might last, nor how farre off the shippes might be put to sea, nor whether they should euer recouer them againe or not, they made great spare of their victuals, as it greatly behoued them: For they knew full well that the best cheare the countrey could yeeld them, was rockes and stones, a hard food to liue withall, and the people more readie to eate them then to giue them wherewithall to eate. And thus keeping verie good watch and warde, they lay there all night vpon hard cliffes of snow and yce both wet, cold, and comfortlesse.

These things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ships at Sea was no lesse perilous. [Sidenote: The Ayde set on fire.] For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in ouer-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was set on fire, and had bene the confusion of the whole if by chance a boy espying it, it had not bene speedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguished,



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[Sidenote: The great danger of these rockes of yce.] This day also were diuerse stormes and flawes, and by nine of the clocke at night the storme was growen so great, and continued such vntill the morning, that it put our ships at sea in no small perill: for hauing mountaines of fleeting yce on euery side, we went roomer for one, and loofed for another, some scraped vs, and some happily escaped vs, that the least of a M. were as dangerous to strike as any rocke, and able to haue split asunder the strongest ship of the world. We had a scope of cleare without yce, (as God would) wherein we turned, being otherwise compassed on euery side about: but so much was the winde and so litle was our sea roome, that being able to beare onely our forecourse we cast so oft about, that we made fourteene bordes in eight glasses running, being but foure houres: [Sidenote: Night without darknes in that countrey.] but God being our best Steresman, and by the industry of Charles lackman and Andrew Dyer then masters mates, both very expert Mariners and Richard Cox the maister Gunner, with other very carefull sailers, then within bord, and also by the helpe of the cleare nights which are without darknesse, we did happily auoide those present dangers, whereat since wee haue more maruelled then in the present danger feared, for that euery man within borde, both better and worse had ynough to doe with his hands to hale ropes, and with his eyes to looke out for danger. But the next morning being the 20 of Iuly, as God would, the storme ceased, and the Generall espying the ships with his new Captiue and whole company, came happily aboard, and reported what had passed a shoare, whereupon altogither vpon our knees we gaue God humble and hartie thanks, for that it had pleased him, from so speedy peril to send vs such speedy deliuerance, and so from this Northerne shore we stroke ouer towards the Southerland.

[Sidenote: Our first comming on the Southerland of the sayd straights.] The one and twentieth of Iuly, we discovered a bay which ranne into the land, that seemed a likely harborow for our ships, wherefore our Generall rowed thither with his boats, to make prooffe thereof, and with his goldfiners to search for Ore, hauing neuer assayed any thing on the South shore as yet, and the first small Island which we landed vpon. [Sidenote: A Mine of Blacke-lead.] Here all the sands and cliffs did so glister and had so bright a marquesite, that it seemed all to be gold, but vpon tryall made it prooued no better then black-lead, and verified the prouerb. All is not gold that glistereth.



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Vpon the two and twentieth of Iuly we bare into the sayde sound, and came to ancker a reasonable bredth off the shore, where thinking our selues in good securitie, we were greatly endangered with a peece of drift yce, which the Ebbe brought forth of the sounds and came thwart vs ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and souldiers within bord taking great paines at this pinch at the Capstone, overcame the most danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it stroke on our sterne such a blow, that we feared least it had striken away our rudder, and being forced to cut our Cable in the hawse, we were faine to set our fore saile to runne further vp within, and if our stirrage had not bene stronger then in the present time we feared, we had runne the ship vpon the rockes, hauing a very narrow Channell to turne in, but as God would, all came well to passe. [lackmans sound.] And this was named lackmans sound, after the name of the Masters mate, who had first liking vnto the place.

[Sidenote: Smiths Iland.] Vpon a small Iland, within this sound called Smithes Iland (because he first set vp his forge there) was found a Mine of siluer, but was not wonne out of the rockes without great labour. Here our goldfiners made say of such Ore as they found vpon the Northerland, and found foure sortes thereof to holde golde in good quantitie. Vpon another small Iland here was also found a great dead fish, which as it should seeme, had bene embayed with yce, and was in proportion round like to a Porpose, being about twelue foote long, and in bignesse answerable, hauing a horne of two yards long growing out of the snoute or nostrels. [Sidenote: The finding of an Vnicornes horne.] This horne is wreathed and straite, like in fashion to a Taper made of waxe, and may truely be thought to be the sea Vnicorne.[68] This home is to be seene and reserued as a lewell by the Queenes Maiesties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes.

Tuesday the three and twentieth of Iuly, our Generall with his best company of gentlemen, souldiers and saylers, to the number of seuentie persons in all, marched with ensigne displayde, vpon the continent of the Southerland (the supposed continent of America) where, commanding a Trumpet to sound a call for euery man to repaire to the ensigne, he declared to the whole company how much the cause imported for the seruice of her Maiestie, our countrey, our credits, and the safetie of our owne liues, and therefore required euery man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assigne. And he appointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beste: which done, we cast our selues into a ring, and altogether vpon our knees, gaue God humble thanks for that it had pleased him of his great goodnesse to preserue vs from such imminent dangers, beseeching likewise the assistance of his holy spirite, so to deliuer vs in safetie into our Countrey, whereby the light and truth of these secrets

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being known, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and consequently to the aduancement of our common wealth. And so, in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no lesse painfull in climbing then dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepe nesse and yce. And hauing passed about fiue miles, by such vnwieldie wayes, we returned vnto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here diuerse of the Gentlemen desired our Generall to suffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie persones to march vp thirtie or fortie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might discouer the Inland, and doe some acceptable seruice for their countrey. But he not contented with the matter he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedie desire our countrey hath to a present sauor and returne of gaine, bent his whole indeuour only to find a Mine to freight his ships, and to leave the rest (by Gods helpe) hereafter to be well accomplished. And therefore the twentie sixe of Iuly he departed ouer to the Northland, with the two barkes, leauing the Ayde ryding in lackmans sound; and ment (after hee had found conuenient harborow, and freight there for his ships) to discouer further for the passage. The Barkes came the same night to ancker in a sound vpon the Northerland, where the tydes did runne so swift, and the place was so subiect to indrafts of yce; that by reason thereof they were greatly endangered, and hauing found a very rich Myne, as they supposed, and got almost twentie tunne of Ore together, vpon the 28 of Iuly the yce came driuing into the sound where the Barkes rode, in such sort, that they were therewith greatly distressed. And the Gabriell riding asterne the Michael, had her Cable gauld asunder in the hawse with a peece of driuing yce, and lost another ancker, and hauing but one cable and ancker left, for she had lost two before, and the yce still driuing vpon her, she was (by Gods helpe) well fenced from the danger of the rest, by one great lland of yce, which came a ground hard a head of her, which if it had not so chanced, I thinke surely shee had bene cast vpon the rockes with the yce. The Michael mored ancker vpon this great yce, and roade vnder the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of it selfe, and the setting of the Tydes, the yce brake within halfe the Barkes length, and made vnto the companie within boord a sodaine and fearefull noyse. [Sidenote: Beares sound. Lecesters lland.] The next flood toward the morning we weyed ancker, and went further vp the straights, and leauing our Ore behind vs which we had digged, for hast left the place by the name of Beares sound after the masters name of the Michael, and named the lland Lecesters lland. [Sidenote: A tombe with a dead mans bones in it.] In one of the small llands here we founde a Tombe, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our Sauage Captiue being with vs, and being demanded

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by signes whether his countrey men had not slaine this man and eat his flesh so from the bones, he made signes to the contrary, and that he was slaine with Wolues and wild beasts. Here also was found hid vnder stones good store of fish, and [Sidenote: Bridles, kniues, and other instruments found hid among the rockes.] sundry other things of the inhabitants; as sleddes, bridles, kettels of fish-skinnes, kniues of bone, and such other like. And our Sauage declared vnto vs the vse of all those things. [Sidenote: They vse great dogs to draw sleds, and little dogs for their meat.] And taking in his hand one of those countrey bridles, he caught one of our dogges and hampered him handsomely therein, as we doe our horses, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dogge to drawe in a sled as we doe horses in a coach, setting himselfe thereupon like a guide: so that we might see they vse dogges for that purpose that we do our horses. And we found since by experience, that the lesser sort of dogges they feede fatte, and keepe them as domesticall cattell in their tents for their eating, and the greater sort serue for the vse of drawing their sleds.

The twentieth of Iuly, about fiue leagues from Beares sound, we discovered a Bay which being fenced on ech side with smal Ilands lying off the maine, which breake the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of yce, did prooue a very fit harborow for our ships, where we came to ancker vnder a small Ilande, which now together with the sound is called by the name of that right Honourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne Countesse of Warwicke. [Sidenote: Thirty leagues discovered within the straites.] And this is the furthest place that this yeere we haue entred vp within the streits, and is reckoned from the Cape of the Queenes foreland, which is the entrance of the streites not aboue 30 leagues. Vpon this Iland was found good store of Ore, which in the washing helde golde to our thinking plainly to be seene: whereupon it was thought best rather to load here, where there was store and indifferent good, then to seeke further for better, and spend time with ieoperdie. [Sidenote: A good president of a good Captain shewed by Captain Frobisher.] And therefore our Generall setting the Myners to worke, and shewing first a good president of a painefull labourer and a goode Captaine in himselfe, gaue good examples for other to follow him: whereupon euery man both better and worse, with their best endeouours willingly layde to their helping hands. And the next day, being the thirtieth of Iuly, the Michaell was sent ouer to lackmans sound, for the Ayde and the whole companie to come thither. [Sidenote: The maner of their houses in this country.] Vpon the maine land ouer against the Countesses Iland we discovered and behelde to our greate maruell the poore caues and houses of those countrey people, which serue them (as it should seeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome vnder grounde,

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in compasse round, like to an Ouen, being ioyned fast one by another, hauing holes like to a Foxe or Conny berry, to keepe and come together. They vndertrenched these places with gutters so, that the water falling from the hilles aboue them, may slide away without their annoyance: and are seated commonly in the foote of a hill, to shield them better from the cold windes, hauing their doore and entrance euer open towards the South. [Sidenote: Whales bones vsed in stead of timber.] From the ground vpward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one ouer another, are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are couered ouer with Seales skinnes, which in stead of tiles, fence them from the raine. In which house they haue only one roome, hauing the one halfe of the floure raised with broad stones a foot higher than the other, whereon strawing Mosse, they make their nests to sleep in. [Sidenote: The sluttishness of these people.] They defile these dennes most filthily with their beastly feeding, and dwell so long in a place (as we thinke) vntill their sluttishnes lothing them, they are forced to seeke a sweeter ayre, and a new seate, and are (no doubt) a dispersed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, and liue in hords and troupes, without any certaine abode, as may appeare by sundry circumstances of our experience.

[Sidenote: A signe set vp by the sauage captiue, and the meaning thereof.] Here our captiue being ashore with vs, to declare the vse of such things as we saw, stayd himselfe alone behind the company, and did set vp fife small stickes round in a circle one by another, with one smal bone placed iust in the midst of all: which thing when one of our men perceiued, he called vs backe to behold the matter, thinking that hee had meant some charme or witchcraft therein. But the best coniecture we could make thereof was, that hee would thereby his countreymen should vnderstand, that for our fife men which they betrayed the last yeere (whom he signified by the fife stickes) he was taken and kept prisoner, which he signified by the bone in the midst. [Sidenote: The sauage captiue amazed at his countreimans picture.] For afterwards when we shewed him the picture of his countreman, which the last yeere was brought into England (whose counterfeit we had drawen with boate and other furniture, both as he was in his own, and also in English apparel) he was vpon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding aduisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would streine courtesie whether should begin the speech (for he thought him no doubt a liuely creature) at length began to question with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, seemed to suspect him, as one disdeinfull, and would with a little helpe haue growen into choller at the matter, vntill at last by feeling and handling, hee found him but a deceiuing picture. And then with great noise and cryes, ceased not wondring, thinking that we could make men liue or die at our pleasure.

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And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gaue vs plainely to vnderstand by signes, that he had knowledge of the taking of our fiue men the last yeere, and confessing the maner of ech thing, numbred the fiue men vpon his fiue fingers, and pointed vnto a boat in our ship, which was like vnto that wherein our men were betrayed: And when we made him signes, that they were slaine and eaten, he earnestly denied, and made signes to the contrary.

[Sidenote: Another shew of twenty persons of that countrey in one boate.] The last of Iuly the Michael returned with the Aide to vs from the Southerland, and came to anker by vs in the Countesse of Watwicks sound, and reported that since we departed from lackmans sound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, vntill the thirtieth of Iuly, when certaine of our company being a shoare vpon a small Island within the sayd lackmans sound, neere the place where the Aide rode, did espie a long boat with diuers of the countrey people therein, to the number of eightene or twenty persons, whom so soone as our men perceiued, they returned speedily aboard, to giue notice thereof vnto our company. They might perceiue these people climbing vp to the top of a hill, where with a flagge, they wafted vnto our ship, and made great out cries and noyses, like so many Buls. Hereupon our men did presently man foorth a small skiffe, hauing not aboue sixe or seuen persons therein, which rowed neere the place where those people were, to prooue if they could haue any conference with them. But after this small boate was sent a greater, being wel appointed for their rescue, if need required.

As soone as they espied our company comming neere them, they tooke their boates and hasted away, either for feare, or else for pollicie, to draw our men from rescue further within their danger: wherefore our men construing that their comming thither was but to seeke aduantage, followed speedily after them, but they rowed so swiftly away, that our men could come nothing neere them. Howbeit they failed not of their best indeuour in rowing, and hauing chased them aboue two miles into the sea, returned into their ships againe.

[Sidenote: Yorke sound.] The morning following being the first of August, Captaine Yorke with the Michael came into lackmans sound, and declared vnto the company there, that the last night past he came to anker in a certaine baye (which sithens was named Yorke sound) about foure leagues distant from lackmans sound, being put to leeward of that place for lacke of winde, where he discouered certaine tents of the countrey people, where going with his company ashore, he entred into them, but found the people departed, as it should seeme, for feare of their comming. But amongst sundry strange things which in these tents they found, there was rawe and new killed flesh of vnknownen sorts, with dead carcasses and bones of dogs, and I know not what. [Sidenote: The apparel found

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again of our English men which the yere before were taken.] They also beheld (to their greatest marueile) a dublet of Canuas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for contrary feete, and of vnequall bignesse, which they well coniectured to be the apparell of our fiue poore countrey men, which were intercepted the last yeere by these Countrey people, about fiftie leagues from this place, further within the Straights. [Sidenote: A good deuise of Captaine Yorke.] Whereupon our men being in good hope, that some of them might be here, and yet liuing: the Captaine deuising for the best left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, yncke, and paper also, whereby our poore captiue countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends minds, and of their arriuall, and likewise returne their answer. And so without taking any thing away in their tents, leauing there also looking glasses, points, and other of our toyes (the better to allure them by such friendly meanes) departed aboard his Barker, with intent to make haste to the Aide, to giue notice vnto the company of all such things as he had there discovered: and so meant to returne to these tents againe, hoping that he might by force or policie intrappe or intice the people to some friendly conference. Which things when he had deliuered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captaine Yorke with the master of the Aide and his mate (who the night before had bene at the tents, and came ouer from the other side in the Michael with him) being accompanied with the Gentlemen and souldiors to the number of thirty or forty persons in two small rowing Pinnasses made towards the place, where the night before they discovered the tents of those people, and setting Charles lackman, being the Masters mate, ashore with a convenient number, for that he could best guide them to the place, they marched ouer land, meaning to compasse them on the one side, whilst the Captaine with his boates might entrap them on the other side. But landing at last at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents remoued. Notwithstanding, our men which marched vp into the countrey, passing ouer two or three mountaines, by chance espied certaine tents in a valley vnderneath them neere vnto a creeke by the Sea side, which because it was not the place where the guide had bene the night before, they iudged them to be another company, and be setting them about, determined to take them if they could. [Sidenote: The Sauages haue boats of sundry bignes.] But they having quickly descried our companie, launched one great and another smal boat, being about 16 or 18 persons, and very narrowly escaping, put themselves to sea. [Sidenote: The Englishmen pursue those people of that countrey. The swift rowing of those people.] Whereupon our souldiers discharged their Caliuers, and followed them, thinking the noise therof being heard to our boats at sea, our



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men there would make what speede they might to that place. [Sidenote: The bloody point. Yorkes sound.] And thereupon indeede our men which were in the boates (crossing vpon them in the mouth of the sound whereby their passage was let from getting sea roome, wherein it had bene impossible for vs to ouertake them by rowing) forced them to put themselues ashore vpon a point of land within the sayd sound (which vpon the occasion of the slaughter there, was since named The bloody point) whereunto our men so speedily followed, that they had little leisure left them to make any escape. But so soone as they landed each of them brake his Oare, thinking by that meanes to preuent vs, in carrying away their boates for want of Oares. [Sidenote: A hot skirmish betweene the English and them of that countrey.] And desperately returning vpon our men, resisted them manfully in their landing, so long as their arrowes and dartes lasted, and after gathering vp those arrowes which our men shot at them, yea, and plucking our arrowes out of their bodies incountred fresh againe, and maintained their cause vntill both weapons and life fayled them. [Sidenote: The desperate nature of those people.] And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselues headlong from off the rockes into the sea, least perhaps their enemies should receiue glory or prey of their dead carcaises, for they supposed vs belike to be Canibals or eaters of mans flesh. [Sidenote: The taking of the woman and her child.] In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrowes, and of them were slaine fiue or sixe, the rest by flight escaping among the rockes, sauing two women, whereof the one being old and vgly, our men thought shee had bene a deuill or some witch, and therefore let her goe: the other being yong, and cumbred with a sucking childe at her backe, hiding her selfe behind the rockes, was espied by one of our men, who supposing she had bene a man, shot through the haire of her head, and pierced through the childs arme, whereupon she cried out, and our Surgeon meaning to heale her chilles arme, applyed salues thereunto. [Sidenote: A prety kind of surgery which nature teacheth.] But she not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salues away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much vnlike our dogs, healed vp the chilles arme. And because the day was welneere spent our men made haste vnto the rest of our company which on the other side of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparell, letter, and other English furniture, that they were the same company which Captaine Yorke discouered the night before, hauing remoued themselues from the place where he left them.

And now considering their sudden flying from our men, and their desperate maner of fighting, we began to suspect that we had heard the last newes of our men which the last yere were betrayed of these people. And considering also their rauinous and bloody disposition in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion howsoever stinking, it is to bee thought that they had slaine and deuoured our men: For the dublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein being made with their arrowes and darts.

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But now the night being at hand, our men with their captiues and such poore stuffe as they found in their tents, returned towards their ships, when being at sea, there arose a sudden flaw of winde, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates: but as God would they came all safely aboard. And with these good newes they returned (as before mentioned) into the Countesse of Warwicks sound vnto vs. [Sidenote: The narrowest place of the Straites is 9. leagues ouer.] And betweene lackmans sound, from whence they came, and the Countesse of Warwicks sound betweene land, and land, being thought the narrowest place of the Straights were iudged nine leagues ouer at the least: [Sidenote: The Queenes Cape.] and lackmans sound being vpon the Southerland, lyeth directly almost ouer against the Countesses sound, as is reckoned scarce thirty leagues within the Straights from the Queenes Cape, which is the entrance of the Streits of the Southerland. This Cape being named Queene Elizabeths Cape, standeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and a halfe to the Northwards of New found land, and vpon the same continent, for any thing that is yet knowen to the contrary. [Sidenote: The maner of the meeting of the two captiues, and their entertainment.] Hauing now got a woman captiue for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and euery man with silence desired to behold the maner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expressed by writing. At their first encountring they beheld each the other very wistly a good space, without speech or word vttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the grieue and disdeine of their captiuitie had taken away the vse of their tongues and vtterance: the woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as though she minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake vp the silence first, and with sterne and stayed countenance, began to tell a long solemne tale to the woman, whereunto she gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, and afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued without the comfort of the other. And for so much as we could perceiue, albeit they liued continually together, yet they did neuer vse as man and wife, though the woman spared not to doe all necessary things that appertained to a good housewife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that appertained to his ease: for when he was seasicke, she would make him cleane, she would kill and flea the dogs for their eating, and dresse his meate. [Sidenote: The shamefastest and chastity of those Sauage captiues.] Only I think it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would neuer shift himselfe, except he had first caused the woman to depart out of his cabin, and they both were most shamefast, least any of their priue parts should be discouered, either of themselues, or any other body.



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[Sidenote: Another appearance of the countrey people.] On Munday the sixth of August, the Lieutenant with all the Souldiers, for the better garde of the Myners and other things a shore, pitched their tents in the Countesses Island, and fortified the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty persons, when being all at labour, they might perceiue vpon the top of a hill ouer against them a number of the countrey people wafting with a flag, and making great outcries vnto them, and were of the same companie, which had encountred lately our men vpon the other shore, being come to complaine their late losses, and to entreate (as it seemed) for restriction of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away; whereupon, the Generall taking the sauage captiue with him, and setting the woman where they might best perceiue her in the highest place in the Island, went ouer to talke with them. This captiue at his first encounter of his friends fell so out into teares that he could not speake a word in a great space, but after a while, ouercomming his kindnesse, he talked at full with his companions, and bestowed friendly vpon them such toyes and trifles as we had giuen him, whereby we noted, that they are very kind one to another, and greatly sorrowfull for the losse of their friends. Our Generall by signes required his fiue men which they tooke captiue the last yeere, and promised them, not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great gifts and friendship. [Sidenote: Those people know the vse of writing.] Our Sauage made signes in answeere from them that our men should be deliuered vs, and were yet liuing, and made signes likewise vnto vs that we should write our letters vnto them, for they knew very well the vse we haue of writing, and receiued knowledge thereof, either of our poore captiue countrey men which they betrayed, or else by this our new captiue who hath seene vs dayly write and repeate againe such words of his language as we desired to learne: but they for this night, because it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earnestly in hast for the same. [Sidenote: A letter sent vnto the fiue English captiues.] And the next morning early being the seuenth of August, they called againe for the letter, which being deliuered vnto them, they speedily departed, making signes with three fingers, and pointing to the Sunne, that they meant to returne within 3 dayes, vntill which time we heard no more of them, and about the time appointed they returned, in such sort as you shal afterwards heare.

This night because the people were very neere vnto vs, the Lieutenant caused the Trumpet to sound a call, and euery man in the Island repaying to the Ensigne, he put them in minde of the place so farre from their countrey wherein they liued, and the danger of a great multitude which they were subiect vnto, if good watch and warde were not kept, for at euery low water the enimie might come almost dryfoot from the mayne vnto vs, wherefore he willed euery man to prepare him in good readinesse vpon all sudden occasions, and so giuing the watch their charge, the company departed to rest.

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I thought the Captaines letter well worth the remembring, not for the circumstance of curious enditing, but for the substance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore haue repeated here the same, as by himselfe it was hastily written.

The forme of M. Martin Frobishers letter to the English captiues.

In the name of God, in whom we all beleeeue, who (I trust) hath preserued your bodies and soules amongst these infidels, I commend me vnto you. I will be glad to seeke by al meanes you can devise for your deliuerance, either with force, or with any commodities within my ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can doe for you. I haue aboard, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliuer for you, but the man which I caried away from hence the last yeere is dead in England. Moreouer you may declare vnto them, that if they deliuer you not, I will not leaue a man aliue in their countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to speake with mee, they shall haue either the man, woman, or childe in pawne for yon. And thus vnto God whom I trust you doe serue, in hast I leaue you, and to him wee will dayly pray for you. This Tuesday morning the seuenth of August. Anno 1577.

Yours to the vttermost of my power,

*Martin Frobisher.*

[Sidenote: Postscript.] I haue sent you by these bearers, penne, ynke and paper to write backe vnto me againe, if personally you cannot come to certifie me of your estate.

[Sidenote: The cause why M. Frobisher entred no further within the streits this yere.] Now had the Generall altered his determination for going any further into the Streites at this time for any further discouery of the passage, hauing taken a man and a woman of that countrey, which he thought sufficient for the vse of the language: and hauing also met with these people here, which intercepted his men the last yere, (as the apparell and English furniture which was found in their tents, very well declared) he knew it was but a labour lost to seeke further off, when he had found them there at hand. And considering also the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endeouour for the getting of Myne, and to leaue the passage further to be discovered hereafter. For his commission directed him in this voyage, onely for the searching of the Ore, and to deferre the further discouery of the passage vntill another time.

[Sidenote: Bests bulwarke.] On Thursday the ninth of August we began to make a small Fort for our defence in the Countesse Island, and entrenched a corner of a cliffe, which on three parts like a wall of good height was compassed and well fenced with the sea, and we finished the rest with casques of the earth, to good purpose, and this was called Bests bulwarke, after the Lieutenants name, who first deuised the same. This was done for that wee suspected more lest the desperate men might oppresse vs with multitude, then

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any feare we had of their force, weapons, or policie of battel; but as wisdom would vs in such place (so farre from home) not to be of our selues altogether carelesse: [Sidenote: Their King called Catchoe.] so the signes which our captiue made vnto vs, of the comming downe of his Gouvernour or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gaue vs occasion to foresee what might ensue thereof, for he shewed by signes that this Catchoe was a man of higher stature farre then any of our nation is, [Sidenote: How he is honoured.] and he is accustomed to be caried vpon mens shoulders.

About midnight the Lieutenant caused a false Alarme to be giuen in the Island, to proue as well the readines of the company there ashore, as also what helpe might be hoped for vpon the sudden from the ships if need so required, and euery part was found in good readines vpon such a sudden.

Saturday the eleuenth of August the people shewed themselues againe, and called vnto vs from the side of a hil ouer against vs. The General (with good hope to heare of his men, and to haue answere of his letter) went ouer vnto them, where they presented themselues not aboue three in sight, but were hidden indeede in greater numbers behinde the rockes, and making signes of delay with vs to entrappe some of vs to redeeme their owne, did onely seek aduantage to traine our boat aboue a point of land from sight of our companie: [Sidenote: A bladder changed for a looking glasse.] whereupon our men iustly suspecting them, kept aloofe without their danger, and yet set one of our company ashore which tooke vp a great bladder which one of them offered vs, and leauing a looking glasse in the place, came into the boate againe. [Sidenote: No newes of the English captives.] In the meane while our men which stood in the Countesses Island to beholde, who might better discerne them, then those of the boate, by reason they were on higher ground, made a great outcrie vnto our men in the boate, for that they saw diuers of the Sauages creeping behind the rockes towards our men, wherupon the Generall presently returned without tidings of his men.

[Sidenote: To what end the bladder was delivered.] Concerning this bladder which we receiued, our Captiue made signes that it was giuen him to keepe water and drinke in, but we suspected rather it was giuen him to swimme and shift away withall, for he and the woman sought diuers times to escape, hauing loosed our boates from asterne our ships, and we neuer a boate left to pursue them withall, and had preuailed very farre, had they not bene very timely espied and preuented therein.

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[Sidenote: Those people dancing vpon the hil toppes.] After our Generals comming away from them they mustred themselues in our sight, vpon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rancke, all holding hands ouer their heads, and dancing with great noise and songs together: we supposed they made this dance and shew for vs to vnderstand that we might take view of their whole companies and forced, meaning belike that we should doe the same. And thus they continued vpon the hill tops vntill night, when hearing a piece of our great Ordinance, which thundred in the hollownesse of the high hilles, it made vnto them so fearefull a noise, that they had no great will to tarie long after. And this was done more to make them know our force then to doe them any hurt at all.

[Sidenote: A skirmish shewed to those people.] On Sunday the 12 of August, Captaine Fenton trained the company, and made the souldiers maintaine a skirmish among themselues, as well for their exercise, as for the countrey people to behold in what readines our men were alwaies to be found, for it was to be thought, that they lay hid in the hilles thereabout, and obserued all the maner of our proceedings.

[Sidenote: Their flags made of bladders.] On Wednesday the fourteenth of August, our Generall with two small boates well appointed, for that hee suspected the countrey people to lie lurking thereabout, went vp a certaine Bay within the Countesses sound, to search for Ore, and met againe with the countrey people, who so soone as they saw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders sewed together with the guts and sinewes of beasts, wafted vs amaine vnto them, but shewed not aboue three of their company. But when wee came neere them, wee might perceiue a great multitude creeping behinde the rockes, which gaue vs good cause to suspect their traiterous meaning: whereupon we made them signes, that if they would lay their weapons aside, and come foorth, we would deale friendly with them, although their intent was manifested vnto vs: but for all the signes of friendship we could make them they came still creeping towards vs behind the rocks to get more aduantage of vs, as though we had no eyes to see them, thinking belike that our single wits could not discouer so bare deuises and simple drifts of theirs. Their spokesman earnestly perswaded vs with many intising shewes, to come eate and sleepe ashore, with great arguments of courtesie, and clapping his bare hands ouer his head in token of peace and innocencie, willed vs to doe the like. [Sidenote: Great offers.] But the better to allure our hungry stomackes, he brought vs a trimme baite of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boat-hooke wee caught into our boate: but when the cunning Cater perceiued his first cold morsell could nothing sharpen our stomacks, he cast about for a new traine of warme flesh to procure our appetites, wherefore be caused one of his fellowes in halting maner, to

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come forth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnes in caruing, he hoised him vpon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the water side where we were, left him there limping as an easie prey to be taken of vs. His hope was that we would bite at this baite, and speedily leape ashore within their danger, wherby they might haue apprehended some of vs, to ransom their friends home againe, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and souldiers had great will to encounter them ashore, but the Generall more carefull by processe of time to winne them, then wilfully at the first to spoile them, would in no wise admit that any man should put himselfe in hazard ashore, considering the matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conquest: notwithstanding to prooue this cripples footemanship, he gaue liberty for one to shoote: whereupon the cripple hauing a parting blow, lightly recouered a rocke and went away a true and no fained cripple, and hath learned his lesson for euer halting afore such cripples againe. But his fellowes which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likenesse, and maintained the skirmish with their slings, bowes and arrowes very fiercely, and came as neere as the water suffred them: and with as desperate minde as hath bene seene in any men, without feare of shotte or any thing, followed vs all along the coast, but all their shot fell short of vs, and are of little danger. [Sidenote: An hundreth Sauages.] They had belayed all the coast along for vs, and being dispersed so, were not well to be numbred, but wee might discerne of them aboue an hundreth persons, and had cause to suspect a greater number. And thus without losse or hurt we returned to our ships againe.

Now our worke growing to an end, and hauing, onely with fiue poore Miners, and the helpe of a few gentlemen and souldiers, brought aboard almost two hundreth tunne of Ore in the space of twenty dayes, euery man therewithall well comforted, determined lustily to worke a fresh for a bone[69] voyage, to bring our labour to a speedy and happy ende.

And vpon Wednesday at night, being the one and twentieth of August, we fully finished the whole worke. And it was now good time to leaue, for as the men were well wearied, so their shooes and clothes were well worne, their baskets bottoms torne out, their tooles broken, and the ships reasonably well filled. Some with ouer-straining themselues receiued hurts not a little dangerous, some hauing their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the yce began to congeale and freeze about our ships sides a night, which gaue vs a good argument of the Sunnes declining Southward, and put vs in mind to make more haste homeward.

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and souldiers herein, who leauing all reputation apart, with so great willingnesse and with couragious stomackes, haue themselues almost overcome in so short a time the difficultie of this so great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it bee well weyed without further prooffe, now brought home doth well witnesse.

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Thursday the 22 of August, we plucked downe our tents, and euery man hasted homeward, and making bonfires vpon the top of the highest Mount of the Island, and marching with Ensigne displayed round about the Island, wee gaue a vollie of shotte for a farewell, in honour of the right honourable Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwicke, whose name it beareth: and so departed aboard.

[Sidenote: They returne.] The 23 of August hauing the wind large at West, we set saile from out of the Countesses sound homeward, but the wind calming we came to anker within the point of the same sound againe.

The 24 of August about three of the clocke in the morning, hauing the wind large at West, we set saile againe, and by nine of the clocke at night, wee left the Queenes Foreland asterne of vs, and being cleere of the Streites, we bare further into the maine Ocean, keeping our course more Southerly, to bring our selues the sooner vnder the latitude of our owne climate.

[Sidenote: Snow halfe a foote deepe in August.] The wind was very great at sea, so that we lay a hull all night, and had snow halfe a foote deepe on the hatches.

From the 24 vntil the 28 we had very much wind, but large, keeping our course Southsoutheast, and had like to haue lost the Barkes, but by good hap we met againe. The height being taken, we were in [70]degrees and a halfe.

The 29 of August the wind blew much at Northeast, so that we could beare but onely a bunt of our foresaile, and the Barkes were not able to cary any sayle at all.

The Michael lost company of vs and shaped her course towards Orkney because that way was better knowne vnto them, and arriued at Yermouth.

[Sidenote: The Master of the Gabriell strooken ouerboard.] The 30 of August with the force of the wind, and a surge of the sea, the Master of the Gabriel and the boatswain were stricken both ouerboard, and hardly was the boatswain recouered, hauing hold on a roape hanging ouerboard in the sea, and yet the barke was laced fore and after with ropes a breast high within boorde.

This Master was called William Smith, being but a yong man and a very sufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleasant, told his Captaine he dreamed that he was cast ouerboard, and that the Boatswain had him by the hand, and could not saue him, and so immediately vpon the end of his tale, his dreame came right euilly to passe, and indeed the Boatswain in like sort held him by one hand, hauing hold on a rope with the other, vntill his force fayled, and the Master drowned. The height being taken we found ourselues to be in the latitude of [71] degrees and a halfe, and reckoned our selues from the Queenes Cape homeward about two hundreth leagues.

The last of August about midnight, we had two or three great and sudden flaws or stormes.



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The first of September the storme was growen very great, and continued almost the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarrie for the Barkes our ship was much beaten with the seas, euery sea almost ouertaking our poope, so that we were constrained with a bunt of our saile to trie it out, and ease the rolling of our ship. And so the Gabriel not able to beare any sayle to keepe company with vs, and our ship being higher in the poope, and a tall ship, whereon the winde had more force to driue, went so fast away that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of Sea.

[Sidenote: The Rudder of the Aide torne in twain.] The second day of September in the morning, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send vs a calme, whereby we perceiued the Rudder of our ship torne in twaine, and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefite of the time, we flung half a dozen couple of our best men ouer boord, who taking great paines vnder water, driuing planks, and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and mend the matter, who returned the most part more then halfe dead out of the water, and as Gods pleasure was, the sea was calme vntill the worke was finished. The fift of September, the height of the Sunne being taken, we found our selues to be in the latitude of [72] degrees and a halfe. [Sidenote: How the latitudes were alwayes taken in this voyage rather with the Staffe then Astrolabe.] In this voyage commonly wee tooke the latitude of the place by the height of the sunne, because the long day taketh away the light not onely of the Polar, but also of all other fixed Starres. And here the North Starre is so much eleuated aboue the Horizon, that with the staffe it is hardly to bee well obserued, and the degrees in the Astrolabe are too small to obserue minutes: Therefore wee alwaies vsed the Staffe and the sunne as fittest instruments for this vse.

Hauing spent foure or fiue dayes in trauerse of the seas with contrary winde, making our Souther way good as neere as we could, to raise our degrees to bring ourselues with the latitude of Sylley, wee tooke the height the tenth of September, and found our selues in the latitude of [73] degrees and ten minutes. The eleuenth of September about sixe a clocke at night the winde came good Southwest, we vered sheat and set our course Southeast.

And vpon Thursday, the twelfth of September, taking the height, we were in the latitude of [74] and a halfe, and reckoned our selues not past one hundred and fifty leagues short of Sylley, the weather faire, the winde large at Westsouthwest, we kept our course Southeast.

The thirteenth day the height being taken, wee found our selues to be in the latitude of [75] degrees, the wind Westsouthwest, then being in the height of Sylley, and we kept our course East, to run in with the sleeue or chanel so called, being our narrow seas, and reckoned vs short of Sylley twelue leagues.

Sonday, the 15 of September about foure of the clocke, we began to sound with our lead, and had ground at 61 fadome depth, white small sandy ground, and reckoned vs



vpon the backe of Sylley, and set our course East and by North, Eastnortheast, and Northeast among.

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The sixteenth of September, about eight of the clocke in the morning sounding, we had 65. fadome osey[76] sand, and thought our selues thwart of S. Georges channell a little within the banks. And bearing a small saile all night, we made many soundings, which were about fortie fadome, and so shallow, that we could not well tell where we were.

The seuenteenth of September we sounded, and had forty fadome, and were not farre off the lands end, finding branded sand with small wormes and Cockle shells, and were shotte betweene Sylley and the lands ende, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the pointe with a South and by East way, but were faine to make another boord, the wind being at Southwest and by West, and yet could not double the point to come cleere of the lands end, to beare along the channell: and the weather cleered vp when we were hard aboard the shore, and we made the lands end perfit, and so put vp along Saint Georges channel. [Sidenote: The arriual of the Aide at Padstow in Cornwall.] And the weather being very foule at sea, we coueted some harborough, because our steerage was broken, and so came to ancor in Padstow road in Cornwall. But riding there a very dangerous roade, we were aduised by the Countrey, to put to Sea againe, and of the two euils, to chose the lesse, for there was nothing but present perill where we rode: [Sidenote: Our comming to Milford Hauen.] whereupon we plyed along the channell to get to Londy, from whence we were againe driuen, being but an open roade, where our anker came home, and with force of weather put to Seas againe, and about the three and twentieth of September, arriued at Milford Hauen in Wales, which being a very good harborough, made vs happy men, that we had receiued such long desired safetie.

About one moneth after our arriuall here, by order from the Lords of the Counsell, the ship came up to Bristow, where the Ore was committed to keeping in the Castel there. [Sidenote: The arriuall of the Gabriel at Bristow.] Here we found the Gabriel one of the Barkes, arriued in good safetie, who hauing neuer a man within boord very sufficient to bring home the ship, after the Master was lost, by good fortune, when she came vpon the coast, met with a ship of Bristow at sea, who conducted her in safety thither.

[Sidenote: The Michael arriued in the North parts. Only one man died the voyage.] Here we heard good tidings also of the arriuall of the other Barke called the Michael, in the North parts, which was not a little ioyful vnto vs, that it pleased God so to bring vs to a safe meeting againe, and wee lost in all that voyage only one man, besides one that dyed at sea, which was sicke before he came aboard, and was so desirous to follow this enterprise, that he rather chose to dye therein, then not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage.

The third voyage of Captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discouery of Cataia, by Meta Incognita, Anno Do, 1578.

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The Generall being returned from the second voyage, immediately after his arriual in England repaired with all hast to the Court being then at Windsore, to aduertise her Majestie of his prosperous proceeding, and good successe in this last voyage, and of the plenty of gold Ore, with other matters of importance which he had in those Septentrionall parts discovered. [Sidenote: M. Frobisher commended of her Maiestie.] He was courteously enterteyned, and heartily welcommed of many noble men, but especially for his great aduenture, commended of her Maiestie, at whose hands he receiued great thankes, and most gracious countenance, according to his deserts. [Sidenote: The Gentlemen commended.] Her Highnesse also greatly commended the rest of the Gentlemen in this seruice, for their great forwardnes in this so dangerous an attempt: but especially she reioyced very much, that among them there was so good order of gouernment, so good agreement, euery man so ready in his calling, to do whatsoeuer the Generall should command, which due commendation gratusly of her Maiestie remembred, gaue so great encouragement to all the Captaines and Gentlemen, that they to continue her Highnesse so good and honourable opinion of them, haue since neither spared labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter (so well begun) to a happie and prosperous ende. [Sidenote: Commissioners appointed to examine the goodnesse of the Ore.] And finding that the matter of the golde Ore had appearance and made shew of great riches and profit, and the hope of the passage to Cataya, by this last voyage greatly increased, her Maiestie appointed speciall Commissioners chosen for this purpose, gentlemen of great iudgement, art, and skill, to looke thorowly into the cause, for the true triall and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. [Sidenote: A name giuen to the place new discovered.] And because that place and countrey hath neuer heretofore bene discovered, and therefore had no speciall name, by which it might be called and known, her Maiestie named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a marke and bound vtterly hitherto vnknown. The commissioners after sufficient triall and prooffe made of the Ore, and hauing vnderstood by sundrie reasons, and substantiall grounds, the possibilitie and likelihood of the passage, aduertised her highnesse, that the cause was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be aduanced againe. Wherevpon preparation was made of ships and all other things necessary, with such expedition, as the time of the yeere then required. And because it was assuredly made accompt of, that the commoditie of Mines, there already discovered, would at the least counteruaille in all respects the aduenturers charge, and giue further hope and likelihood of greater matters to follow: [Sidenote: The hope of the passage to Cataya.] it was thought needfull, both for the better guard of those parts already found, and for further discovery

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of the Inland and secrets of those countreys, and also for further search of the passage to Cataya (whereof the hope continually more and more increaseth) that certaine numbers of chosen souldiers and discreet men for those purposes should be assigned to inhabite there. [Sidenote: A forte to be built in Meta Incognita.] Wherevpon there was a strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed, and cunningly devised by a notable learned man here at home, in ships to be caried thither, wherby those men that were appointed to winter and stay there the whole yere, might as well bee defended from the danger of snow and colde ayre, as also fortified from the force or offence of those countrey people, which perhaps otherwise with too great multitudes might oppresse them. And to this great aduventure and notable exploit many well minded and forward yong Gentlemen of our countrey willingly haue offered themselues. And first Captaine Fenton Lieutenant generall for Captaine Frobisher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captaine Best, and Captaine Filpot, vnto whose good discretions the gouernment of that seruice was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in respect of the profit and common wealth of their countrey, were willing to abide the first brunt and aduventure of those dangers among a sauage and brutish kinde of people, in a place hitherto euer thought for extreme cold not habitable. [Sidenote: A hundreth men appointed to inhabite there.] The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabite Meta Incognita all the yeere, were one hundreth persons, whereof 40 should be mariners for the vse of ships, 30 Miners for gathering the gold Ore together for the next yere, and 30 souldiers for the better guard of the rest, within which last number are included the Gentlemen, Goldfiners, Bakers, Carpenters, and all necessary persons. To each of the Captaines was assigned one ship, as wel for the further searching of the coast and countrey there, as for to returne and bring backe their companies againe, if the necessity of the place so vrged, or by miscarrying of the fleet the next yere, they might be disappointed of their further prouision. Being therefore thus furnished with al necessaries, there were ready to depart vpon the said voyage 15 saile of good ships, whereof the whole number was to returne again with their loding of gold Ore in the end of the sommer, except those 3 ships, which should be left for the vse of those Captains which should inhabite there the whole yere. And being in so good readinesse, the Generall with all the Captaines came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leaue of her Maiestie, at whose hands they all receiued great encouragement, and gracious countenance. [Sidenote: A chaine of gold giuen to M. Frobisher.] Her highnesse besides other good gifts, and greater promises, bestowed on the Generall a faire chaine of golde, and the rest of the Captaines kissed her hand, tooke their leaue, and departed euery man towards their charge.

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The names of the Ships with their seuerall Captaines.

1 In the Aide being Admirall, was the Generall Captaine Frobisher.

2 In the Thomas Allen Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke.

3 In the Iudith Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton.

4 In the Anne Francis Captaine Best.

5 In the Hopewell Captaine Carew.

6 In the Beare Captaine Filpot.

7 In the Thomas of Ipswich Captaine Tanfield.

8 In the Emmanuel of Exceter Captaine Courtney.

9 In the Francis of Foy Captaine Moyles.

10 In the Moone Captaine Vpcot.

11 In the Emmanuel of Bridgewater Captaine Newton.

12 In the Salomon of Weymouth Captaine Randal.

13 In the Barke Dennis Captaine Kendal.

14 In the Gabriel Captaine Haruey.

15 In the Michael Captaine Kinnersly.

The sayd fifteene saile of ships arriued and met together at Harwich, the seuen and twentieth day of May Anno 1578, where the Generall and the other Captaines made view, and mustred their companies. And euery seuerall Captaine receiued from the Generall certaine Articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth.

Articles and orders to be obserued for the Fleete, set downe by Captaine Frobisher Generall, and deliuered in writing to euery Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the course, the 31 of May.

1 In primis, to banish swearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serue God twice a day, with the ordinary seruice vsuall in Churches of England, and to cleare the glasse, according to the old order of England.



2 The Admirall shall carie the light, and after his light be once put out, no man to goe a head of him, but euery man to fit his sailes to follow as neere as they may, without endangering one another.

3 That no man shall by day or by night depart further from the Admirall then the distance of one English mile, and as neere as they may, without danger one of another.

4 If it chance to grow thicke, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admirall be forced to cast about, before her casting about shee shall giue warning, by shooting off a peece, and to her shall answere the Viceadmirall and the Rereadmirall each of them with a piece, if it bee by night, or in a fogge; and that the Viceadmirall shall answere first, and the Rereadmirall last.

5 That no man in the fleete descrying any sayle or sayles, giue vpon any occasion any chace before he haue spoken with the Admirall.

6 That euery euening all the Fleete come vp and speake with the Admirall, at seuen of the Clocke or betweene that and eight and if the weather will not serue them all to speake with the Admirall, then some shall come to the Viceadmirall, and receiue the order of their course of Master Hall chiefe Pilot of the Fleete, as he shall direct them.

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7 If to any man in the Fleete there happen any mischance, they shall presently shoote off two peeces by day, and if it be by night, two peeces, and shew two lights.

8 If any man in the fleete come vp in the night, and hale his fellow, knowing him not, he shall giue him this watch-word, Before the world was God. The other shal answere him (if he be one of our Fleete) After God came Christ his Sonne. So that if any be found amongst vs, not of our owne company, he that first descrieth any such sayle or sayles, shall giue warning to the Admirall by himselfe or any other, that he can speake to, that sailes better then he, being neerest vnto him.

9 That every ship in the fleete in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and most part calmes, shal keepe a reasonable noise with trumpet, drumme, or otherwise, to keepe themselues cleere one of another.

10 If it fall out so thicke or mistie that we lay it to hull, the Admirall shall giue warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one ouer another, to the end that euery man may take in his sailes, and at his setting of sayles againe doe the like if it be not cleere.

11 If any man discover land by night, that he giue the like warning, that he doth for mischances, two lights, and two peeces, if it be by day one piece, and put out his flagge, and strike all his sailes he hath aboard.

12 If any ship shall happen to lose company by force of weather, then any such ship or ships shall get her into the latitude of [77] and so keepe that latitude vntill they get Frisland. And after they be past the West parts of Frisland, they shall get them into the latitude of [78] and [79] and not to the Northward of [80] and being once entred within the Streites, al such ships shal euery watch shoote off a good piece, and looke out well for smoke and fire, which those that get in first shall make euery night, vntill all the fleete be come together.

13 That vpon the sight of an ensigne in the mast of the Admirall (a piece being shot off) the whole fleete shall repaire to the Admirall, to vnderstand such conference as the Generall is to haue with them.

14 If we chance to meete with any enemies, that foure ships shall attend vpon the Admirall, viz. the Francis of Foy, the Moone, the Barke Dennis, and the Gabriel: and foure vpon my Lieutenant generall in the Iudith, viz. the Hopewel, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon: and the other foure vpon the Vizadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, the Emmanuel, and the Michael.

15 If there happen any disordred person in the Fleete, that he be taken and kept in safe custodie vntill he may conueniently be brought aboard the Admirall, and there to receiue such punishment as his or their offences shall deserue.



By me Martin Frobisher.

Our departure from England.



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Hauing receiued these articles of direction we departed from Harwich the one and thirtieth of May. [Sidenote: Cape Cleare the sixt of Iune.] And sayling along the South part of England Westward, we at length came by the coast of Ireland at Cape Cleare the sixth of Iune, and gaue chase there to a small barke which was supposed to be a Pyrat, or Rouer on the Seas, but it fell out indeede that they were poore men of Bristow, who had met with such company of Frenshmen as had spoiled and slaine many of them, and left the rest so sore wounded that they were like to perish in the sea, hauing neither hand nor foote hole to helpe themselues with, nor victuals to sustaine their hungry bodies. [Sidenote: A charitable deede.] Our Generall, who well vnderstood the office of a Souldier and an Englishman, and knew well what the necessitie of the Sea meaneth, pitying much the miserie of the poore men, relieved them with Surgerie and Salues to heale their hurtes, and with meate and drinke to comfort their pining hearts: some of them hauing neither eaten nor dronke more then oliues and stinking water in many dayes before, as they reported. And after this good deede done, hauing a large wind, we kept our course vpon our sayd voyage without staying for the taking in of fresh water, or any other prouision, whereof many of the fleete were not thoroughly furnished: [Sidenote: Marke this current.] and sayling towards the Northwest parts from Ireland, we mette with a great current from out of the Southwest, which caried vs (by our reckoning) one point to the Northeastwards of our sayd course, which current seemed to vs to continue it selfe towards Norway, and other the Northeast parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to beleeeue, that this is the same which the Portugals meete at Capo de buona Speranza,[81] where striking ouer from thence to the Streites of Magellan, and finding no passage there for the narrownesse of the sayde Streites, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico, where also hauing a let of land, it is forced to strike backe againe towards the Northeast,[82] as we not onely here, but in another place also, further to the Northwards, by good experience this yeere haue found, as shalbe hereafter in his place more at large declared.

Now had we sayled about fourteene dayes, without sight of any land, or any other liuing thing, except certaine foules, as Wilmots, Nodies, Gullles, &c. which there seeme onely to liue by sea.

[Sidenote: West England.] The twentieth of Iune, at two of the clocke in the morning, the Generall descried land, and found it to be West Frisland, now named west England. Here the Generall, and other Gentlemen went ashore, being the first knowen Christians that we haue true notice of, that euer set foot vpon that ground: and therefore the Generall took possession thereof to the vse of our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie, and discovered here a goodly harborough for the ships, where were also certaine little boates of that countrey. And being there landed, they espied certaine tents and people of that countrey, which were (as they iudge) in all sorts, very like those of Meta Incognita, as by their apparell, and other things which we found in their tents, appeared.

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The Sauage and simple people so soone as they perceiued our men comming towards them (supposing there had bene no other world but theirs) fled fearefully away, as men much amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of humane shape, so farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themselues. They left in their tents all their furniture for haste behind them, where amongst other things were found a boxe of small nailes, and certaine red Herrings, boords of Firre tree well cut, with diuers other things artificially wrought: whereby it appeareth, that they haue trade with some ciuill people, or else are indeede themselues artificiall workmen.

Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leauing in recompense belles, looking-glasses, and diuers of our countrey toyes behinde them.

This countrey, no doubt, promiseth good hope of great commoditie and riches, if it may be well discouered. The description whereof you shall finde more at large in the second voyage.

[Sidenote: Frisland supposed to be continent with Greenland.] Some are of opinion, that this West England is firme land with the Northeast partes of Meta Incognita, or else with Groenland. And their reason is, because the people, apparel, boates, and other things are so like to theirs: and another reason is, the multitude of Islands of yce, which lay betweene it and Meta Incognita, doth argue, that on the North side there is a bay, which cannot be but by conioyning of the two lands together.

[Sidenote: The 23rd of Iune.] And hauing a faire and large winde we departed from thence towards Frobishers Streites, the three and twentieth of Iune. [Sidenote: Charing Crosse.] But first wee gaue name to a high cliffe in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certaine sinulitude we called it Charing crosse. Then wee bare Southerly towards the Sea, because to the Northwardes of this coast we met with much driuing yce, which by reason of the thicke mistes and weather might haue bene some trouble vnto vs.

On Munday the last of Iune, wee met with many great Whales, as they had bene Porposes.

[Sidenote: A Whale strooke a ship.] The same day the Salamander being vnder both her corses and bonets, happened to strike a great Whale with her full stemme, with such a blow that the ship stooode still, and stirred neither forward or backward. The Whale thereat made a great and vgly noyse, and cast vp his body and taile, and sowent vnder water, and within two dayes after, there was found a great Whale dead swimming aboue water, which wee supposed was that which the Salamander strooke.

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[Sidenote: Frobishers Streites choked vp with yce.] The second day of Iuly early in the morning we had sight of the Queenes Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and passing thorow great quantity of yce, by night were entred somewhat within the Streites, perceiuing no way to passe further in, the whole place being frozen ouer from the one side to the other, and as it were with many walles, mountaines, and bulwarks of yce, choked vp the passage, and denied vs entrance. And yet doe I not thinke that this passage or Sea hereabouts is frozen ouer at any time of the yere: albeit it seemed so vnto vs by the abundance of yce gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I doe rather suppose these yce to bee bred in the hollow soundes and freshets thereabouts: which by the heate of the Summers Sunne, being loosed, doe emptie themselues with the ebbes into the sea, and so gather in great abundance there together.

And to speake somewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen sea in these parts: I doe thinke it to be rather a bare coniecture of men, then that euer any man hath made experience of any such Sea. And that which they speake of Mare glaciale, may be truely thought to be spoken of these parts: [Sidenote: Salt water cannot freeze.] for this may well be called indeede the ycie sea, but not the frozen sea, for no sea consisting of salt water can be frozen, as I haue more at large herein shewed my opinion in my second voyage, for it seemeth impossible for any sea to bee frozen, which hath his course of ebbing and flowing, especially in those places where the tides doe ebbe and flowe aboue ten fadome. And also all these aforesayd yce, which we sometime met a hundredth mile from lande, being gathered out of the salt Sea, are in taste fresh, and being dissolued, become sweete and wholesome water.[83]

And the cause why this yere we haue bene more combred with yce then at other times before, may be by reason of the Easterly and Southerly winds, which brought vs more timely thither now then we looked for. Which blowing from the sea directly vponn the place of our Streites, hath kept in the yce, and not suffered them to be caried out by the ebbe to the maine sea, where they would in more short time have bene dissolued. And all these fleeting yce are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so neere together, that a man may passe sometimes tenne or twelue miles as it were vpon one firme Island of yce: but also for that they open and shut together againe in such sort with the tides and sea-gate, that whilst one ship followeth the other with full sayles, the yce which was open vnto the foremost will ioyne and close together before the latter can come to follow the first, whereby many times our shippes were brought into great danger, as being not able so sodainely to take in our sayles or stay the swift way of our ships.

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We were forced many times to stemme and strike great rockes of yce, and so as it were make way through mighty mountaines. By which meanes some of the fleete, where they found the yce to open, entred in, and passed so farre within the danger thereof, with continuall desire to recouer their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they euer escaped safe, or were euer heard of againe. For euen at this present we missed two of the fleete, that is, the Iudith, wherein was the Lieutenant Generall Captaine Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we supposed had bene vtterly lost, hauing not heard any tidings of them in moe then 20 dayes before.

[Sidenote: Barke Dennis sunke.] And one of our fleete named the Barke Dennis, being of an hundreth tunne burden, seeking way in amongst these yce, receiued such a blow with a rocke of yce that she sunke downe therewith in the sight of the whole fleete. Howbeit hauing signified her danger by shooting off a peece of great Ordinance, new succour of other ships came so readily vnto them, that the men were all saued with boats.

[Sidenote: Part of the house lost.] Within this ship that was drowned there was parcell of our house which was to bee erected for them that should stay all the Winter in Meta Incognita.

This was a more fearefull spectacle for the Fleete to beholde, for that the outrageous storme which presently followed, threatned them the like fortune and danger. For the Fleete being thus compassed (as aforesayd) on euery side with yce, having left much behinde them, thorow which they passed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not possible to passe, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the Southeast, which blowing from the maine sea, directly vpon the place of the Streites, brought together all the yce a sea-boorde of vs vpon our backes, and thereby debard vs of turning backe to recouer sea-roome againe: so that being thus compassed with danger on euery side, sundry men with sundry deuises sought the best way to saue themselues. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little birth of sea roome, did take in their sayles, and there lay a drift. Other some fastened and mored Anker vpon a great Island of yce, and roade vnder the Lee thereof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting yce. And againe some were so fast shut vp, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countreys and Islands of yce, that they were faine to submit themselues and their ships to the mercy of the vnmerciful yce, and strengthened the sides of their shipps with iuncks of cables, beds, Mastes, planks and such like, which being hanged ouerboard on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said yce. But as in greatest distresse, men of best valor are best to be discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with

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what inuincible minde euery Captaine encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painefull Mariners and poore Miners (vnacquainted with such extremities) to the euerlasting renowne of our nation, did ouercome the brunt of these so great and extreme dangers: for some, even without boord vpon the yce, and some within boord vpon the sides of their ships, hauing poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and Ores in their handes, stoode almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the yce with such incredible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde, which otherwise no doubt had striken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former prouision: for planks of timber more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bignesse, by the surging of the sea and billowe, with the yce were shiuered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainely to bee prooued, and that by many substantiall witnesses, that our ships, euen those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waues of the sea, were heaued vp betweene Islands of yce, a foote welneere out of the sea aboue their watermarke, hauing their knees and timbers within boord both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilst some laboured for defence of the ships, and sought to saue their bodies, other some of more milder spirit sought to saue the soule by deuout prayer and meditation to the Almightye, thinking indeede by no other meanes possible then by a diuine Miracle to haue their deliuerance: so that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himselfe in best securitie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remayning for his best safetie.

Thus all the gallant Fleete and miserable men without hope of euer getting foorth againe, distressed with these extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting foure ships, that is the Annie Francis, the Moone, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriell, which being somewhat a Seaboord of the Fleete, and being fast ships by a winde, hauing a more scope of cleare, tryed it out all the time of the storme vnder sayle, being hardly able to beare a coast of each.

And albeit, by reason of the fleeting yce, which were dispersed here almost the whole sea ouer, they were brought many times to the extreamest point of perill, mountaines of yce tenne thousand times scaping them scarce one ynch, which to have striken had bene their present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the unwioldinesse of them to stay and turne as a man would wish: yet they esteemed it their better safetie, with such perill to seeke Sea-roome, then without hope of euer getting libertie to lie striuing against the streame, and beating

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against the Isie mountaines, whose hugenesse and monstrous greatnesse was such, that no man would credite, but such as to their paines sawe and felt it. And these foure shippes by the next day at noone got out to Sea, and were first cleare of the yce, who now enjoying their owne libertie, beganne a new to sorrow and feare for their fellowes safeties. And deuoutly kneeling about their maine Mast, they gaue vnto God humble thanks, not only for themselues, but besought him likewise highly for their friendes deliuerance. And euen now whilst amidst these extremities this gallant Fleete and valiant men were altogether ouerlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the foresayd dangers, it pleased God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heauen to sende them helpe in good time, giuing them the next day a more favourable winde at the West Northwest, which did not onely disperse and driue forth the yce before them, but also gaue them libertie of more scope and Sea-roume, and they were by night of the same day following perceiued of the other foure shippes, where (to their greatest comfort) they enjoyed againe the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting vp their top Mastes, and mending their sayles and tacklings; Againe, some complayning of their false Stemme borne away, some in stopping their leakes, some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time and labour. So that I dare well auouch, there were neuer men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully by Gods prouidence deliuered. And hereof both the torne ships, and the forweariied bodies of the men arriued doe beare most euident marke and witnesse. And now the whole Fleete plyed off to Seaward, resolving there to abide vntill the Sunne might consume, or the force of winde disperse these yce from the place of their passage; and being a good birth off the shore, they tooke in their sailes, and lay adrift.

[Sidenote: Another assault.] The seuenth of Iuly as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about towards the inward, and had sight of land, which rose in forme like the Northerland of the straights, which some of the Fleete, and those not the worst Marriners, iudged to be the North Foreland: howbeit other some were of contrary opinion. [Sidenote: Fogge, snow, and mistes hinder the Mariners markes.] But the matter was not well to be discerned by reason of the thicke fogge which a long time hung vpon the coast, and the new falling snow which yeerely altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Mariners markes. And by reason of the darke mists which continued by the space of twentie dayes together, this doubt grewe the greater and the longer perilous. [Sidenote: A swift current from the Northeast.] For whereas indeede we thought ourselues to be vpon the Northeast side of Frobishers straights, we were now caried to the Southwestwards of the Queenes Foreland, and being deceiued by a swift current comming from the Northeast, were brought to the Southwestwards of our said course many miles more then we did thinke possible could come to passe. The cause whereof we haue since found, and it shall be at large hereafter declared.



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[Sidenote: A current.] Here we made a point of land which some mistooke for a place in the straights called Mount Warwicke: but how we should be so farre shot vp so suddainely within the said straights the expertest Mariners began to maruell, thinking it a thing impossible that they could be so farre ouertaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceiue them here which they had not by former experience prooued and found out. Howbeit many confessed that they found a swifter course of flood then before time they had obserued. And truely it was wonderfull to heare and see the rushing and noise that the tides do make in this place with so violent a force that our ships lying a hull were turned sometimes round about euen in a moment, after the maner of a whirlepoole, and the noyse of the streame no lesse to be heard afarre off, then the waterfall of London Bridge.

[Sidenote: Iames Beare a good Mariner.] But whilst the Fleete lay thus doubtfull amongst great store of yce in a place they knew not without sight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and so to know the true eleuation of the pole, and without any cleere of light to make perfite the coast, the Generall with the Captaines and Masters of his ships, began doubtfully to question of the matter, and sent his Pinnesse aboard to heare each man's opinion, and specially of Iames Beare, Master of the Anne Francis, who was known to be a sufficient and skillfull Mariner, and hauing bene there the yere before, had wel obserued the place, and drawen out Cardes of the coast. [Sidenote: Christopher Hall chiefe Pylot.] But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Christopher Hall chiefe Pilot of the voyage, deliuered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole Fleete, that hee had neuer seene the foresayd coast before, and that he not could make it for any place of Frobishers Streits, as some of the Fleete supposed, and yet the landes doe lie and trend so like, that the best Mariners therein may bee deceiued.

The tenth of Iuly, the weather still continuing thicke and darke, some of the ships in the fogge lost sight of the Admirall and the rest of the fleete, and wandering to and fro, with doubtfull opinion whether it were best to seeke backe againe to seaward through great store of yce, or to follow on a doubtfull course in a Sea, Bay, or Streites they knew not, or along a coast, whereof by reason of the darke mistes they could not discerne the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground should lie of the place, as commonly in these parts it doth.

The Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke considering the foresayd opinion of the Pylot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, hauing lost sight of the Fleete, turned backe to sea againe hauing two other ships in company with him.

Also the Captain of the Anne Francis hauing likewise lost companie of the Fleete, and being all alone, held it for best to turne it out to sea againe, vntill they might haue cleere weather to take the Sunnes altitude, and with incredible paine and perill got out of the doubtfull place, into the open Sea againe, being so narrowly distressed by the way, by meanes of continuall fogge and yce, that they were many times ready to leapt vpon an

Island of yce to auoide the present danger, and so hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death.



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[Sidenote: Hard shifts to saue mens liues.] Some hoped to saue themselues on chestes, and some determined to tie the Hatches of the ships together, and to binde themselues with their furniture fast thereunto, and so to be towed with the ship bote ashore, which otherwise could not receiue halfe of the companie, by which meanes if happily they had arriued they should eyther haue perished for lacke of foode to eate, or else should themselues haue beene eaten of those rauenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people.

The rest of the Fleete following the course of the Generall which led them the way, passing vp aboue sixtie leagues [Sidenote: The coast along the Southside of Gronland 60 leagues.] within the saide doubtfull and supposed straights, hauing alwayes a faire continuent vpon their starreboorde side, and a continuance still of an open Sea before them.

[Sidenote: Mistaken straights which indeed are no straights.] The Generall albeit with the first perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the olde straights, yet he perswaded the Fleete alwayes that they were in their right course, and knowne straights. Howbeit I suppose he rather dissembled his opinion therein then otherwise, meaning by that policie (being himselfe led with an honourable desire of further discouerie) to induce the Fleete to follow him, to see a further prooue of that place.

[Sidenote: Frobisher could haue passed to Cataia.] And as some of the companie reported, he hath since confessed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ships, he both would and could haue gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolued the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to find to the rich countrey of Cataya.

1 Of which mistaken straights, considering the circumstance, we haue great cause to confirme our opinion, to like and hope well of the passage in this place. [Sidenote: Faire open way.] For the foresaid Bay or Sea, the further we sayled therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endlesse continuance. [Sidenote: Reasons to prooue a passage here.] And where in other places we were much troubled with yce, as in the entrance of the same, so after we had sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues therein we had no let of yce or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

[Sidenote: Great indrafts.] 2 Also this place seemeth to haue a maruellous great indraft, and draweth vnto it most of the drift yce, and other things which doe fleete in the Sea, either to the North or Eastwards of the same, as by good experience we haue found.

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[Sidenote: A current to the West.] 3 For here also we met with boordes, lathes, and diuers other things driuing in the Sea, which was of the wracke of the ship called the Barke Dennis, which perished amongst the yce as beforesaid, being lost at the first attempt of the entrance ouerthwart the Queenes forelande in the mouth of Frobishers straights, which could by no meanes haue bene so brought thither, neither by winde nor tyde, being lost so many leagues off, if by force of the said current the same had not bene violently brought. For if the same had bene brought thither by tide of flood, looke how farre the said flood had carried it, the ebbe would haue recarried it as farre backe againe, and by the winde it could not so come to passe, because it was then sometime calme, and most times contrarie.

[Sidenote: Nine houres flood to three houres ebbe.] And some Mariners doe affirme that they haue diligently obserued, that there runneth in this place nine houres flood to three ebbe, which may thus come to passe by force of the sayd current: for whereas the Sea in most places of the world, doth more or lesse ordinarily ebbe and flow once euery twelue houres with sixe houres ebbe, and sixe houres flood, so also would it doe there, were it not for the violence of this hastening current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to beginne before his ordinary time one houre and a halfe, and also to continue longer than his naturall course by an other houre and a halfe, vntill the force of the ebbe be so great that it will no longer be resisted: according to the saying, Naturam expellas furca licet, vsque recurret. Although nature and naturall courses be forced and resisted neuer so much, yet at last they will haue their owne sway againe.

4 [Unnumbered in original—KTH] Moreouer it is not possible that so great course of floods and current, so high swelling tides with continuance of so deepe waters, can be digested here without vnburdening themselues into some open Sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the passage to be hereabouts. Also we suppose these great indrafts doe grow and are made by the reuerberation and reflection of that same curreant, which at our comming by Ireland, met and crossed vs, of which in the first part of this discourse I spake, which comming from the bay of Mexico, passing by and washing the Southwest parts of Ireland, reboundeth ouer to the Northeast parts of the world, as Norway, Island, &c. where not finding any passage to an open Sea, but rather being there encreased by a new accesse, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian Sea, passing the bay of Saint Nicholas Westward, it doth once againe rebound backe, by the coastes of Groenland, and from thence vpon Frobishers straights being to the Southwestwardes of the same.

[Sidenote: The Sea moueth continually from East to West.] 5 And if that principle of Philosophie be true, that Inferiora corpora reguntur a superioribus, that is, if inferior bodies be gouerned, ruled, and carried after the maner and course of the superiors, then the water being an inferior Element, must needes be gouerned after the superior heauen, and so follow the course of Primum from East to West.[84]

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[Sidenote: Authoritie.] 6 But euery man that hath written or considered any thing of this passage, hath more doubted the returne by the same way by reason of a great downefall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we also by experience partly find) than any mistrust they haue of the same passage at all. [Sidenote: Hard but yet possible turning backe again.] For we find (as it were) a great downefall in this place, but yet not such but that we may returne, although with much adoe. For we were easier carried in one houre then we could get forth againe in three. Also by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceiue vs in this sort: That wheras we supposed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the shore contrarie to all expectation.

Our men that sayled furthest in the same mistaken straights (hauing the maine land vpon their starboord side) affirme that they met with the outlet or passage of water which commeth thorow Frobishers straights, and followeth as all one into this passage.

Some of our companie also affirme that they had sight of a continent vpon their larboord side being 60 leagues within the supposed straights: howbeit except certaine Ilands in the entrance hereof we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foresaid tract of land seemeth to be more fruitfull and better stored of Grasse, Deere, Wilde foule, as Partridges, Larkes, Seamewes, Guls, Wilmots, Falcons and Tassel gentils, Rauens, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and other things, than any other part we haue yet discovered, and is more populous. [Sidenote: Traffique.] And here Luke Ward, a Gentleman of the companie, traded merchandise, and did exchange kniues, bells, looking glasses, &c. with those countrey people, who brought him foule, fish, beares skinned, and such like, as their countrey yeeldeth for the same. Here also they saw of those greater boats of the countrey, with twentie persons in a peece.

Now after the Generall had bestowed these many dayes here, not without many dangers, he returned backe againe. And by the way sayling alongst this coast (being the backside of the supposed continent of America) and the Queenes Foreland, he perceiued a great sound to goe thorow into Frobishers straights. [Sidenote: Returne out of the mistaken straights.] Whereupon he sent the Gabriel the one and twentieth of Iuly, to prooue whether they might goe thorow and meete againe with him in the straights, which they did: and as wee imagined before, so the Queenes foreland prooued an Iland, as I thinke most of these supposed continents will. And so he departed towardes the straights, thinking it were high time now to recouer his Port, and to provide the Fleete of their lading, whereof he was not a little carefull, as shall by the processe and his resolute attempts appeare. And in his returne with the rest of the fleete he was so entangled by reason of the darke fogge amongst a number of Ilands

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and broken ground that lye off this coast, that many of the shippes came ouer the top of rockes, which presently after they might perceiue to lie dry, hauing not halfe a foote water more then some of their ships did draw. And by reason they could not with a smal gale of wind stemme the force of the flood, whereby to goe cleare off the rockes, they were faine to let an anker fall with two bent of Cable together, at an hundred and odde fadome depth, where otherwise they had bene by the force of the tides caried vpon the rockes againe, and perished: [Sidenote: Great dangers.] so that if God in these fortunes (as a mercifull guide, beyond the expectation of man) had not carried vs thorow, we had surely perished amidst these dangers. For being many times driuen hard aboard the shore without any sight of land, vntill we were ready to make shipwracke thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to sound before our ships, least we might light thereon before we could discerne the same; it pleased God to giue vs a cleare of Sunne and light for a short time to see and auoyde thereby the danger, hauing bene continually darke before, and presently after. Manie times also by meanes of fogge and currents being driuen neere vpon the coast, God lent vs euen at the very pinch one prosperous breath of winde or other, whereby to double the land, and auoid the perill, and when that we were all without hope of helpe, euery man recommending himselfe to death, and crying out, Lord now helpe or neuer, now Lord looke downe from heauen and saue vs sinners, or else our safetie commeth too late: euen then the mightie maker of heauen, and our mercifull God did deliuer vs: so that they who haue bene partakers of these dangers doe euen in their soules confesse, that God euen by miracle hath sought to saue them, whose name be praysed euermore.

Long time now the Anne Francis had layne beating off and on all alone before the Queenes foreland, not being able to recouer their Port for yce, albeit many times they dangerously attempted it, for yet the yce choaked vp the passage, and would not suffer them to enter. [Sidenote: Anne Francis met with some of the fleete.] And hauing neuer seene any of the fleete since twenty dayes past, when by reason of the thicke mistes they were seuered in the mistaken straights, they did now this present 23 of Iuly ouerthwart a place in the straights called Hattons Hedland, where they met with seuen ships of the Fleete againe, which good hap did not onely reioyce them for themselues, in respect of the comfort which they receiued by such good companie, but especially that by this meanes they were put out of doubt of their deare friends, whose safeties long time they did not a little suspect, and feare.

At their meeting they haled the Admirall after the maner of the Sea, and with great ioy welcommed one another with a thundring volly of shot. And now euery man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had passed.

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[Sidenote: Francis of Foy.] The foure and twentieth of Iuly we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much adoe sought way backe againe, through the yce from out of the mistaken straights, where (to their great perill) they prooued to recouer their Port.

[Sidenote: Bridgwater ship.] They brought the first newes of the Vizadmirall Captaine Yorke, who many dayes with themselues, and the Busse of Bridgwater was missing. They reported that they left the Vizeadmirall reasonably cleare of the yce, but the other ship they greatly feared, whom they could not come to helpe, being themselues so hardly distressed as neuer men more. Also they told vs of the Gabriel, who hauing got thorow from the backside, and Western point of the Queenes foreland, into Frobishers straights, fell into their company about the cape of Good hope.

And vpon the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, the ship of Bridgwater got out of the yce and met with the Fleete which lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland. They reported of their maruellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ship to be so leake that they must of necessitie seeke harborow, hauing their stem so beaten within their huddings, that they had much adoe to keepe themselues aboue water. They had (as they say) fiue hundreth strokes at the pump in lesse then halfe a watch, being scarce two houres; their men being so ouerweariet therewith, and with the former dangers that they desired helpe of men from the other ships. [Sidenote: The Streits frozen ouer.] Moreouer they declared that there was nothing but yce and danger where they had bene, and that the straights within were frozen vp, and that it was the most impossible thing of the world, to passe vp vnto the Countesse of Warwicks sound, which was the place of our Port.

The report of these dangers by these ships thus published amongst the fleete, with the remembrance of the perils past, and those present before their face, brought no small feare and terror into the hearts of many considerate men. So that some beganne priuily to murmure against the Generall for this wilfull manner of proceeding. Some desired to discouer some harborow therebouts to refresh themselues and reform their broken vessels for a while, vntill the North and Northwest windes might disperse the yce, and make the place more free to passe. Other some forgetting themselues, spake more vndutifully in this behalfe, saying: that they had as leeu be hanged when they came home, as without hope of safetie to seeke to passe, and so to perish amongst the yce.

[Sidenote: A valiant mind of M. Frobisher.] The Generall not opening his eares to the peeuish passion of any priuate person, but chiefly respecting the accomplishment of the cause he had vndertaken (wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Captaine consisteth) and calling to his remembrance the short time he had in hand to provide so great number of ships their loading, determined with this resolution to passe and recouer his Port, or else there to burie himselfe with his attempt.

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Notwithstanding somewhat to appease the feeble passions of the fearefuller sort, and the better to entertaine time for a season, whilst the yce might the better be dissolued, he haled on the Fleete with beleefe that he would put them in harborow: thereupon whilst the shippes lay off and on under Hattons Hedland, he sought to goe in with his Pinnesses amongst the llandes there, as though hee meant to search for harborowe, where indeede he meant nothing lesse, but rather sought if any Ore might be found in that place, as by the sequele appeared.

In the mean time whilst the Fleete lay thus doubtfull without any certaine resolution what to do, being hard aboard the lee-shore, there arose a sodaine and terrible tempest at the Southsoutheast, whereby the yce began maruellously to gather about vs.

Whereupon euery man, as in such case of extremitie he thought best, sought the wisest way for his owne safety. The most part of the Fleete which were further shot vp within the straights, and so farre to the leeward, as that they could not double the land following the course of the Generall, who led them the way, tooke in their Sayles, and layde it a hull amongst the yce, and so passed ouer the storme, and had no extremitie at all, but for a short time in the same place.

Howbeit the other ships which plyed out to Seaward, had an extreme storme for a long season. And the nature of the place is such, that it is subiect diuersely to diuers windes, according to the sundry situation of the great Alps and mountaines there, euery mountaine causing a seuerall blast, and parrie, after the maner of a Leuant.

[Sidenote: Snow in Iuly.] In this storme being the sixe and twentieth of Iuly, there fell so much snow, with such bitter cold aire, that we could not scarce see one another for the same, nor open our eyes to handle, our ropes and sayles, the snow being aboue halfe a foote deepe vpon the hatches of our ship, which did so wet thorow our poore Mariners clothes, that hee that had fiue or sixe shifts of apparell had scarce one drie threed to his backe, which kinde of wet and coldnesse, together with the ouerlabouring of the poore men amidst the yce, bred no small sicknesse amongst the fleete, [Sidenote: Extreme winter.] which somewhat discouraged some of the poore men, who had not experience of the like before, euery man perswading himselfe that the winter there must needes be extreme, where they found so vnseasonable a Sommer.

[Sidenote: Great heat in Meta Incognita.] And yet notwithstanding this cold aire, the Sunne many times hath a maruellous force of heate amongst those mountaines; [Sidenote: Vnconstant weather.] insomuch that when there is no breth of winde to bring the colde aire from the dispersed yce vpon vs, we shall be wearie of the blooming heate and then sodainely with a perry[85] of winde which commeth downe from the hollownesse of the hilles, we shall haue such a breth of heate brought vpon our faces as though we were entred within some bathstoue or hote-house, and when the first of the pirry and blast is past, we shall haue the winde sodainely a new blow cold againe.



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In this storme the Anne Francis, the Moone, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who found themselves able to hold it vp with a saile, and could double about the Cape of the Queenes foreland, plyed out to the Seaward, holding it for better policie and safetie to seeke Sea roome, then to hazard the continuance of the storme, the danger of the yce, and the leeshore.

And being vncertaine at this time of the Generals priuate determinations, the weather being so darke that they could not discerne one another, nor perceiue which way he wrought, betooke themselves to this course for best and safest.

[Sidenote: The Generall recouereth his port.] The Generall, notwithstanding the great storme, following his own former resolution, sought by all meanes possible, by a shorter way to recouer his Port, and where he saw the yce neuer so little open, he gate in at one gappe and out at another, and so himselfe valiantly led the way thorow before to induce the Fleete to follow after, and with incredible paine and perill at length gat through the yce, and vpon the one and thirtieth of Iuly recouered his long wished Port after many attempts and sundry times being put backe, and came to anker in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all perill past, he encountred a great lland of yce which gaue the Ayde such a blow, hauing a little before wayed her anker a cocke bill, that it stroke the anker fluke through the ships bowes vnder the water, which caused so great a leake, that with much adoe they preserued the ship from sinking.

At their arriual here they perceiued two ships at anker within the harborough, whereat they began much to maruell and greatly to reioyce, for those they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton, and the small Barke called the Gabriel, who so long time were missing, and neuer heard of before, whom euery man made the last reckoning, neuer to heare of againe.

[Sidenote: Master Wolfall Preacher.] Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another, after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly prayed God, and altogether vpon their knees gaue him due, humble and heartie thanks, and Maister Wolfall a learned man, appointed by her Maiesties Councell to be their Minister and Preacher made vnto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankfull to God for their strange and miraculous deliuerance in those so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the vncertaintie of mans life, willed them to make themselves alwayes readie as resolute men to enioy and accept thankfully whatsoever aduenture his diuine Prouidence should appoint. This maister Wolfall being well seated and settled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honest woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not

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to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to saue soules, and to reforme those Infidels if it were possible to Christiantie: and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole yeare if occasion had serued, being in euery necessary action as forward as the resolute men of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Pastor and minister of God's word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his owne life.

[Sidenote: The aduentures of Captain Fenton and his companie.] But to returne againe to Captaine Fentons company, and to speake somewhat of their dangers (albeit they be more then by writing can be expressed) they reported that from the night of the first storme which was about the first day of Iuly vntill seuen dayes before the Generals arriuall, which was the sixe and twentieth of the same, they neuer saw any one day or houre, wherein they were not troubled with continuall danger and feare of death, and were twentie dayes almost together fast amongst the yce. They had their ship stricken through and through on both sides, their false stemme borne quite away, and could goe from their ships in some places vpon the yce very many miles, and might easily haue passed from one lland of yce to another euen to the shore, [Sidenote: Extremitie causeth men to deuise new arts and remedies.] and if God had not wonderfully prouided for them and their necessitie, and time had not made them more cunning and wise to seeke strange remedies for strange kindes of dangers, it had bene impossible for them euer to haue escaped: for among other deuises, wheresoeuer they found any lland of yce of greater bignes then the rest (as there be some of more then halfe a mile compasse about, and almost forty fadome high) they commonly coueted to recouer the same, and thereof to make a bulwarke for their defence, whereon hauing mored anker, they road vnder the lee therof for a time, being therby garded from the danger of the lesser driuing yce. [Sidenote: Hard shifts.] But when they must needes forgoe this new found fort by meanes of other yce, which at length would vndermine and compasse them round about, and when that by heauing of the billow they were therewith like to be brused in peeces, they vsed to make fast the shippe vnto the most firme and broad peece of yce they could find, and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sayles whereon the winde hauing great power, would force forward the ship, and so the shippe bearing before her the yce, and so one yce driuing forward another, should at length get scope and searoom. And hauing by this meanes at length put their enemies to flight, they occupied the cleare place for a prettie season among sundry mountaines and Alpes of yce. One there was found by measure to be 65 fadome aboue water, which for a kind of similitude, was called Solomons



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porch. Some thinke those Ilands eight times so much vnder water as they are aboue, because of their monstrous weight. [Sidenote: Strange wonders.] But now I remember I saw very strange wonders, men walking, running, leaping and shooting vpon the mayne seas 40. myles from any land, without any Shippe or other vessel vnder them. Also I saw fresh Riuers running amidst the salt Sea a hundred myle from land, which if any man will not belieue let him know that many of our company leapt out of their Shippe vpon Ilandes of yce, and running there vp and downe, did shoote at Buts vpon the yce, and with their Caliuers did kill great Seales, which vse to lye and sleepe vpon the yce, and this yce melting aboue at the toppe by reflection of the Sunne, came downe in sundry streames, which vniting together, made a pretie Brooke able to driue a Mill.

The sayde Captaine Fenton recouered his Port tenne dayes before any man, and spent good tyme in searching for Mine, and hee found good store thereof. He also discovered about tenne Miles vp into the Countrey, where he perceiued neither Towne, Village, nor likelihoode of habitation, but it seemeth (as he sayeth) barren, as the other parts, which as yet we haue entred vpon: but their victuals and prouision went so scant with them, that they had determind to returne homeward within seuen dayes after, if the Fleete had not then arriued.

The Generall after his arriual in the Countesses sound, spent no time in vaine, but immediately at his first landing called the chiefe Captaines of his Councell together, and consulted with them for the speedier execution of such things as then they had in hand. As first, for searching and finding out good Minerall for the Miners to be occupied on. Then to giue good Orders to bee obserued of the whole company on shore. And lastly, to consider for the erecting vp of the Fort and House for the vse of them which were to abide there the whole yeere. For the better handling of these, and all other like important causes in this seruice, it was ordeined from her Maiestie and the Councell, that the Generall should call vnto him certaine of the chiefe Captaines and Gentlemen in Councell, to conferre, consult and determine of all occurrents in this seruice, whose names are as here they follow.

Captaine Fenton.  
Captaine Yorke.  
Captaine Best.  
Captaine Carew.  
Captaine Philpot.

And in Sea causes to haue as assistants, Christopher Hall and Charles lackman, being both very good Pilots, and sufficient Mariners, whereof the one was chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, and the other for the discouerie. From the place of our habitation Westward, Master Selman was appointed Notarie, to register the whole maner of proceeding in

these affaires, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleased her Maiestie to require it.

The first of August euery Captaine by order, from the Generall and his counsell, was commanded to bring ashoare vnto the Countesses iland all such Gentlemen, souldiers, and Myners, as were vnder their charge, with such prouision as they had of victuals, tents, and things necessary for the speedy getting together of Mine, and freight for the shippes.

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The Muster of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and considered, euery man was set to his charge, as his place and office required. The Myners were appointed where to worke, and the Mariners discharged their shippes.

Vpon the second of August were published and proclaymed vpon the Countesse of Warwicks Iland with sound of Trumpet, certaine Orders by the Generall and his counsell, appoynted to be obserued of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the meane time, whilst the Mariners plyed their worke, the Captaines sought out new Mynes, the Goldfiners made tryall of the Ore, the Mariners discharged their shippes, the Gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and honestly encouraged the inferior sort to worke. So that the small time of that little leisure that was left to tarrie, was spent in vaine.

The second of August the Gabriel arriued, who came from the Vizeadmirall, and beeing distressed sore with Yce, put into Harborough neere vnto Mount Oxford. And now was the whole Fleete arriued safely at their Port, excepting foure, besides the Shippe that was lost: that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Moone, whose absence was some lette unto the workes and other proceedings, aswell for that these Shippes were furnished with the better sorte of Myners, as with other prouision for the habitation.

[Sidenote: Consultation for inhabiting Meta incognita.] The ninth of August the Generall with the Captaynes of his counsell assembled together, and began to consider and take order for the erecting vp of the house or Fort for them that were to inhabite there the whole yeere, and that presently the Masons and Carpenters might goe in hande therewith. First therefore they perused the Bills of lading, what euery man receiued into his Shippe, and found that there was arriued only the Eastside, and the Southside of the house, and yet not that perfect and entier: for many pieces thereof were vsed for fenders in many Shippes, and so broken in pieces whilst they were distressed in the yce. [Sidenote: An hundred men appointed to inhabite.] Also after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drinke and fuel to serue one hundreth men, which was the number appoynted first to inhabite there, because their greatest store was in the Shippes which were not yet arriued. Then Captaine Fenton seeing the scarcitie of the necessary things aforesayd, was contented, and offred himselfe to inhabite there with sixtie men. Whereupon they caused the Carpenters and Masons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take vpon them to erect vp a lesse house for sixtie men. They required eight or nine weekes, if there were Tymber sufficient, whereas now they had but sixe and twentie dayes in all to remayne in that Countrey. [Sidenote: No habitation this yeere.] Wherefore it was fully agreed vpon, and resolved by the Generall and his counsell, that no habitation should be there this yeere. And therefore they willed Master Selman the Register to set downe this decree with all

their consents, for the better satisfying of her Maiestie, the Lords of the Counsell, and the Aduenturers.

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The Anne Francis, since she was parted from the Fleete, in the last storme before spoken of, could neuer recouer above fiue leagues within the streights, the winde being sometime contrary, and most times the Yce compassing them round about. And from that time, being about the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, they could neither heare nor have sight of any of the Fleete, vntill the 3. of August, when they descryed a sayle neere vnto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had spoken, they could vnderstand no newes of any of the Fleete at all. And this was the Thomas of Ipswich, who had layne beating off and on at Sea with very fowle weather, and contrary windes euer since that foresayd storme, without sight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to loose one another againe, the Moone being consort always with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company plyed vp together into the streights, with great desire to recouer their long wished Port: and they attempted as often, and passed as farre as possible the winde, weather, and yce gaue them leaue, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was cleare and without fogge, then commonly the winde was contrary. And when it was eyther Easterly or Southerly, which would serue their turnes, then had they so great a fogge and darke miste therewith, that eyther they could not discerne way thorow the yce, or els the yce lay so thicke together, that it was impossible for them to passe. And on the other side, when it was calme, the Tydes had force to bring the yce so suddenly about them, that commonly then they were most therewith distressed, hauing no Winde to carry them from the danger thereof.

And by the sixt of August being with much adoe got vp as high as Leicester point, they had good hope to finde the Souther shore cleare, and so to passe vp towards their Port. But being there becalmed and lying a hull openly vpon the great Bay which commeth out of the mistaken streights before spoken of, they were so suddenly compassed with yce round about by meanes of the swift Tydes which ran in that place, that they were neuer afore so hardly beset as now. And in seeking to auoyde these dangers in the darke weather, the Anne Francis lost sight of the other two Ships, who being likewise hardly distressed, signified their danger, as they since reported, by shooting off their ordinance, which the other could not heare, nor if they had heard, could haue giuen them any remedie, being so busily occupied to winde themselues out of their owne troubles.

[Sidenote: The Moone.] The Fleeboate called the Moone, was here heaued aboue the water with the force of the yce, and receiued a great leake thereby. Likewise the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Anne Francis were sore bruised at that instant, hauing their false stemmes borne away, and their ship sides stroken quite through.

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Now considering the continuall dangers and contraries, and the little leasure that they had left to tarie in these partes, besides that euery night the ropes of their Shippes were so frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his handes, together with the great doubt they had of the Fleetes safety, thinking it an impossibilitie for them to passe vnto their Port, as well for that they saw themselues, as for that they heard by the former report of the Shippes which had prooued before, who affirmed that the streights were all frozen ouer within: They thought it now very hie time to consider of their estates and safeties that were yet left together. [Sidenote: The Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone consult.] And hereupon the Captaines and masters of these Shippes, desired the Captaine of the Anne Francis to enter into consideration with them of these matters. Wherefore Captaine Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipswich, with his Pilot Richard Cox, and Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, with his master Iohn Lakes came aboorde the Anne Francis the eight of August to consult of these causes. And being assembled together in the Captaines Cabin, sundry doubts were there alledged. For the fearefuller sort of Mariners being ouertyred with the continuall labour of the former dangers, coueted to returne homeward, saying that they would not againe tempt God so much, who had giuen them so many warnings, and deliuered them from so wonderfull dangers: that they rather desired to lose wages, freight, and all, then to continue and follow such desperate fortunes. Againe, their Ships were so leake, and the men so wearie, that to amend the one, and refresh the other, they must of necessitie seeke into harborough.

But on the other side it was argued againe to the contrary, that to seeke into harborough thereabouts, was but to subject themselues to double dangers: if happily they escaped the dangers of Rockes in their entring, yet being in, they were neuerthesse subiect there to the danger of the Ice, which with the swift tydes and currents is caryed in and out in most harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gaule their Cables asunder, driue them vpon the shoare, and bring them to much trouble. Also the coast is so much subiect to broken ground and rockes, especially in the mouth and entrance of euery Harborough, that albeit the Channell be sounded ouer and ouer againe, yet are you neuer the neerer to discern the dangers. For the bottome of the Sea holding like shape and forme as the land, being full of hils, dales, and ragged Rockes, suffreth you not by your soundings to knowe and keepe a true gesse of the depth. For you shall sound vpon the side or hollownesse of one Hill or Rocke vnder water, and haue a hundreth, fiftie, or fourtie fadome depth: and before the next cast, yer[86] you shall be able to heaue your lead againe, you shall be vpon the toppe thereof, and come aground to your vtter confusion.

Another reason against going to harborough was, that the colde ayre did threaten a sudden freezing vp of the sounds, seeing that euery night there was new congealed yce, euen of that water which remayned within their shippes. And therefore it should seeme to be more safe to lye off and on at Sea, then for lacke of winde to bring them forth of harborough, to hazard by sudden frosts to be shut vp the whole yeere.

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After many such dangers and reasons alleged, and large debating of these causes on both sides, the Captaine of the Anne Francis deliuered his opinion vnto the company to this effect. [Sidenote: Captain Bests resolution.] First concerning the question of returning home, hee thought it so much dishonorable, as not to grow in any farther question: and againe to returne home at length (as at length they must needes) and not to be able to bring a certaine report of the Fleete, whether they were liuing or lost, or whether any of them had recouered their Port or not, in the Countesses sound, (as it was to bee thought the most part would if they were liuing) hee sayde that it would be so great an argument eyther of want of courage or discretion in them, as hee resolved rather to fall into any danger, then so shamefully to consent to returne home, protesting that it should neuer bee spoken of him, that hee would euer returne without doing his endeouour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals safetie.

[Sidenote: A Pinnesse for the inhabitants.] Hee put his company in remembrance of a Pinnesse of fiue tunne burthen, which hee had within his Shippe, which was caryed in pieces, and vnmade vp for the vse of those which should inhabite there the whole yeere, the which, if they could finde meanes to ioyne together, hee offered himselfe to prooue before therewith, whether it were possible for any Boate to passe for yce, whereby the Shippe might bee brought in after, and might also thereby giue true notice, if any of the Fleete were arriued at their Port or not.

But notwithstanding, for that he well perceiued that the most part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, hee was willing the rather for these causes somewhat to encline thereunto. As first, to search alongst the same coast, and the soundes thereabouts, hee thought it to be to good purpose, for that it was likely to finde some of the Fleete there, which being leake, and sore brused with the yce, were the rather thought likely to be put into an yll harborough, being distressed with foule weather in the last storme, then to hazard their vncertaine safeties amongst the yce: for about this place they lost them, and left the Fleete then doubtfully questioning of harborough.

It was likely also, that they might finde some fitte harborough thereabouts, which might bee behooeuefull for them against another time. It was not likewise impossible to finde some Ore or Mine thereabouts wherewithall to freight their Shippes, which would bee more commodious in this place, for the neerenesse to Seaward, and for a better outlet, then farther within the streights, being likely heere alwayes to loade in a shorter time, howsoeuer the streight should be pestered with yce within, so that if it might come to passe that thereby they might eyther finde the Fleete, Mine, or conuenient harborough, any of these three would serue their present turnes, and giue some hope and comfort vnto their companies,

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which now were altogether comfortlesse. But if that all fortune should fall out so contrary, that they could neyther recouer their Port, nor any of these aforesayde helpes, that yet they would not depart the Coast, as long as it was possible for them to tary there, but would lye off and on at Sea athwart the place. Therefore his finall conclusion was set downe thus, First, that the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone should consort and keepe company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as neere as they could, and as true Englishmen and faithfull friends, should supply one anothers want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, euery Shippe to send off his Boate with a sufficient Pylot, to search out and sound the harborougbs for the safe bringing in of their Shippes. And beeing arriued in harborough, where they might finde conuenient place for the purpose, they resolued forthwith to ioyne and sette together the Pinnesse, wherewithall the Captaine of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, discouer vp into the streights.

After these determinations thus set downe, the Thomas of Ipswich the night following lost company of the other Shippes, and afterward shaped a contrary course homeward, which fell out as it manifestly appeared, very much against their Captaine Master Tanfields minde, as by due examination before the Lordes of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell it hath since bene prooued, to the great discredite of the Pilot Cox, who specially persuaded his company against the opinion of his sayd Captaine, to returne home.

And as the Captaine of the Anne Francis doeth witnesse, euen at their conference together, Captaine Tanfield tolde him, that he did not a little suspect the sayd Pilot Cox, saying that he had opinion in the man neither of honest duetie, manhoode, nor constancie. Notwithstanding the sayde Shippes departure, the Captaine of the Anne Francis being desirous to put in execution his former resolutions, went with his Shippe boate (being accompanied also with the Moones Skiffe) to prooue amongst the llands which lye vnder Hattons Hedland, if any conuenient harborough, or any knowledge of the Fleete, or any good Ore were there to be found. The Shippes lying off and on at Sea the while vnder Sayle, searching through many sounds, they sawe them all full of many dangers and broken ground: yet one there was, which seemed an indifferent place to harborough in, and which they did very diligently sound ouer, and searched againe.

Here the sayde Captaine found a great blacke Island, whereunto hee had good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were somewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his wordes rowed cheerefully vnto the place: where when they arriued, they found such plentie of blacke Ore of the same sort which was brought into England this last yeere, that if the goodnesse might answere the great plentie thereof, it was to be thought that it might reasonably suffice all the golde-gluttons of the worlde. [Sidenote: Bestes blessing.] This lland the Captaine for cause of his good hap, called after his own



name, Bestes blessing, and with these good tydings returning aboard his Ship the ninth of August about tenne of the clocke at night, hee was ioyfully welcommed of his company, who before were discomforted, and greatly expected some better fortune at his handes.

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The next day being the tenth of August, the weather reasonably fayre, they put into the foresayde Harborough, hauing their Boate for the better securitie sounding before their Shippe. [Sidenote: Anne Francis in danger.] But for all the care and diligence that could bee taken in sounding the Channell ouer and ouer againe, the Anne Francis came aground vpon a suncken Rocke within the Harborough, and lay thereon more then halfe drye vntill the next flood, when by Gods Almighty prouidence, contrary almost to all expectation, they came afloat againe, being forced all that time to vndersette their Shippe with their mayne Yarde, which otherwise was likely to ouerset and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had aboue two thousand strokes together at the Pumpe, before they could make their Shippe free of the water againe, so sore shee was in brused by lying vpon the Rockes. [Sidenote: The Moone in harborough.] The Moone came safely, and roade at anchor by the Anne Francis, whose helpe in their necessitie they could not well haue missed.

Now whilst the Mariners were romaging their Shippes, and mending that which was amisse, the Miners followed their labour for getting together of sufficient quantitie of Ore, and the Carpenters indeuoured to doe their best for the making vp of the Boate or Pinnesse: which to bring to passe, they wanted two speciall and most necessarie things, that is, certaine principall tymbers that are called knees, which are the chieftest strength of any Boate and also nayles, wherewithall to ioyn the plancks together. Whereupon hauing by chance a Smyth amongst them, (and yet vnfurnished of his necessary tooles to worke and make nayles withall) they were faine of a gunne chamber to make an Anuile to worke vpon, and to vse a pickaxe in stead of a sledge to beate withall, and also to occupy two small bellows in steade of one payre of greater Smiths bellows. And for lacke of small Yron for the easier making of the nayles, they were forced to breake their tongs, grydiron, and fireshouell in pieces.

[Sidenote: Hattons Hedland.] The eleuenth of August the Captaine of the Anne Francis taking the Master of his Shippe with him, went vp to the top of Hattons Hedland, which is the highest land of all the straights, to the ende to descry the situation of the Countrey vnderneath, and to take a true plotte of the place, whereby also to see what store of Yce was yet left in the straights, as also to search what Mineral matter or fruite that soyle might yeeld: And the rather for the honour the said Captaine doeth owe to that Honourable name<sup>[87]</sup> which himselfe gaue thereunto the last yeere, in the highest part of this Hedland he caused his company to make a Columne or Crosse of stone, in token of Christian possession. [Sidenote: Pretie stones.] In this place there is plentie of Blacke Ore, and diuers pretie stones.

[Sidenote: A mightie white Beare.] The seuenteenth of August the Captaines with their companies chased and killed a great white Beare, which aduentured and gaue a fierce assault vpon twentie men being weaponed. And he serued them for good meate many dayes.

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[Sidenote: A Pinnesse there built.] The eighteenth of August the Pinnesse with much adoe being set together, the sayd Captaine Best determined to depart vp the straights, to prooue and make tryall, as before was pretended, some of his companie greatly persuading him to the contrary, and specially the Carpenter that set the same together, who sayde that hee would not aduenture himselfe therein for fiue hundreth pounds, for that the boate hung together but onely by the strength of the nayles, and lacked some of her principall knees and tymbers.

These wordes some what discouraged some of the company which should haue gone therein. Whereupon the Captaine, as one not altogether addicted to his owne selfe-will, but somewhat foreseeing how it might be afterwards spoken, if contrary fortune should happen him (Lo he hath followed his owne opinion and desperate resolutions, and so thereafter it is befallen him) calling the Master and Mariners of best iudgement together, declared vnto them how much the cause imported him to his credite to seeke out the Generall, as well to conferre with him of some causes of weight, as otherwise to make due examination and tryall of the Goodnesse of the Ore, whereof they had no assurance but by gesse of the eye, and it was well like the other: which so to cary home, not knowing the goodnesse thereof, might be as much as if they should bring so many stones. And therefore hee desired them to deliuer their plaine and honest opinion, whether the Pinnesse were sufficient for him so to aduenture in or no. It was answered, that by careful heede taking thereunto amongst the yce, and the foule weather, the Pinnesse might suffice. And hereupon the Masters mate of the Anne Francis called Iohn Gray, manfully and honestly offering himselfe vnto his Captaine in this aduenture and seruice, gaue cause to others of his Mariners to follow the attempt.

[Sidenote: They aduenture by the streights in a weake Pinnesse.] And vpon the nineteenth of August the sayd Captaine being accompanied with Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, and eightene persons in the small Pinnesse, hauing conuenient portions of victuals and things necessary, departed upon the sayd pretended Voyage, leauing their shippe at anchor in a good readinesse for the taking in of their freight. And hauing little winde to sayle withall, they plyed alongst the Souther shore, and passed aboue 30. leagues, hauing the onely helpe of mans labour with Oares, and so intending to keepe that shore aboard vntil they were got vp to the farthest and narrowest of the streights, minded there to crosse ouer and to search likewise alongst the Northerland vnto the Countesses sound, and from thence to passe all that coast along, whereby if any of the Fleete had bene distressed by wrecke of rocke or yce, by that meanes they might be perceiued of them, and so they thereby to giue them such helpe and reliefe as they could. They did greatly feare, and euer suspect that some of the Fleete were surely cast away, and driuen to seeke sowre sallets amongst the colde cliffes.

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[Sidenote: 40 leagues within the streights.] And being shotte vp about fortie leagues within the Streights, they put ouer towards the Norther shore, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates. [Sidenote: Gabriels Ilands.] And by meanes of a sudden flawe were dryuen, and faine to seeke harborough in the night amongst all the rockes and broken ground of Gabriels Ilands, a place so named within the streights aboue the Countesse of Warwicks sound: And by the way where they landed, they did finde certaine great stones set vp by the Countrey people as it seemed for markes, where they also made many Crosses of stone, in token that Christians had been there. The 22. of August they had sight of the Countesses sound, and made the place perfect from the toppe of a hill, and keeping along the Norther shore, perceiued the smoke of a fire vnder a hils side: whereof they diuersely deemed. When they came neere the place, they perceiued people which wafted vnto them, as it seemed, with a flagge or ensigne. And because the Countrey people had vsed to do the like, when they perceiued any of our boats to passe by, they suspected them to be the same. And comming somewhat neerer, they might perceiue certaine tents, and discerned this ensigne to be of mingled colours, blacke and white, after the English Fashion. But because they could see no Shippe, nor likelihood of harborough within fiue or sixe leagues about, and knewe that none of our men were woont to frequent those partes, they could not tell what to iudge thereof, but imagined that some of the ships being carried so high with the storme and mistes, had made shipwracke amongst the yce or the broken Islands there, and were spoyled by the countrey people, who might vse the sundry coloured flagge for a policie, to bring them likewise within their danger. Whereupon the sayd Captaine with his companies, resolved to recouer the same ensigne, if it were so, from those base people, or els to lose their liues and all together. In the ende they discerned them to be their countrey men, and then they deemed them to haue lost their Ships, and so to be gathered together for their better strength. On the other side, the companie ashore feared that the Captaine hauing lost his Shippe, came to seeke forth the Fleete for his reliefe in his poore Pinnesse, so that their extremities caused eche part to suspect the worst.

[Sidenote: Proximus sum egomet mihi.] The Captaine now with his Pinnisse being come neere the shoare, commanded his Boate carefully to be kept aflote, lest in their necessitie they might winne the same from him, and seeke first to saue themselues: for euery man in that case is next himselfe. They haied one another according to the manner of the Sea, and demaunded what cheere? and either partie answered the other, that all was well: whereupon there was a sudden and ioyful outshoote, with great flinging vp of caps, and a braue voly of shotte to welcome one another. And truely it was a most strange case to see how ioyfull and gladde euery partie was to see themselues meete in safetie againe, after so strange and incredible dangers: Yet to be short, as their dangers were great, so their God was greater.

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[Sidenote: Captain York arriued.] And here the company were working vpon new Mines, which Captaine York being here arriued not long before, had found out in this place, and it is named the Countesse of Sussex Mine.

After some conference with our friends here, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed towards the Countesse of Warwicks sound, to speake with the Generall, and to haue tryall made of such mettall as he had brought thither, by the Goldfiners. And so he determined to dispatch againe towards his ship. And hauing spoken with the General, he receiued order for all causes, direction as well for the bringing vp of the Shippe to the Countesses sound, as also to freight his Ship with the same Oare which he himselfe had found, which vpon triall made, was supposed to be very good.

The 23. of August, the sayde Captaine mette together with the other Captaines (Commissioners in counsell with the Generall) aboorde the Ayde, where they considered and consulted of sundry causes, which being particularly registred by the Notarie, were appoynted where and how to be done against another yeere.

The 24. of August, the Generall with two Pinnesses and good numbers of men went to Beares sound, commanding the sayde Captaine with his Pinnesse to attend the seruice, to see if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people: for sundry times they shewed themselues busie thereabouts, sometimes with seuen or eyght Boates in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company which were working there at the Mines, in no great numbers. [Sidenote: None of the people will be taken.] But when they perceiued any of our Shippes to ryde in that roade (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a Shippe, and a more number of men) they did neuer shewe themselues againe there at all. Wherefore our men sought with their Pinnesses to compasse about the lland where they did vse, supposing there suddenly to intercept some of them. But before our men could come neere, hauing belike some watch in the toppe of the mountaines, they conueyed themselues priuilly away, and left (as it should seeme) one of their great dartes behinde them for haste, which we found neere to a place of their caues and housing. Therefore, though our Generall were very desirous to haue taken some of them to haue brought into England, they being now growen more wary by their former losses, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the same day, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed thence and set his course ouer the straights towards Hattons Hedland, being about 15. leagues ouer, and returned aboard his Shippe the 25. of August to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his comming, where hee found his Shippes ready rigged and loden. Wherefore he departed from thence againe the next morning towards the Countesses sound, where he arriued the 28. of the same. By the way he set his Miners ashore at Beares sound, for the better dispatch and gathering the Ore together; for that some of the ships were behind hand with their freight, the time of the yeere passing suddenly away.

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The thirtieth of August the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had 8. great leakes mended which she had receiued by meanes of the rockes and yce. [Sidenote: A house builded and left there.] This day the Masons finished a house which Captaine Fenton caused to be made of lyme and stone vpon the Countesse of Warwickses Island, to the ende we might proue against the next yeere, whither the snow could ouerwhelme it, the frost brake it vp, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure those brutish and vnciuill people to courtesie against other times of our comming, we left therein diuers of our Countrey toyes, as belles, and kniues, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary vse, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horsebacke, looking glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an Ouen, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Also here we sowed pease, corne, and other graine, to proue the fruitfulnessse of the soyle against the next yeere.

[Sidenote: M. Wolfall a godly preacher.] Master Wolfall on Winters Fornace preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christs name, death, and passion euer known in these quarters. The said M. Wolfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times, in seuerall and sundry ships, because the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place. [Sidenote: Consultation for a further discouery.] The Fleet now being in some good readinesse for their lading, the Generall calling together the Gentlemen and Captaines to consult, told them that he was very desirous that some further discouery should be attempted, and that he would not onely by Gods helpe bring home his ships laden with Ore, but also meant to bring some certificate of a further discouery of the Countrey, which thing to bring to passe (hauing sometime therein consulted) they found very hard, and almost inuincible. And considering that already they had spent sometime in searching out the trending and fashion of the mistaken straites, therefore it could not be sayd, but that by this voyage they haue notice of a further discouery, and that the hope of the passage thereby is much furthered and encreased, as appeared before in the discourse thereof. Yet notwithstanding if any meanes might be further deuised, the Captaines were contented and willing, as the Generall shoulde appoynt and commaund, to take any enterprise in hand. Which after long debating was found a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning homeward, especially for these causes following. First the darke foggy

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mists, the continuall falling snowe and stormy weather which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily euer more and more increased, haue no small argument of the Winters drawing neere. And also the frost euery night was so hard congealed within the sound, that if by euill hap they should bee long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared, that they should be shut vp there fast the whole yeere, which being vtterly vnprouided, would be their vtter destruction. Againe, drinke was so scant throughout all the Fleet by meanes of the great leakage, that not onely the prouision which was layd in for the habitation was wanting and wasted, but also each shippes seuerall prouision spent and lost, which many of our company to their great grieve found in their returne since, for all the way homewards they dranke nothing but water. And the great cause of this leakage and wasting was, for that the great timber and seacole, which lay so weighty vpon the barrels, brake, bruised, and rotted the hoopess insunder. [Sidenote: Broken Ilands in maner of an Archipelagus.] Yet notwithstanding these reasons alleaged the Generall himselfe (willing the rest of the Gentlemen and Captaines euery man to looke to his seuerall charge and lading, that against a day appointed, they should be all in a readinesse to set homeward) went in a Pinnesse and discovered further Northward in the straights, and found that by Beares sound and Halles Island, the land was not firme, as it was first supposed, but all broken Islands in maner of an Archipelagus, and so with other secret intelligence to himselfe, he returned to the Fleet. Where presently vpon his arriuall at the Countesses sound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and first caused certaine Articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of orders and courses in their returne, which Articles were deliuered to euery Captaine.

The Fleetes returning homeward.

[Sidenote: Returne homeward.] Hauing now receiued articles and directions for our returne homewards, all other things being in forwardnesse and in good order, the last day of August the whole Fleete departed from the Countesses sound, excepting the Iudith, and the Anne Francis, who stayed for the taking in of fresh water and came the next day and mette the Fleete off and on, athwart Beares sound, who stayed for the Generall, which then was gone ashore to despatch the two Barkes and the Busse of Bridgewater, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboard. The Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing most part of his company ashore, the first of September went also to Beares sound in his Pinnesse to fetch his men aboard, but the wind grewe so great immediatly vpon their landing, that the shippes at sea were in great danger, and some of them forcibly put from their ankers, and greatly feared to be vtterly lost, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captaine Carew and others, who could not tell on which side their danger was most:



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for hauing mightie rockes threatening on the one side, and driuing Islands of cutting yce on the other side, they greatly feared to make shipwracke, the yce driuing so neere them that it touched their bolt-sprit. And by meanes of the Sea that was growne so hie, they were not able to put to sea with their small Pinnesses to recouer their shippes. And againe, the shippes were not able to tarie or lie athwart for them, by meanes of the outrageous windes and swelling seas. The Generall willed the Captaine of the Anne Francis with his company, for that night to lodge aboard the Busse of Bridgewater, and went himselfe with the rest of his men aboard the Barks. But their numbers were so great, and the prouision of the Barks so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be faire whereby they might recouer their shippes. But in the morning following it was much worse, for the storme continued greater, the Sea being more swollen, and the Fleete gone quite out of sight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ship of Bridgewater which was of greatest receipt, and whereof they had best hope and made most account, roade so farre to leeward of the harborowes mouth, that they were not able for the rockes (that lay betweene the wind and them) to lead it out to Sea with a saile. And the Barks were already so pestered with men, and so slenderly furnished with prouision, that they had scarce meat for sixe dayes for such numbers.

The Generall in the morning departed to Sea in the Gabriel to seeke the Fleete, leauing the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Beares sound. The Busse set sayle, and thought by turning in the narrow channell within the harborow to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that meanes was faine to come to anker for her better safetie, amongst a number of rockes, and there left in great danger of euer getting forth againe. The Michael set sayle to follow the Generall, and could giue the Busse no reliefe, although they earnestly desired the same. And the Captaine of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two euils: eyther to abide his fortune with the Busse of Bridgewater, which was doubtfull of euer getting forth, or else to bee towed in his small Pinnesse at the sterne of the Michael thorow the raging Seas, for that the Barke was not able to receiue or relieue halfe his company, wherein his danger was not a little perillous.

So after hee resolved to commit himselfe with all his company vnto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerously towed at the sterne of the Barke for many miles, vntill at length they espyed the Anne Francis vnder sayle, hard vnder their Lee, which was no small comfort vnto them. For no doubt, both those and a great number more had perished for lacke of victuals, and conuenient roome in the Barks without the helpe of the said Ship. But the honest care that the Master of the Anne Francis had of his Captaine, and



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the good regarde of duetie towards his Generall, suffered him not to depart, but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous roade all the night long, notwithstanding all the stormy weather, when all the Fleete besides departed. And the Pinnesse came no sooner aboard the shippe, and the men entred, but shee presently shiuered and fell to pieces and sunke at the ships sterne, with all the poore mens furniture: so weake was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bruise her in pieces, But (as God would) the men were all saued.

At this present in this storme many of the Fleete were dangerously distressed, and were seuered almost all asunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleete arriued safely in England about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. [Sidenote: An vnknown channell into the Northeast discovered by the Busse of Bridgewater.] But amongst other, it was most maruellous how the Busse of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the Fleete in great danger of neuer getting forth, was forced to seeke a way Northward thorow an vnknown channell full of rocks, vpon the backe side of Beares sound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North sea, a very dangerous attempt; save that necessitie, which hath no law, forced them to trie masteries. This aforesayd North sea is the same which lyeth vpon the backe side of Frobishers straits, where first the Generall himselfe in his Pinnesses, and after some other of our company haue discovered (as they affirme) a great foreland, where they would also haue a great likelihood of the greatest passage towards the South sea, or Mar del Sur.

[Sidenote: A fruitful new Island discovered.] The Busse of Bridgewater, as she came homeward, to the Southeastward of Friseland, discovered a great Island in the latitude of 57 degrees and an halfe, which was neuer yet found before, and sailed three dayes alongst the coast, the land seeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a champion[88] countrey.

There died in the whole Fleete in all this voyage not aboue forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the Fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

A generall and briefe description of the Countrey, and condition of the people, which are found in Meta Incognita.

Hauing now sufficiently and truly set forth the whole circumstance, and particuler handling of euery occurrent in the 3. voyages of our worthy Generall, Captaine Frobisher, it shal not be from the purpose to speake somewhat in generall of the nature of this Countrey called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the sauages there inhabiting.

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[Sidenote: A Topographical description of Meta Incognita.] First therefore touching the Topographical description of the place. It is now found in the last voyage, that Queene Elizabeths Cape being situate in latitude at 61. degrees and a halfe, which before was supposed to be part of the firme land of America, and also al the rest of the South side of Frobishers straites, are all seuerall Islands and broken land, and like wise so will all the North side of the said straites fall out to be as I thinke. And some of our company being entred aboue 60. leagues within the mistaken straites in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainly that they had discryed the firme land of America towards the South, which I thinke will fall out so to be.

These broken lands and Islands being very many in number, do seeme to make there an Archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatnesse, forme, and fashion one from another; so are they in goodnesse, colour, and soyle much vnlike. They all are very high lands, mountaines, and in most parts couered with snow euen all the Sommer long. The Norther lands haue lesse store of snow, more grasse, and are more plaine Countreys: the cause whereof may be, for that the Souther llands receiue all the snow, that the cold winds and piercing ayre bring out of the North. And contrarily, the North parts receiue more warme blasts of milder ayre from the South, whereupon may grow the cause why the people couet to inhabit more vpon the North parts then the South, as farre as we yet by our experience perceiue they doe. [Sidenote: The people of Meta Incognita like vnto Samoeds.] These people I iudge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed, of the same sort and condition of life that the Samoeds bee to the Northeastwards beyond Moscouy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to say in the Moscouy tongue as eaters of themselues, and so the Russians their borderers doe name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did sometime trauell in the parts of Moscouy) who had great experience of those Samoeds and people of the Northeast, I find that in all their maner of liuing, those people of the Northeast, and those of the Northwest are like. [Sidenote: Their natie colour.] They are of the colour of a ripe Oliue, which how it may come to passe, being borne in so cold a climate I referre to the iudgement of others, for they are naturally borne children of the same colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell vnder the Equinoctiall line.

They are men very actiue and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for in our sight vpon the toppes of the hilles they would often muster themselues, and after the maner of a skirmish trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their bowes and dartes with great dexterity. [Sidenote: Their apparel.] They go clad in coates made of the skinnes of beasts, as of Seales, Deere, Beares, Foxes, and Hares. They haue also some garments of feathers,

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being made of the cases of Foules, finely sowed and compact together. Of all which sorts wee brought home some with vs into England, which we found in their tents. In Sommer they vse to weare the hairie side of their coates outward, and sometime goe naked for too much heate. And in Winter (as by signes they haue declared) they weare foure or fiue folde vpon their bodies with the haire (for warmth) turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the ayre there is not indifferent, but either it is feruent hote, or els extreme cold, and farre more excessiue in both qualities, then the reason of the climate should yeeld. For there it is colder, being vnder 62 degrees in latitude, then it is at Wardhouse in the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Moscouie, being at about about 72. degrees in latitude. [Sidenote: The accidental cause of cold ayre at Meta Incognita.] The reason hereof may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with Easterne and Northeastern winds, which from the sea and yce bringeth often an intollerable cold ayre, which was also the cause that this yeere our straits were so long shut vp with so great store of yce. But there is great hope and likelihood, that further within the Straights it will bee more constant and temperate weather.

These people are in nature very subtile and sharpe witted, ready to conceiue our meaning by signes, and to make answers well to be vnderstood againe. And if they haue not seene the thing whereof you aske them, they will wincke, or couer their eyes with their hands, as who would say, it hath bene hid from their sight. If they vnderstand you not whereof you should aske them, they wil stop their eares. They will teach vs the names of each thing in their language which wee desire to learne, and are apt to learne any thing of vs. [Sidenote: The sauages delight in Musicke.] They delight in Musicke about measure, and will keepe time and stroke to any tune which you shall sing, both with their voyce, head, hand and feete, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our Ores in our boates, and keepe a true stroke with our Mariners, and seeme to take great delight therein. [Sidenote: Hard kind of Living.] They liue in Caues of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, euen as the beare or other wild beastes do. They eat raw flesh and fish, and refuse no meat howsoever it be stinking. They are desperate in their fight, sullen of nature, and rauinous in their maner of feeding.

Their sullen and desperate nature doth herein manifestly appeare, that a company of them being enuironed by our men on the top of a hie cliffe, so that they could by no meanes escape our hands, finding themselves in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselves headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather than to yeeld themselves to our mens mercies.

[Sidenote: Their weapons.] For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withall, they haue darts, slings, bowes, and arrowes headed with sharpe stones, bones, and some with yron. They are exceeding friendly and kind hearted one to the other, and

mourne greatly at the losse or harme of their fellowes, and expresse their griefe of mind, when they part one from another with a mourneful song, and Dirges.

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[Sidenote: Their chastity.] They are very shamefast in betraying the secrets of nature, and very chaste in the maner of their liuing: for when the man, which wee brought from thence into England the last voyage, should put off his coat or discouer his whole body for change, he would not suffer the woman to bee present, but put her forth of his Cabin. And in all the space of two or three moneths, while the man liued in company of the woman, there was neuer any thing seene or perceiued betweene them, more then ought haue passed betweene brother and sister: but the woman was in all things very seruiceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was sicke, and he likewise in all the meates which they did eate together, woulde carue vnto her of the sweetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondred much at all our things, and were afraid of our horses and other beasts out of measure. They began to grow more ciuill, familiar, pleasant, and docible amongst vs in very short time.

[Sidenote: Their boates.] They haue boates made of leather, and couered cleane ouer sauing one place in the middle to sit in, planked within with timber, and they vse to row therein with one Ore, more swiftly a great deale, then we in our boates can doe with twentie. They haue one sort of greater boates wherein they can carrie aboue twentie persons, and haue a Mast with a saile thereon, which saile is made of thinne skinnes or bladders, sowed together with the sinewes of fishes.

They are good Fishermen, and in their small Boates being disguised with their coates of Seales skinnes, they deceiue the fish, who take them rather for their fellow Seales, then for deceiuing men.

They are good marke-men. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a Ducke, or any other foule in the head, and commonly in the eye.

When they shoote at a great fish with any of their darts, they vse to tye a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them againe, and the fish not able to cary it so easily away (for that the bladder doth boy the dart) will at length be wearie, and dye therewith.

[Sidenote: Traffique with some other nation vnknownen.] They vse to traffike and exchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they haue such things as their miserable Countrey, and ignorance of Art to make, denieth them to haue, as barres of yron, heads of yron for their darts, needles made foure square, certaine buttons of copper, which they vse to weare vpon their forehads for ornament, as our Ladies in the Court of England doe vse great pearle.

[Sidenote: Gold.] Also they haue made signes vnto vs, that they haue seene gold, and such bright plates of mettals, which are used for ornaments amongst some people with whom they haue conference.

We found also in their tents a Guiny Beane of redde colour, the which doth vsually grow in the hote Countreys: whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell farre off, or else themselues are great trauellers.

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[Sidenote: Their fewell.] They haue nothing in vse among them to maker fire withall, sauing a kinde of Heath and Mosse which groweth there.

[Sidenote: How they make fire.] And they kinde their fire with continuall rubbing and fretting one sticke against another, as we doe with flints. They drawe with dogges in sleads vpon the yce, and remooue their tents therewithall wherein they dwell in Sommer, when they goe a hunting for their praye and prouision against Winter.

[Sidenote: Their kettles and pannes.] They doe sometime parboyle their meat a little and seeth the same in kettles made of beast skins; they haue also pannes cut and made of stones very artificially; they vse prety ginner wherewith they take foule. The women carry their sucking children at their backes, and doe feede them with raw flesh, which first they do a little chaw in their owne mouths. The women haue their faces marked or painted ouer with small blew spots: they haue blacke and long haire on their heads, and trimme the same in a decent order. The men haue but little haire on their faces, and very thinne beards. For their common drinke, they eate yce to quench their thirst withall. [Sidenote: The people eate grasse and shrubs.] Their earth yeeldeth no graine or fruit of sustenance for man, or almost for beast to liue vpon: and the people will eate grasse and shrubs of the ground, euen as our kine doe. They haue no wood growing in their Countrey thereabouts, and yet wee finde they haue some timber among them, which we thinke doth growe farre off to the Southwards of this place, about Canada, or some other part of New found land: for there belike, the trees standing on the cliffes of the sea side, by the waight of yce and snow in Winter ouercharging them with waight, when the Sommers thaw commeth aboue, and the Sea vnderfretting beneath, which winneth dayly of the land, they are vndermined and fall downe from those cliffes into the Sea, and with the tydes and currents are driuen to and fro vpon the coastes further off, and by conjecture are taken vp here by these Countrey people, to serue them to planke and strengthen their boates withall, and to make darts, bowes, and arrowes, and such other things necessarie for their vse. And of this kind of drift wood we find all the Seas ouer great store, which being cut or sawed asunder, by reason of long driuing in the Sea is eaten of wormes, and full of holes, of which sort theirs is found to be.

[Sidenote: A strange kind of gnat.] We haue not yet found any venomous Serpent or other hurtfull thing in these parts, but there is a kind of small flie or gnat that stingeth and offendeth sorely, leauing many red spots in the face, and other places where she stingeth. They haue snow and haile in the best time of their Sommer, and the ground frozen three fadome deepe.

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[Sidenote: Inchanters.] These people are great inchanters, and vse many charmes of witchcraft: for when their heads doe ake, they tye a great stone with a string vnto a sticke, and with certaine prayers and wordes done to the sticke, they lift vp the stone from ground, which sometimes with all a mans force they cannot stirre, and sometime againe they lift as easily as a fether, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious wordes to haue ease and helpe. And they made vs by signes to vnderstand, lying groueling with their faces vpon the ground, and making a noise downeward, that they worship the deuill vnder them.

[Sidenote: The beasts and foules of the Countrey.] They have great store of Deere, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and innumerable numbers of sundry sorts of wild foule, as Seamewes, Gules, Wilmites, Ducks, &c. whereof our men killed in one day fiftene hundred. They haue also store of haukes, as Falkons, Tassels, &c. whereof two alighted vpon one of our ships at their returne, and were brought into England, which some thinke wil proue very good.

There are also great store of rauens, larkes, and partridges, whereof the countrey people feed.

All these foules are farre thicker clothed with downe and fethers, and haue thicker skinned then any in England haue: for as that countrey is colder, so nature hath provided a remedie thereunto.

Our men haue eaten of the Beares, Hares, Partridges, Larkes, and of their wild foule, and find them reasonable good meat, but not so delectable as ours.

Their wild foule must be all fleine, their skins are so thicke: and they tast best fried in pannes.

The Countrey seemeth to be much subiect to Earthquakes.

The ayre is very subtile, piercing and searching, so that if any corrupted or infected body, especially with the disease called Morbus Gallicus come there, it will presently breake forth and shew it selfe, and cannot there by any kind of salve or medicine be cured.

Their longest Sommers day is of great length, without any darke night, so that in Iuly al the night long, we might perfittly and easily write and reade whatsoever had pleased vs, which lightsome nights were very beneficiall vnto vs, being so distressed with abundance of yce as we were.

[Sidenote: The length of their day.] The Sunne setteth to them in the Euening at a quarter of an houre after tenne of the clocke, and riseth againe in the morning, at three quarters of an houre after one of the clocke, so that in Sommer their Sunne shineth to



them twenty houres and a halfe, and in the night is absent three houres and a halfe. And although the Sunne bee absent these 3. houres and a halfe, yet it is not darke that time, for that the Sunne is neuer aboue three or foure degrees vnder the edge of their Horizon; the cause is that the Tropicke of Cancer doth cut their Horizon at very vneuen and oblique Angles.

[Sidenote: A full reuolution of the Moone aboue their Horizon.] But the Moone at anytime of the yeere being in Cancer, hauing North latitude; doth make a full revolution aboue their Horizon, so that sometime they see the Moone about 24. houres together. Some of our company of the more ignorant sort, thought we might continually haue seene the Sunne and the Moone, had it not bene for two or three high mountaines.

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The people are now become so warie, and so circumspect, by reason of their former losses, that by no meines we can apprehend any of them, although wee attempted often in this last voyage. But to say trueth wee could not bestow any great time in pursuing them, because of our great businesse in lading, and other things.

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The Letters patents of the Queenes Maiestie, granted to Master Adrian Gylbert and others, for the search and discouery of the Northwest Passage to China.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all, to whome these presents shall come, greeting: Forasmuch as our trustie and welbeloued subiect Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great costes and charges, hath greatly and earnestly trauelled and sought, and yet doth trauell and seeke, and by diuers meanes indeuoureth and laboureth, that the Passage vnto China and the Iles of the Moluccas, by the Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, vnto which part of the world, none of our loyall Subiects haue hitherto had any traffique or trade, may be discouered, knowen, and frequented by the Subiects of this our Realme: Knowe yee therefore that for the considerations aforesayd and for diuers other good considerations vs thereunto specially moouing. We of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and to any other person by him or his heires to be assigned, and to those his associates and assistants, whose names are written in a Scedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one assigne of each of them, and each of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of these presents, vnder our Banners and Ensignes freely, without let, interruption, or restraint, of vs, our heires or successors, any law, statute proclamation, patent charter, or prouiso to the contrary notwithstanding, to saile, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to passe and to depart out of this our Realme of England, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoeuer, that by the sayde Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, is to be by him, his associates or assignes discouered, and for and in the sayd sayling, voyage, and passage, to haue and vse so many shippes, Barkes, Pinnesses, or any vessels of any qualitie or burthen, with all the furniture, of men, victuals, and all maner of necessary prouision, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtinances, whatsoeuer, as to such a voyage shall or may be requisite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, statute, ordinance or prouiso

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to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And also we doe giue and grant to the sayde Adrian Gylbert, and his sayde associates, and to such assignee of him, and his heires, and to the heires and one assignee of euery of his sayde associates for euer, full power and absolute authoritie to trade and make their residance in any of the sayde Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoever with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the sayde places or any of them, growing and arising, with all maner of priuiledges, prerogatives, iurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land whatsoever, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and successors, the tenth part of all such golde and siluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious stones, or the value thereof, as the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associates, their heires and assignes, servants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them shall finde, the sayd tenth to bee deliuered duely to our Customer, or other officers by vs, our heires or successors thereunto assigned, in the Fortes of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, at which three places onely the sayde Adrian Gylbert and his sayde associates, their sayde heires and assignes, shall lade, charge, arriue, and discharge all maner of wares, goods, and merchandizes whatsoever to the sayde voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreouer, wee haue giuen, granted, and authorized, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the said Adrian Gilbert, and his said associats for euer, their heires and their said assignes and euery of them, that if the aforesayd Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, or Hauens, or any other of the premises by the sayd Adrian Gylbert or his associates, their heires and their said assignes or any of them, to be found by them, discovered and traffiqued vnto by any trade as aforesayd, shall be by any other our subiects visited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforesayd, without the special licence in writing of the said Adrian Gylbert and his associats, and their heires and assignes for euer, or by the most part of them, so that the sayd Adrian Gilbert, his heires or assignes be one of them, that then aswell their ship, or ships in any such voyage or voyages be vsed, as all and singuler their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatsoever, from or to any of the places aforesayd transported, that so shall presume to visit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, shall be forfeited and confiscated, ipso facto, the one halfe of the same goods and marchandizes, or other things whatsoever, or the value thereof to be to the vse of vs, our heires or successours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vse of the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his said

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associats their heires and assignes for euer: [Sidenote: The colleagues of the fellowship for the discouery the Northwest passage.] and vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes wee impose, giue, assigne, create and confirme this, name peculiar to be named by, to sue and to be sued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, and them for vs, our heires and successours by that name doe incorporate, and doe erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer. Moreouer vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his said associats, and vnto their heires and their sayd assignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, we haue giuen, granted, and confirmed, and doe by these presents giue, grant, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree and enact, constitute and ordeine, and appoynt all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and actes, as the sayd new corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, shall thinke meete, necessary, and conuenient, so that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, and of this our present graunt.

And we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of our authority, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, do establish, confirme and ratifie all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in so full and great power and authority, as we, our heires or successours may or can in any such case graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing subiects in this discouerie, we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of authority for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue, graunt, establish, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allow by these presents, to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and to his associates, and to the heires and assignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other person or persons of our louing subiects whatsoever that shall hereafter trauaile, sayle, discouer, or make voyage as aforesayd to any of the Iles, Mainelands, Countreys or Territories whatsoever, by vertue of this our graunt to be discovered; [Sidenote: Free Denization granted.] that the heires and assignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands and Countreys, or Territories whatsoever before mentioned, shall haue and enioy all the privileges of free Denizens, as persons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and personally resiant within our sayd Realme, any law, statute, proclamation, custome or vsage to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

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Moreouer, for the consideration aforesayd by vertue hereof, we giue and graunt vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, [Sidenote: This Patent remained in force fiue yeeres.] that during the space of fiue yeeres next and immediately ensuing the date hereof, it shall not be lawfull for any person or persons whatsoever, to visit, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Iles, Mainlands, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatsoever hitherto not yet discovered by any of our subiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the special consent and good liking of the said Adrian Gylbert, his heires or assignes first had in writing. And if any person or persons of the associats of the sayd Adrian, his heires or assignes or any other person or persons whatsoever, free of this discouery, shall do any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the space of the sayd fiue yeeres, that then the partie and parties so offending, they and their heires for euer shall loose (ipso facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and shall stand and remaine to all intents and purposes as persons exempted out of this graunt.

[Sidenote: Authoritie to proceede at Sea against mutiners.] And further by vertue hereof wee giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successours at all times during the space of fiue yeers next ensuing the date hereof, libertie and licence, and full authority to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and assignes, that if it shall happen any one or moe in any ship or ships sayling on their sayd voyage, to become mutinous, seditious, disordered, or any way vnruely to the preiudice or hinderance of the hope for the successe in the attempt or prosecuting of this discouerie or trade intended, to vse or execute vpon him or them so offending, such punishment, correction, or execution, as the cause shall be found in iustice to require by the verdict of twelue of the companie sworne thereunto, as in such a case apperteineth: That expresse mention of the certaintie of the premisses, or of other gifts or graunts by vs to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his associats before this time made is not mentioned in these presents, or any other lawe, act, statute, prouiso, graunt, or proclamation heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. [Sidenote: 1583.] In witnesse whereof we haue made these our Letters to bee made patents: Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the sixt day of Februarie, in the sixe and twenty yeere of our reigne.

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The first voyage of M. Iohn Davis, undertaken in June 1585. for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, Written by M. Iohn Ianes Marchant, sometimes seruant to the worshipfull Master William Sanderson.

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Certaine Honourable personages, and worthy Gentlemen of the Court and Countrey, with diuers worshipful Marchants of London and of the West Countrey, mooued with desire to aduance Gods glory and to seeke the good of their natie Countrey, consulting together of the likelihood of the Discoverie of the Northwest passage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but vnhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnlooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principall purpose, resolved after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to prouide for necessarie shipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductor of this so hard an enterprise. The setting forth of this action was committed by the aduenturers, especially to the care of M. William Sanderson Marchant of London, who was so forward therein, that besides his trauaile which was not small, he became the greatest aduenturer with his purse, and commended vnto the rest of the companie one M. Iohn Davis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exploit.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the seuenth of Iune, towards the discoverie of the aforesayd Northwest passage, with two Barkes, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneshine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneshine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneshine we had 23. persons, whose names are these following, M. Iohn Daus Captaine, William Eston Master, Richard Pope masters mate, Iohn Iane Marchant, Henry Daue gunner, William Crosse boatswayne, Iohn Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, Iohn Ellis, Iohn Kelley, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Russel, Christopher Gorney boy: [Sidenote: Musitians.] Iames Cole, Francis Ridley, John Russell, Robert Cornish Musicians.

The Mooneshine had 19. persons, William Bruton Captaine Iohn Ellis Master, the rest Mariners.

The 7. of Iune the Captaine and the Master drewe out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the wind being at Southwest and West Southwest, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained vntill the 13.

The 13. the wind blew at North, and being faire weather we departed.

The 14. with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15. wee departed thence, hauing the wind North and by East moderate and faire weather.

The 16. wee were driuen backe againe, and were constrained to arriue at newe Grymsby in Silley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that space the Captaine, the Master and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did plat out and



describe the situation of all the llands, rocks and harboroughs to the exact vse of Nauigation, with lines and scale thereunto conuenient.

[Sidenote: They depart from Silley.] The 28. in Gods name we departed the wind being Easterly but calme.

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[Sidenote: Iuly.] The first of Iuly wee sawe great store of Porposes; The Master called for an harping yron, and shot twise or thrise: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and strooke him in the side, and wound him into the ship: when we had him aboard, the Master sayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eat as sweete as any mutton.

The 3. wee had more in sight, and the Master went to shoote at them, but they were so great, that they burst our yrons, and we lost both fish, yrons, pastime and all: yet neuerthesse the Master shot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was so strong that he burst off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke the boate-hook, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile, so at length we let them alone.

The 6. we saw a very great Whale, and euery day we saw whales continually.

[Sidenote: Great store of whales.] The 16. and 17. we saw great store of Whales.

The 19. of Iuly we fell into a great whirling and brustling of a tyde, setting to the Northwards: and sayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the Southsouthwest. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had bene the breach of some shoare, the ayre being so fogie and fulle of thicke mist, that we could not see the one ship from the other, being a very small distance asunder: so the Captaine and the Master being in distrust how the tyde might set them, caused the Mooneshine to hoysse out her boate and to sound, but they could not finde ground in 300 fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be, giuing the charge to our gunners that at euery glasse they should shoote off a musket shot, to the intent we might keepe ourselues from loosing them.

[Sidenote: The rouling of the yce together made a great roaring.] Then coming nere to the breach, we met many llands of yce floting, which had quickly compassed vs about: then we went vpon some of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was caused onely by the rowling of this yce together: [Sidenote: Yce turned into water.] Our companie seeing vs not to returne according to our appoyntment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoote falkonets, for they feared some mishap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboard againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good fresh water. Then wee bent our course toward the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

[Sidenote: The land of Desolation.] The 20. as we sayled along the coast the fogge broke, and we discouered the land, which was the most deformed rockie and mountainous land that euer we saw: The first sight whereof did shew as if it had bene in forme of a sugar-loafe, standing to our sight aboue the cloudes, for that it did shew ouer the fogge like a white liste in the skie, the tops altogether covered with snow, and the shoare beset with yce a league off into the Sea, making such yrkesome noyse as



that it seemed to be the true patterne of desolation, and after the same our Captaine named it, The land of Desolation.

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The 21. the winde came Northerly and ouerblew, so that we were constrained to bend our course South againe, for we perceiued that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almost compassed with yce, for we saw very much toward the Northnortheast, West, and Southwest: and this day and this night wee cleared our selues of the yce, running Southsouthwest along the shoare.

Vpon Thursday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoysed out our boate, and the Captaine with sixe sayles went towards the shore, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coast to be voyde of yce to our iudgement, and the same night wee were all perswaded that we had seene a Canoa rowing along the shoare, but afterwards we fell in some doubt of it, but we had no great reason so to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the shoare, willed the Master to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the shoare by the space of a league, or about two miles, hee found so much yce, that hee could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to see if they could get any fish, because there were so many seales vpon the coast, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: [Sidenote: Very blacke water.] The water about this place was very blacke and thicke like to a filthy standing poole, we sounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. [Sidenote: Floting wood.] While the Captaine was rowing to the shoare, our men sawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not discerne them, yet it might be so very well, for we had wood floting vpon the coast euery day, and the Moone-shine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coast being sixtie foote of length and fourteene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After this the Captaine came aboard, the weather being very calme and faire we bent our course toward the South, with intent to double the land.

The 23. we coasted the land which did lie Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest.

The 24. the winde being very faire at East, we coasted the land which did lie East and West, not being able to come neere the shoare by reason of the great quantitie of yce. [Sidenote: Colde by reason of yce.] At this place, because the weather was somewhat colde by reason of the yce, and the better to encourage our men, their allowance was increased: the captaine and the master tooke order that euery messe, being fiue persons, should haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfast. The weather was not very colde, but the aire was moderate like to our April-weather in England: when the winde came from the land, or the ice, it was somewhat colde, but when it came off the sea it was very hote.

[Sidenote: They saile Northwestward aboue foure dayes.] The 25. of this moneth we departed from sight of this land at sixe of the clocke in the morning, directing our course to the Northwestward, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our desired passage, and so continued aboue foure dayes.

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[Sidenote: Land in 64 degrees 15 min.] The 29. of Iuly we discovered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing Northeast from vs. The winde being contrary to goe to the Northwestwards, we bare in with this land to take some view of it, being vtterly void of the pester yce and very temperate. Comming neere the coast, we found many faire sounds and good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we iudged this land to be a great number of Islands standing together. Heere hauing mored our barke in good order, we went on shoare vpon a small Island to seeke for water and wood. [Sidenote: The sound where our ships did ride was called Gilberts Sound.] Vpon this Island we did perceiue that there had bene people: or we found a small shoo and pieces of leather sowed with sinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Island on the other side of our shippes: and the Captaine, the master, and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the countrey hauing espied vs, made a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and skreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At last I hallowed againe, and they likewise cried. Then we perceiuing where they stood, some on the shoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a small Island fast by them, we made a great noise, partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. [Sidenote: Musicians.] Whereupon M. Bruton and the Master of his shippe, with others of their company, made great haste towards vs, and brought our Musicians with them from our shippe, purposing either by force to rescue vs, if need should so require, or with courtesie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we caused our Musicians to play, our selues dancing, and making many signes of friendship. [Sidenote: The people of the countrey came and conferred with our men.] At length there came tenne Canoas from the other Islands, and two of them came so neere the shoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a prety way off. Their pronounciation was very hollow thorow the throat, and their speech such as we could not vnderstand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and signes of courtesie. At length one of them pointing vp to the Sunne with his hand, would presently strike his breast so hard that we might heare the blow. This hee did many times before hee would any way trust vs. Then Iohn Ellis the Master of the Mooneshine was appointed to vse his best policie to gaine their friendship; who strooke his breast, and pointed to the Sunne after their order: which when he had diuers time done, they beganne to trust him, and one of them came on shoare, to whom we threw our cappes, stockings, and gloues, and such other things as then we had about vs, playing with our musicke, and making signes of ioy, and dauncing. So the night comming, we bade them farewell, and went aboard our barks.

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[Sidenote: Thirty seuen Canoas. Their musicke.] The next morning being the 30. of Iuly there came 37 Canoas rowing by our ships, calling to vs to come on shoare: we not making any great haste vnto them, one of them went vp to the toppe of the rocke, and leapt and daunced as they had done the day before, shewing vs a seales skinne, and another thing made like a timbrell, which he did beat vpon with a sticke, making a noise like a small drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all staying in their Canoas: we come to the water side where they were: and after we had sworne by the Sunne after their fashion, they did trust vs. [Sidenote: Great familiarity with the Sauages.] So I shooke hands with one of them, and he kissed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in so great credit with them vpon this single acquaintance, that we could haue any thing they had. We bought fiue Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of seales skinnes and birds skinnes; their buskins, their hose, their gloues, all being commonly sowed and well dressed: so that we were fully perswaded that they haue diuers artificers among them. We had a paire of buskins of them full of fine wool like beuer. Their apparell for heat was made of birds skinnes with their feathers on them. We saw among them leather dressed like Glouers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes displease vs, but would giue vs whatsoeuer we asked of them, and would be satisfied with whatsoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care of one another: for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and cary him away betweene them that had solde vs his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and easie to be brought to any civility or good order: but we iudge them to be idolaters and to worship the Sunne.

[Sidenote: Diuers sorts of wood.] During the time of our abode among these Islands we found reasonable quantitie of wood, both firre, spruse and iuniper; which whether it came floating any great distance to these places where we found it, or whether it grew in some great Islands neere the same place by vs not yet discouered, we know not; but we iudge that it groweth there further into the land then we were, because the people had great store of darts and oares which they made none account of, but gaue them to vs for small trifles, as points and pieces of paper. [Sidenote: They may make much traine, if they had meanes how to vse it.] We saw about this coast marueilous great abundance of seales skulling together like skuls of small fish. We found no fresh water among these Islands, but onely snow water, whereof we found great pooles. The cliffes were all of such oare as M. Frobisher brought from Meta incognita. [Sidenote: Moscouie glasse.] We had diuers shewes of Study or Muscouy glasse shining not altogether vnlike to Christall.

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[Sidenote: A fruit like corinths.] We found an herbe growing vpon the rocks whose fruit was sweet, full of red iuice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found also birch and willow growing like shrubbes low to the ground. These people haue great store of furies as we iudge. They made shewes vnto vs the 30 of this present, which was the second time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue skinnes and furies, that they would go into the countrey and come againe the next day with such things as they had: but this night the winde comming faire, the captaine and the master would by no meanes detract the purpose of our discouery. And so the last of this moneth about foure of the clocke in the morning in God's name we set saile, and were all that day becalmed vpon the coast.

[Sidenote: August.] The first of August we had a faire winde, and so proceeded towards the Northwest for our discouery.

[Sidenote: Land in 66 degrees 40 min.] The sixt of August we discouered land in 66 degrees 40 minuts of latitude, altogether void from the pester of ice: we ankered in a very faire rode vnder a braue mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde. This Mount was named Mount Raleigh. The rode where our ships lay at anker was called Totnes rode. The sound which did compasse the mount was named Exeter sound. The foreland towards the North was called Diers cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walsingham. [Sidenote: Foure white beares.] So soone as we were come to an anker in Totnes rode vnder Mount Raleigh, we espied foure white beares at the foot of the mount: we supposing them to be goats or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when we came neere the shore, we found them to be white beares of a monstrous bignesse: we being desirous of fresh victuall and the sport, began to assault them, and I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right against me: my piece was charged with hailshot and a bullet: I discharged my piece and shot him in the necke; he roared a litle, and tooke the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boare-speares, and two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes: but we iudged by their dung that they fed vpon grasse, because it appeared in all respects like the dung of an horse, wherein we might very plainly see the very strawes.

The 7 we went on shore to another beare which lay all night vpon the top of an Island vnder Mount Raleigh, and when we came vp to him he lay fast asleep. [Sidenote: A large white beare.] I leuelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gaue no fire: with that he looked vp, and layed downe his head againe: then I shot being charged with two bullets, and strooke him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: wherevpon we ran all vpon him with boare-speares, and thrust him in the body: yet for that he gript away our boare-speares, and went towards the water;

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and as he was going downe, he came backe againe. Then our Master shot his boare-spear, and strooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swimme into a coue fast by, where we killed him, and brought him aboard. The breadth of his forefoot from one side to the other was fourteene inches ouer. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away. We saw a rauē vpon Mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing like low shrubs and flowers like Primroses in the sayd place. The coast is very mountainous, altogether without wood, grasse, or earth, and is onely huge mountaines of stone; but the brauest stone that euer we saw. The aire was very moderate in this countrey.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coasting along the shoare, which lieth Southsouthwest, and Eastnortheast.

The 9 our men fell in dislike of their allowance, because it was too small as they thought: whereupon we made a new proportion; euery messe being fiue to a messe should haue foure pound of bread a day, twelue wine quarts of beere, six Newland fishes; and the flesh dayes a gill of pease more: so we restrained them from their butter and cheese.

The 11 we came to the most Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of Gods mercy, as being the place of our first entrance for the discouery. The weather being very foggy we coasted this North land; at length when it brake vp, we perceiued that we were shot into a very faire entrance or passage, being in some places twenty leagues broad, and in some thirty, altogether void of any pester of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the maine ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our passage. Hauing sailed Northwest sixty leagues in this entrance we discouered certaine Islands standing in the midst thereof, hauing open passage on both sides. Wherupon our ships diuided themselues, the one sailing on the North side, the other on the South side of the sayd Isles, where we stayed fiue dayes, hauing the winde at Southeast, very foggy and foule weather.

The 14 we went on shoare and found signes of people, for we found stones layed vp together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

The 15 we heard dogs houle on the shoare, which we thought had bene wolues, and therefore we went on shoare to kill them. When we came on land the dogges came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we shot at them, and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a leatherne collar, whereupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like mastiues with prickt eares and long bushy tailes: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. [Sidenote: Timber sawen.] Then we went farther, and found two sleads made like ours in England: the one was made of firre, spruse and oken boords sawen

like inch boords: the other was made all of whale bone, and there hung on the tops of the sleads three heads of beasts which they had killed. [Sidenote: Fowle.] We saw here larks, rauens, and partridges.

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[Sidenote: An image.] The 17 we went on shoare, and in a little thing made like an ouen with stones I found many small trifles, as a small canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing small holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, and other small things. The coast was very barren without wood or grasse: the rocks were very faire like marble, full of vaines of diuers colours. We found a seale which was killed not long before, being fleane, and hid vnder stones.

[Sidenote: Probabilities for the passage.] Our Captaine and Master searched for probabilities of the passage, and first found, that this place was all Islands, with great sounds passing betweene them.

[Sidenote: Wee neuer came into any bay before or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackish.] Secondly the water remained of one colour with the maine ocean without altering.

Thirdly we saw to the West of those Isles three or foure whales in a skull, which they iudged to come from a Westerly sea, because to the Eastward we saw not any whale.

Also as we were rowing into a very great sound lying Southwest, from whence these whales came, vpon the sudden there came a violent counter-checke of a tide from the Southwest against the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was maintained.

Fiftly, in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had sounding in 90 fadoms, faire grey osie sand, and the further we ran into the Westwards the deeper was the water; so that hard aboard the shoare among these Isles we could not haue ground in 330 fadoms.

Lastly, it did ebbe and flow sixe or seuen fadome vp and downe, the flood comming from diuers parts, so as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18 and 19 our Captaine and Master determined what was best to doe, both for the safeguard of their credits, and satisfying of the aduenturers, and resolved, if the weather brake vp, to make further search.

The 20 the winde came directly against vs: so they altered their purpose, and reasoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21 the winde being Northwest, we departed from these Islands; and as we coasted the South shoare we saw many faire sounds, whereby we were perswaded that it was no firme land but Islands.

The 23 of this moneth the wind came Southeast, with very stormy and foule weather: so we were constrained to seeke harborow vpon the South coast of this entrance, where we fell into a very faire sound, and ankered in 25 fadoms greene osie sand.



[Sidenote: Faulcons.] Here we went on shore, where we had manifest signes of people where they had made their fire, and layed stone like a wall. In this place we saw foure very faire faulcons; and M. Bruton tooke from one of them his prey, which we iudged by the wings and legs to be a snite, for the head was eaten off.

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The 24 in the afternoone, the winde comming somewhat faire, we departed from this road, purposing by Gods grace to returne for England.

[Sidenote: Their returne.] The 26 we departed from sight of the North land of this entrance, directing our course homewards vntill the tenth of the next moneth.

[Sidenote: September.] The 10. of September wee fell with The land of desolation, thinking to goe on shoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night wee put to sea againe, thinking to search it the next day: but this night arose a very great storme, and separated our ships, so that we lost the sight of the Mooneshine.

[Sidenote: They saile from The land of desolation to England in 14. dayes.] The 13. about noone (hauing tried all the night before with a goose wing) we set saile, and within two houres after we had sight of the Mooneshine againe: this day we departed from this land.

The 27. of this moneth we fell with sight of England. This night we had a marueilous storme and lost the Mooneshine.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth, where wee found the Mooneshine being come in not two houres before.[89]

\* \* \* \* \*

The second voyage attempted by M. Iohn Daus with others, for the Discouery of the Northwest passage, in Anno 1586.

The 7. day of May, I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the discouery of the Northwest passage, with a ship of an hundred and twentie tunnes named the Mermayd, a barke of 60. tunnes named the Sunneshine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the Mooneshine, and a pinnesse of tenne tunnes named the North starre.

[Sidenote: Land discovered in 60. degrees.] And the 15. of Iune I discovered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the Meridian of London Westward 47. degrees, mightily pestered with yce and snow, so that there was no hope of landing; the yce lay in some places tenne leagues, in some 20. and in some 50. leagues off the shore, so that wee were constrained to beare into 57. degrees to double the same, and to recouer a free Sea, which through Gods faourable mercy we at length obtained.

The 29. of Iune after many tempestuous storms we againe discovered land, in longitude from the Meridian of London 58. degr. 30. min. and in latitude 64. being East from vs: into which course sith it please God by contrary winds to force vs, I thought it very necessary to beare in with it, and there to set vp our pinnesse, prouided in the Mermayd to be our scout for this discouery, and so much the rather because the yere before I had bene in the same place, and found it very conuenient for such a purpose, wel stored



with flote wood, and possessed by a people of tractable conversation: so that the 29. of this moneth we arriued within the Isles which lay before this land, lying North northwest, and South southeast, we knew not how farre. This land is very high and mountainous, hauing before it on the West side a mighty company of Isles full of faire sounds, and harboroughs. This land was very little troubled with snow, and the sea altogether voyd of yce.

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[Sidenote: Gentle and louing Sauages.] The ships being within the sounds wee sent our boates to search for shole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very hard to finde: and as the boat went sounding and searching, the people of the countrey hauing espied them, came in their Canoas towards them with many shoutes and cries: but after they had espied in the boat some of our company that were the yeere before here with vs, they presently rowed to the boate, and tooke hold on the oare, and hung about the boate with such comfortable ioy, as would require a long discourse to be uttered: they came with the boates to our ships, making signes that they knewe all those that the yeere before had bene with them. After I perceiued their ioy and small feare of vs, myselfe with the Merchants and others of the company went a shoare, bearing with me twentie kniues: I had no sooner landed, but they leapt out of their Canoas and came running to mee and the rest, and embraced vs with many signes of heartie welcome: at this present there were eighteene of them, and to eche of them I gaue a knife: they offered skinnies to me for reward, but I made signes that they were not solde, but giuen them of courtesie: and so dismissed them for that time, with signes that they should returne againe after certaine houres.

[Sidenote: An 100 Canoas with diuers commodities.] The next day with all possible speed the pinnesse was landed vpon an Isle there to be finished to serue our purpose for the discouerie, which Isle was so conuenient for that purpose, as that we were very wel able to defend ourselues against many enemies. During the time that the pinnesse was there setting vp, the people came continually vnto vs sometime an hundred Canoas at a time, sometime fortie, fiftie, more and lesse, as occasion serued. They brought with them seale skinnies, stagge skinnies, white hares, Seale fish, salmon peale, smal cod, dry caplin, with other fish, and birds such as the countrey did yeeld.

My selfe still desirous to haue a further search of this place, sent one of the shipboates to one part of the land, and my selfe went to another part to search for the habitation of this people, with straight commandement that there should be no iniurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne shot.

[Sidenote: Images, trane oyle, and Seale skins in tan tubs.] The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with seale skinnies set vp vpon timber, wherein they found great store of dried Caplin, being a little fish no bigger than a pilchard: they found bags of Trane oyle, many litle images cut in wood, Seale skinnies in tan-tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

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[Sidenote: A plaine champion countrey. A goodly riuer.] They also found tenne miles within the snowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and grasse, such our moory and waste grounds of England are: they went vp into a riuer (which in the narrowest place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still to continue they knewe not howe farre: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the first it offered a large inlet, yet it proued but a deepe bay, the ende whereof in foure houres I attained, and there leauing the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company three or foure miles into the countrey, but found nothing, nor saw any thing; saue onely gripes, rauens, and small birds, as larkes and linnets.

The third of Iuly I manned my boat, and went with fifty Canoas attending vpon me vp into another sound where the people by signes willed mee to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made signes that I should goe into warme place to sleepe, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the toppe of an high hill to see into the countrey, but perceiuing my labour vaine, I returned againe to my boate, the people still following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs vp the rockes, and likewise downe: at length I was desirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wrestling, we found them strong and nimble, and to haue skil in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

The fourth of Iuly we lanchd our pinnesse, and had fortie of the people to help vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wrestled with them, and found them as before, strong and skillfull. [Sidenote: A graue with a crosse layd ouer. The Tartars and people of Iapon are also smal eyed.] The fourth of Iuly the Master of the Mermayd went to certaine Ilands to store himselfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, only couered with seale skinnes, hauing a crosse laid ouer them, The people are of good stature, wel in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages, and smal eyes, wide mouthes, the most part vnbearded, great lips, and close toothed. Their custome is as often as they go from vs, still at their returne to make a new truce, in this sort, holding his hand vp to the Sun with a lowd voice he crieth Ylyaoute, and striketh his brest with like signes, being promised safety, he giueth credit. These people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deeres haire, or haire of an elan. They are idolaters and haue images great store, which they weare about them, and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and haue many kinds of inchantments, which they often vsed, but to small purpose, thanks be to God.

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[Sidenote: Their maner of kindling fire like to theirs in America.] Being among them at shore the fourth of Iuly, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire in this maner: he tooke a piece of a board wherein was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round stick like vnto a bedstaffe, wetting the end thereof in Trane, and in fashion of a turner with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doeth very speedily produce fire: [Sidenote: A fire made of turfes.] which done, with turfes he made a fire, into which with many words and strange gestures, he put diuerse things, which wee supposed to be a sacrifice: my selfe and diuers of my company standing by, they were desirous to haue me go into the smoke, I willed them likewise to stand in the smoke, which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, and to spurne it into the sea, which was done to shew them that we did contemne their sorcery. [Sidenote: Great theeuues.] These people are very simple in all their conuersation, but marueillous theeuish, especially for iron, which they haue in great account. They began through our lenitie to shew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonelights boat from her sterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to aire, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they stole our oares, a caliuier, a boare speare, a sword, with diuers other things, whereat the company and Masters being grieued, for our better securitie, desired me to dissolue this new friendship, and to leaue the company of these theeuish miscreants: whereupon there was a caliuier shot among them, and immediatly vpon the same a faulcon, which strange noice did sore amaze them, so that with speed they departed: notwithstanding their simplicitie is such, that within ten hours after they came againe to vs to entreat peace: which being promised, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs Seale skinnes, and sammon peale, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbear stealing: which when I perceiued, it did but minister vnto mee an occasion of laughter, to see their simplicitie, and I willed that, in no case they should bee any more hardly used, but that our owne company should be the more vigilant to keepe their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short time to make them know their euils. [Sidenote: Their rude diet.] They eate all their meat raw, they liue most vpon fish, they drinke salt water, and eate grasse and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but liue in the nature of fishes, saue only when dead sleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke laying his boat vpon the land, hee lyeth downe to sleepe. [Sidenote: Their weapons.] Their weapons are all darts, but some of them haue bow and arrowes and slings. [Sidenote: Strange nets.] They make nets to take their fish of the finne of a whale: they do their things very artificially: [Sidenote:

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These Islanders warre with the people of the maine.] and it should seeme that these simple theeuish Islanders haue warre with those of the maine, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they receiued vpon the maine land, as by signes they gaue vs to vnderstand. We had among them copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: [Sidenote: Copper oare.] they pronounce their language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: these words following we learned from them.

[Sidenote: Their language.]

Kesinyoh, Eate some.  
Madlycoyte, Musicke.  
Aginyoh, go fetch.  
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.  
Ponameg, A boat.  
Paaotyck, An oare.  
Asanock, A dart.  
Sawygmeg, A knife.  
Vderah, A nose.  
Aoh, Iron.  
Blete, An eye.  
Vnuicke, Giue it.  
Tuckloak, A stagge or ellan.  
Panygmah, A neddle.  
Aob, The Sea.  
Mysacoah, Wash it.  
Lethicksaneg, A seale skinne.  
Canyglow, Kiss me.  
Vgnera, My sonne.  
Acu, Shot.  
Conah, Leape.  
Maatuke, Fish.  
Sambah, Below.  
Maconmeg, Will you haue this.  
Cooah, Go to him.  
Aba, fallen downe.  
Icune, Come hither.  
Awennye, Yonder.  
Nugo, No.  
Tucktodo, A fogge.  
Lechiksa, A skinne.  
Maccoah, A dart.  
Sugnacoon, A coat.



Gounah, Come downe.  
Sasobneg, A bracelet.  
Vgnake, A tongue.  
Ataneg, A seale.  
Macuah, A beard.  
Pignagogah, A threed.  
Quoysah, Giue it to me.

The 7. of Iuly being very desirous to search the habitation of this countrey, I went myselfe with our new pinnesse into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and passing vp a very large riuer, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby wee were constrained to seeke succour for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and went to the top of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to see into the countrey: but the mountaines were so many and so mighty as that my purpose preuailed not: [Sidenote: Muscles.] [Sidenote: A strange whirlwind.] whereupon I againe returned to my pinnesse, and willing diuers of my company to gather muscles for my supper, whereof in this place there was great store, myselfe hauing espied a very strange sight, especially to me that neuer before saw the like, which was a mighty whirlwinde taking vp the water in very great quantitie, furiously mounting it into the aire, which whirlwinde, was not for a puffe or blast, but continual, for the space of three houres, with very little intermission, which sith it was in the course that I should passe, we were constrained that night to take vp our lodging vnder the rocks.



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[Sidenote: Great Ilands.] The next morning the storme being broken vp, we went forward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great riuer directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge waste, and desert Isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing betweene Sea and Sea. Whereupon we returned towards our shippes, and landing to stoppe a fload, we found the burial of these miscreants; we found of their fish in bagges, plaices, and calpin dried, of which wee tooke onely one bagge and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our ships, where we found the people desirous in their fashion, of friendship and barter:

[Sidenote: Slings.] our Mariners complained heauily against the people, and said that my lenitie and friendly vsing of them gaue them stomacke to mischief: for they haue stollen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerously, they haue cut our boats from our sterne, and now since your departure, with slings they spare vs not with stones of halfe a pound weight: and wil you stil indure these iniuries? It is a shame to beare them. I desired them to be content, and said, I doubted not but all should be wel. The 10. of this moneth I went to the shore, the people following mee in their Canoas: I tolled them on shoare, and vsed them with much courtesie, and then departed aboard, they following me, and my company. I gaue some of them bracelets, and caused seuen or eight of them to come aboard, which they did willingly, and some of them went into the top of the ship: and thus curteously vsing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no sooner downe, but they began to practice they deuilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Mooneshine, and strake one of her men then boatswaine, that he ouerthrew withall: whereat being moued, I changed my curtesie, and grew to hatred, my self in my owne boate well manned with shot, and the barks boat likewise pursued them, and gaue them diuers shot, but to small purpose, by reason of their swift rowing: so smally content we returned.

The 11. of this moneth there came fiue of them to make a new truce: the master of the Admiral came to me to shew me of their comming, and desired to haue them taken and kept as prisoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he sawe that the chiefe ringleader and master of mischief was one of the fiue, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaout, and striking his brest offered a paire of gloues to sell, the master offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was soone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him and his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made signes that he should be set at libertie: [Sidenote: One of the people taken which after dyed.] within one houre after he came aboard the winde came faire, wherevpon we weyed and set saile, and so brought the fellow

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with vs: one of his fellowes still following our ship close aboard, talked with him and made a kind of lamentation, we still vsing him wel with Yliaout, which was the common course of curtesie. At length this fellow aboard vs spake foure or fiue words vnto the other and clapped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we suppose with heauie chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body downe, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among vs. I gaue him a new sute of frize after the English fashion, because I saw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very ioyful, he trimmed vp his darts, and all his fishing tooles, and would make okam, and set his hand to a ropes end vpon occasion. He liued with the dry Caplin that I tooke when I was searching in the pinnis, and did eate dry Newfoundland fish.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at sea the fourteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the sea, with praise giuen to God by seruice, was cast ouerboard.

[Sidenote: A huge quantitie of yce in 63. degrees of latitude.] The 17 of this moneth being in the latitude of 63. degrees 8. minuts, we fell vpon a most mighty and strange quantitie of yce in one entire masse, so bigge as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall so high in forme of a land, with bayes and capes and like high cliffe land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therefore sent our pinnesse off to discouer it: but at her returne we were certainly informed that it was onely yce, which bred great admiration to vs all considering the huge quantitie thereof, incredible to be reported in trueth as it was, and therefore I omit to speake any further thereof. This onely I thinke, that the like before was neuer seene: and in this place we had very stickle and strong currents.

[Sidenote: The nature of fogges.] We coasted this mightie masse of yce vntill the 30 of Iuly, finding it a mighty barre to our purpose: the ayre in this time was so contagious and the sea so pestered with yce, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 of Iuly all our shrowds, ropes and sailes were so frosen, and compassed with yce, onely by a grosse fogge, as seemed to me more then strange, sith the last yeere I found this sea free and nauigable, without impediments.

Our men through this extremity began to grow sicke and feeble, and withall hopelesse of good successe: whereupon very orderly, with good discretion they intreated me to regard the state of this business, and withall aduised me, that in conscience I ought to regard the saftie of mine owne life with the preseruation of theirs, and that I should not through my ouer-boldnes leaue their widowes and fatherlesse children to giue me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly moue me to regard their estates: yet

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considering the excellencie of the business if it might be attained, the great hope of certaintie by the last yeeres discouery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practice, I thought it would growe to my great disgrace if this action by my negligence should grow into discredite: whereupon seeking helpe from God, the fountaine of all mercies, it pleased his diuine maiestie to moue my heart to prosecute that which I hope shall be to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Christian minde. Whereupon falling into consideration that the Mermaid, albeit a very strong and sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burthen was not so conuenient and nimble as a smaller bark, especially in such desperate hazzards; further hauing in account her great charge to the aduenturers being at 100. li. the moneth, and that at doubtfull seruice: all the premisses considered with diuers other things, I determined to furnish the Moonelight with reuictualling and sufficient men, and to proceede in this action as God should direct me. Whereupon I altered our course from the yce, and bare Eastsoutheast to recouer the next shore where this thing might be performed: so with fauourable winde it pleased God that the first of August we discouered the land in Latitude 66. degrees, 33. min. and in longitude from the Meridian of London 70. degrees voyd of trouble without snow or ice.

The second of August we harboured our selues in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graued the Moonelight, and reuictualled her: wee searched this countrey with our pinnesse while the bark was trimming, which William Eston did: he found all this land to be onely llands, with a Sea on the East, a Sea on the West, and a Sea on the North. [Sidenote: Great heat.] In this place wee found it very hot and wee were very much troubled with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did sting grieuiously. The people of this place at our first comming in caught a Seale and with bladders fast tied to him sent him vnto vs with the floud, so as hee came right with our shippes, which we took as a friendly present from them.

The fift of August I went with the two Masters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Eston espied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them skinnes, darts, with diuers superstitious toyes, whereof wee diminished nothing, but left vpon euery boat a silke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the sixt of August, the people came vnto vs without feare and did barter with vs for skinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their Canoas nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our Sauage aboard vs kept himselfe close, and made shew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being provided, I departed from this lande the twelft of August at sixe. [Sidenote: 66. degrees 19. minutes.] of the clocke in the morning, where I left the mermayd at an anker: the fourteenth sailing West about fiftie leagues, we discouered land, being in latitude 66. degrees 19 minuts: this land is 70. leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine

a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, wee ankered by an Island of yce,  
twelue leagues off the shore, being mored to the yce.

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The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of August we discovered land Northwest from vs in the morning, being a very faire promontory, in latitude 65. degrees, hauing no land on the South. [Sidenote: Great hope of a passage.] Here wee had great hope of a through passage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone wee againe discovered lande Southwest and by South from vs, where at night wee were becalmed. [Sidenote: 64. degr. 20. min.] The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obseruation, we were in 64. degrees 20 minuts. [Sidenote: A great current to the West.] From the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by precise ordinary care, wee had sailed 15. leagues South and by West, yet by art and more exact obseruation, we found our course to be Southwest, so that we plainly perceiued a great current striking to the West.

This land is nothing in sight but Isles, which increaseth our hope. This nineteenth of August at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to snow, and so continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, so that we were constrained to lie at hull all night fiue leagues off the shore: In the morning being the twentieth of August, the fogge and storme breaking vp, we bare in with the lande, and at nine a clocke in the morning wee ankered in a very faire and safe road and lockt for all weathers. [Sidenote: Ilands.] At tenne of the clocke I went on shore to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceiued that this land was Islands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee weyed anker, hauing a faire North northeast winde, with very faire weather; at six of the clocke we were cleare without the land, and so shaped our course to the South, to discover the coast, where by the passage may be through Gods mercy found.

We coasted this land till the eight and twentieth of August [Sidenote: They runne 8 dayes Southward from 67 to 57. degrees vpon the coast.] finding it still to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67. to 57. degrees: we found marueilous great store of birds, guls and mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glasse vpon the lee, to proue for fish, in which space we caught 100. of cod, although we were but badly prouided for fishing, not being our purpose. [Sidenote: A harborough in 56. degrees.] This eight and twentieth hauing great distrust of the weather, we arriued in a very faire harbour in the latitude of 56. degrees, and sailed 10. leagues into the same, being two leagues broad, with very faire woods on both sides: in this place wee continued vntil the first of September, in which time we had two very great stormes. [Sidenote: Faire woods.] I landed, and went sixe miles by ghesse into the countrey, and found that the woods were firre, pineaple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here we saw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great store of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes or the like, wilde geese, ducks, black birdes, ieyes, thrushes, with other kinds of small birds. [Sidenote: Store of cod.] Of the partridge and fezant we killed great store with bow and arrowes: in this place at the harborough mouth we found great store of cod.

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The first of September at ten a clocke wee set saile, and coasted the shore with very faire weather. The thirde day being calme, at noone we strooke saile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether we could take any fish, being in latitude 54. degrees 30. minuts, in which place we found great abundance of cod, so that the hooke was no sonner ouerboord, but presently a fish was taken. It was the largest and the best fed fish that euer I sawe, and diuers fisher men that were with me sayd that they neuer saw a more suaule or better skull of fish in their liues: yet had they seene great abundance.

The fourth of September at fiue a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great store of Isles, the countrey low land, pleasant and very full of fayre woods. [Sidenote: A perfect hope of the passage about 54. degrees and an halfe.] To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the passage, finding a mightie great sea passing betweene two lands West. The Southland to our iudgement being nothing but Isles: we greatly desired to goe into the sea, but the winde was directly against vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine sand. In this place is foule and fish mightie store.

The sixt of September having a faire Northnorthwest winde hauing trimmed our Barke we proposed to depart, and sent fiue of our sailers yong men a shore to an Island, to fetch certaine fish which we purposed to weather, and therefore left it al night couered vpon the Isle: the brutish people of this countrey lay secretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the sudden assaulted our men; which when we perceiued, we presently let slip our cables vpon the halse, and vnder our foresaile bare into the shoare, and with all expedition discharged a double musket vpon them twise, at the noyse whereof they fled: [Sidenote: Two of our men slaine by the Sauages.] notwithstanding to our very great grieffe, two of our men were slaine with their arrowes, and two grieuously wounded, of whom at this present we stand in very great doubt, onely one escaped by swimming, with an arow shot thorow his arme. These wicked miscreants neuer offered parly or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury.

This present euening it pleased God further to increase our sorrowes with a mighty tempestuous storme, the winde being Northnortheast, which lasted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnrigged our ship, and purposed to cut downe our masts, the cable of our shutanker brake, so that we onely expected to be driuen on shoare among these Canibals for their pray. Yet in this deepe distresse the mightie mercie of God, when hope was past, gaue vs succour, and sent vs a faire lee, so as we recouered our anker againe, and newe mored our ship: where we saw that God manifestly deliuered vs: for the straines of one of our cables were broken, and we only roade by an olde iunke. Thus being freshly mored a new storme arose, the winde being Westnorthwest, very forcible, which lasted vnto the tenth day at night.

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The eleuenth day with a faire Westnorthwest winde we departed with trust in Gods mercie, shaping our course for England, and arriued in the West countrey in the beginning of October.

\* \* \* \* \*

Master Daus being arriued, wrote his letter to M. William Sanderson of London, concerning his voyage, as followeth.

Sir, the Sunneshine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: she hath bene at Island, and from thence to Groenland, and so to Estotiland, from thence to Desolation, and to our Marchants, where she made trade with the people, staying in the countrey twentie dayes. They haue brought home fiue hundred seales skinnes, and an hundred and fortie halfe skinnes and pieces of skinnes. I stand in great doubt of the pinnesse, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preserue them, if it be his blessed will.

I haue now experience of much of the Northwest part of the world, and haue brought the passage to that likelihood, as that I am assured it must bee in one of the foure places, or els not at all. And further I can assure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profite to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. I hope I shall finde fauour with you to see your Card. I pray God it be so true as the Card shal be which I will bring you: and I hope in God, that your skill in Nauigation shall be gaineful vnto you, although at the first it hath not proued so. And thus with my humble commendations I commit you to God, desiring no longer to liue, then I shall be yours most faithfully to command. Exon this fourteenth of October. 1586.

Yours to command

*Iohn Davis.*

\* \* \* \* \*

The relation of the course which the Sunshine a barke of fiftie tunnes, and the Northstarre a small pinnesse, being two vessels of the fleete of M. Iohn Daus, helde after hee had sent them from him to discover the passage betweene Groenland and Island, written by Henry Morgan seruant to M. William Sanderson of London.

[Sidenote: May.] The seuenth day of May 1586. wee departed out of Dartmouth hauen foure sailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunshine, the Mooneshine, and the Northstarre. In the Sunshine were sixteene men, whose names were these: Richard Pope Master, Marke Carter Masters mate, Henry Morgan Purser, George Draward, Iohn Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Iane, Hugh Hempson, Richard Borden, Iohn Philpe, Andrew

Madock, William Wolcome, Robert Wag carpenter, Iohn Bruskome, William Ashe, Simon Ellis.



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Our course was Westnorthwest the seuenth and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarrose of Silley. Thus coasting along the South part of Ireland the 11. day, we were on head of the Dorses: and our coarse was Southsouthwest vntill sixe of the clocke the 12. day. The 13. day our course was Northwest. [M. Daus in the latitude of 60. deg. diuideth his fleete into 2. parts.] We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Mooneshine vntill we came to the latitude of 60. degrees: and there it seemed best to our Generall M. Daus to diuide his fleete, himself sayling to the Northwest, and to direct the Sunshine, wherein I was, and the pinnesse called the Northstarre, to seeke a passage Northward between Groenland and Island to the latitude of 80. degrees, if land did not let vs. [Sidenote: The 7. of Iune.] So the Seuenth day of Iune wee departed from them: and the ninth of the same we came to a firme land of yce, which we coasted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleuenth dayes of Iune: [Sidenote: Island descryed.] and the eleuenth day at sixe of the clocke at night we saw land which was very high, which afterward we knew to be a Island: and the twelft day we harboured there, and found many people: [Sidenote: 66. degrees.] the land lyeth East and by North in 66. degrees.

[Sidenote: Their commodities.] Their commodities were greene fish, and Island lings, and stockfish, and a fish which is called Scatefish: of all which they had great store. They had also kine, sheep and horses, and hay for their cattell, and for their horses. Wee saw also their dogs. [Sidenote: Their dwellings.] Their dwelling houses were made on both sides with stones, and wood layd crosse ouer them, which was couered ouer with turfes of earth, and they are flat on the tops, and many of these stood hard by the shore. [Sidenote: Their boats.] Their boates were made with wood and yron all along the keele like our English boates: and they had nayles for to naile them withall, and fish-hookes and other things for to catch fish as we haue here in England. They had also brasen kettles, and girdles and purses made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets, and other small tooles as necessary as we haue. They drie their fish in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them vp in the top of their houses. If we would goe thither to fishing more then we doe, we should make it a very good voyage: for wee got an hundreth greene fish in one morning. Wee found heere two English men with a shippe, which came out of England about Easter day of this present yeere 1586, and one of them came aboard of vs, and brought vs two lambs. [Sidenote: M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich.] The English mans name was M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich marchant: hee was bound for London with his ship. And this is the summe of that which I obserued in Island. [Sidenote: They departed from Island Northwest.] We departed from Island the sixteenth day of Iune in the morning, and our course was Northwest, and we saw on the coast two small barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but saw them a farre off. Thus we continued our course vnto the end of this moneth.

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[Sidenote: Iuly.] The third day of Iuly we were in betweene two firme lands of yce, and passed in betweene them all that day vntill it was night: and then the Master turned backe againe, and so away we went towards Groenland. [Sidenote: Groneland discouered.] And the seuenth day of Iuly we did see Groenland, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land, because we were hindered by a firme land as it were of yce, which was along the shoares side: but we were within three leagues of the land, coasting the same diuers dayes together. [Sidenote: The land of Desolation.] The seenteenth day of Iuly wee saw the place which our Captaine M. Iohn Dauis the yeere before had named The land of Desolation, where we could not goe on shore for yce. The eighteenth day we were likewise troubled with yce, and went in amongst it at three of the clocke in the morning. [Sidenote: Groenland coasted from the 7. till the last of Iuly.] After wee had cleared our selues thereof, wee ranged all along the coast of Desolation vntill the ende of the aforesayd moneth.

[Sidenote: August.] The third day of August we came in sight of Gilberts sound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min which was the place where we were appoynted to meete our Generall and the rest of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborough at 6. of the clocke at night.

The 4. day in the morning the Master went on shore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boats aboard of the ship. And in the afternoone I went on shore with 6. of our men, and there came to vs seuen of them when we were on land. We found on shore three dead people, and two of them had their stauies lying by them, and their olde skinnes wrapped about them and the other had nothing lying by, wherefore we thought it was a woman. [Sidenote: The houses of Gronland.] We also saw their houses neere the Sea side, which were made with pieces of wood on both sides, and crossed ouer with poles and then couered ouer with earth: we found Foxes running vpon the hilles: as for the place it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Islands.

The 21. of August the Master sent the boate on shore for wood with sixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on shore to them, and they went about to kill them as we thought, for they shot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboard the ship, did see them goe on shore to our men: whereupon the Master sent the pinnesse after them, and when they saw the pinnesse comming towards them, they turned backe, and the Master of the pinnesse did shoote off a caliuier to them the same time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. [Sidenote: Our men play at footeball with the Sauages.] Diuers times they did waue vs on shore to play with them at the football, and some of our company went on shore to play with them, and our men did cast them downe as soone as they did come to strike the ball. And thus much of that which we did see and do in that harborough where we arriued first.

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The 23. day wee departed from the Merchants Isle, where wee had beene first, and our course from thence was South and by West, and the wind was Northeast, and we ran that day and night about 5. or 6. leagues, vntill we came to another harborough.

The 24. about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone wee entred into the aforesayd new harborow, and as wee came in, we did see dogs running vpon the Islands. When we were come in, there came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harborough, and where we rode, we had sandie ground. [Sidenote: Sweete wood found.] We saw no wood growing, but found small pieces of wood vpon the Islands, and some small pieces of sweete wood among the same. We found great Harts hornes, but could see none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages I cannot tell of what beasts they be.

The stones that we found in the countrey were black, and some white, as I think they be of no value, neuerthesse I haue brought examples of them to you.

The 30. of August we departed from this harborough towards England, and the wind tooke vs contrary, so that we were faine to go to another harborough the same day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to vs 39. of the people, and brought vs 13. Seale skins, and after we receiued these skins of them, the Master sent the carpenter to change one of our boates which wee had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they sawe they could not take it from vs, they shot with their dartes at vs, and stroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Philpe shot one of them into the brest with an arrow. [Sidenote: A skirmish between the Sauages and our men.] And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the shipboate, and they shot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the shipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the brests, and he that was aboard our boat, was shot in with an arrow, and hurt with a sword, and beaten with stauies, whome our men cast ouerboord, but the people caught him and carried him on shore vpon their boates, and the other two also, and so departed from vs. And three of them went on shore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and those three came away from their dogs, and presently one of their dogs came swimming towards vs hard aboard the ship, whereupon our Master caused the Gunner to shoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and so the dog turned backe to land and within an noure after there came of the people hard aboard the ship, but they would not come to vs as they did come before.

The 31. of August we departed from Gylberts sound for England, and when we came out of the harborough there came after vs 17. of the people looking which way we went.

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The 2. of September we lost sight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone.

[Sidenote: The pinnesse neuer returned home.] The third day at Night we lost sight of the Northstarre our pinnesse in a very great storme, and lay a hull tarying for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we shaped our course the 5. day Southsoutheast, and sayling vntill the 27. of the sayd moneth, we came in sight of Cape Clere in Ireland.

The 30. day we entred our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had sight of the Isle of Wight.

The 3. we coasted all along the shore, and the 4. and 5.

The 6. of the said moneth of October wee came into the riuer of Thames as high as Ratcliffe in safetie God be thanked.

\* \* \* \* \*

The third voyage Northwestward, made by M. Iohn Daus Gentleman, as chiefe captaine and Pilot generall, for the discouery of a passage to the Isles of the Moluccas, or the coast of China, in the yeere 1587. Written by M. Iohn Ianes.

May.

The 19. of this present moneth about midnight wee weyed our ankers, set sayle, and departed from Dartmouth with two Barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunneshine of London, and the Clincher called the Helene of London: thus in Gods name we set forwards with the wind at Northeast a good fresh gale. About 3. houres after our departure, the night being somewhat thicke with darknesse, we had lost the pinnesse: the Captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the Master of the Sunshine to stand to Seawards, and see if we could descry them, we bearing in with the shore for Plimmouth. At length we descried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cause was: they answered that the tiller of their helme was burst. So shaping our course Westsouthwest, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet some of vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that she was a Clincher; neuerthesse we put our trust in God.

The 21. we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coast of Spaine, which was afrayd that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a little conference, we desired the Master to carie our Letters for London directed to my vncl Sanderson, who promised vs a safe deliuerie. And after wee had heaued them a lead and a line, wherevnto wee had made fast our letters, before they could get them into the ship, they fell into the Sea, and so all our labour and theirs also was lost;

notwithstanding they promised to certifie our departure at London, and so we departed, and the same day we had sight of Silley. The 22. the wind was at Northeast by East with faire weather, and so the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we layd our ships on the Lee for the Sunneshine, who was a romaging for a leake, they had 500. strokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northwest.



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The 26. and 27. wee had faire weather, but this 27. the Pinnesses foremast was blown ouerboard. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinnesse, which was so much bragged of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea she was like a cart drawn with oxen. Sometimes we towed her because she could not saile for scant wind.

The 31. day our Captaine asked if the pinnesse were stanch, Peerson answered that she was as sound and stanch as a cup. This made vs something glad, when we sawe she would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

lune.

The first 6. dayes wee had faire weather: after that for 5 dayes wee had fogge and raine, the winde being South. The 12. wee had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunneshine and the Master could not agree: the Mariners would goe on their voyage a fishing, because the yeere began to waste: the Master would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the Master told our Captaine that hee was afrayd his men would shape some contrary course while he was asleepe, and so he should lose vs. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.

[Sidenote: Land descried.] The 14. day we discovered land at fiue of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being couered with snow. Here the wind was variable, sometimes Northeast, Eastnortheast, and East by North: but we imagined ourselues to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the shore.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke afternoone, the people came presently to vs after the old maner, with crying Ilyaoute, and shewing vs Scales skinnies. The 17. we began to set vp the pinnesse that Peerson framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

The 18. Peerson and the Carpenters of the ships began to set on the planks. [Sidenote: Salt kernald on the rockes.] The 19. as we went about an Island, were found blacke Pumise stones, and salt kernald on the rockes very white and glistering. This day also the Master of the Sunneshine tooke of the people a very strong lusty yong fellow.

The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Island where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and tore the two vpper strakes, and carried them away onely for the loue of the yron in the boords. While they were about this practise, we manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a shore to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed, were so long before they came to shore, that our Captaine willed them to stay, and made the Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and layd the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had turned on the one side because wee should not

hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke against the arrowes which we shot at them. Our Gunner hauing made all things readie, gaue fire to the piece, and fearing to hurt any of

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the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would saue a Sakers shot, doubting wee should haue occasion to fight with men of warre, and so shot off the Saker without a bullet: we looking stil when the Sauages that were hurt should run away without legs, at length wee could perceiue neuer a man hurt, but all hauing their legges could carie away their bodies: wee had no sooner shot off the piece, but the Master of the Sunneshine manned his boate, and came rowing toward the Island, the very sight of whom made each of them take that hee had gotten, and flee away as fast as they could to another Island about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Isle. When we came on shore, and sawe how they had spoiled the boat, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth should haue her to fish withall: whereupon she was presently caryed aboard, and stowed.

Now after this trouble, being resolved to depart with the first wind, there fell out another matter worse then all the rest, and that was in this maner. Iohn Churchyard one whom our Captaine had appoynted as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and Master Brutton, and told them that the good ship which we must all hazard our liues in, had three hundred strokes at one time as she rode in the harbour: This disquieted vs all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our Captaine by whom we were all to be gouerned, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and disgrace, and so being all agreed, wee purposed to liue and die together, and committed our selues to the ship. [Sidenote: Isles in 64 degrees.] Now to 21. hauing brought all our things aboard, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we set saile and departed from those Isles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ships being now all at Sea, and wee shaping our course to goe, coasting the land to the Northwards vpon the Easterne shore, which we called the shore of our Merchants, because there we met with people which traffiqued with vs, but here wee were not without doubt of our ship.

[Sidenote: Store of Whales in 67. degrees.] The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, wee had great store of Whales, and a kinde of sea birds which the Mariners call Cortinous. This day about sixe of the clocke at night, we espied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the first they had bene two great Seales, vntill wee sawe their oares glistering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes vs, as fast as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held vp their oares, and cryed Ilyaoute, making many signes: and at last they came to vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Vnicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made store of, but when he saw a knife, he let it go, being more desirous of the knife then of his dart: these people continued rowing after our ship the space of 3. heures.



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The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we descried 30. Sauages rowing after vs, being by iudgement 10. leagues off from the shore: they brought vs Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, kniues, bels, looking glasses, and other small trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would sell their boate, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the shore. Wee had but few skinnes of them, about 20. but they made signes to vs that if wee would goe to the shore, wee should haue more store of Chichsaneg: they stayed with vs till 11. of the clocke, at which time wee went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

[Sidenote: 72 deg. and 12 min. Betweene Gronland and the North of America about 40. leagues.] The 28. and 29. were foggie with cloudes, the 30. day wee tooke the heighth, and found our selues in 72. degrees and 12 minutes of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degrees about the Horizon. [Sidenote: The Great variation of the compasse.] At midnight the compasse set to the variation of 28. degrees to the Westward. [Sidenote: London coast.] Now hauing coasted the land, which wee called London coast, from the 21. of this present, till the 30. the Sea open all to the Westwards and Northwards, the land on starboard side East from vs, the winde shifted to the North, whereupon we left that shore, naming the same Hope Sanderson, and shaped our course West, and ranne 40. leagues and better without the sight of any land.

Iuly.

[Sidenote: A mightie banke of yce lying North and South.] The second of Iuly wee fell with a mightie banke of yce West from vs, lying North and South, which banke wee would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not suffer vs, so that we were faine to coast it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out, that wee might haue ran so farre West till wee had found land, or els to haue beene thorowly resolved of our pretended purpose.

The 3. wee fell with the yce againe, and putting off from it, we sought to the Northwards, but the wind crossed vs.

The 4. was foggie: so was the 5. also with much wind at the North.

The 6. being very cleare, we put our barke with oares through a gap in the yce, seeing the Sea free on the West side, as we thought, which falling out otherwise, caused vs to returne after we had stayed there betweene the yce. The 7. and 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recouered the open Sea, the weather being faire and calme, and so was the 9. The 10. we coasted the yce. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

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The 12. we coasted againe the yce, hauing the wind at Northnorthwest. [Sidenote: Extreme heate of the Sunne.] The 13, bearing off from the yce, we determined to goe with the shoare and come to an anker, and to stay 5. or 6. dayes for the dissolving of the yce, hoping that the Sea continually beating it, and the Sunne with the extreme force of heat which it had alwayes shining vpon it, would make a quicke dispatch, that we might haue a further search vpon the Western shore. Now when we were come to the Easterne coast, the water something deepe, and some of our companie fearefull withall, we durst not come to an anker, but bare off into the Sea againe. The poore people seeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being somewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few skinnes and dartes, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they poynting to the shore, as though they would shew vs some great friendship: but we little regarding their curtesie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and so departed.

[Sidenote: They were driuen West sixe points out of their course in 67. degrees, 45. minutes.] The 14. wee had the wind at South. The 15. there was some fault either in the barke, or the set of some current, for wee were driuen sixe points beyond our course West. The 16. wee fell with the banke of yce West from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. [Sidenote: Mount Raleigh.] The 19. at one a clocke after noone, wee had sight of the land which we called Mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, we were thwart the streights which we discovered the first yeere. The 20. wee trauersed in the mouth of the streight, the wind being at West, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. wee coasted the Northerne coast of the streights. [Sidenote: The Earle of Cumberlands Isles.] The 23. hauing sayled threescore leagues Northwest into the streights, at two a clocke after noone wee ankered among many Isles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the same The Earle of Cumberlands Isles, where riding at anker, a Whale passed by our ship and went West among the Isles. [Sidenote: The variation of the compasse 30. deg. Westward.] Heere the compasse set at thirtie degrees Westward variation. The 23. wee departed, shaping our course Southeast to recouer the Sea. The 25. wee were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the ayre being extreme hot. Master Bruton and some of the Mariners went on shoare to course dogs, where they found many Graues and Trane split on the ground, the dogs being so fat that they were scant able to run.

The 26. wee had a prety storme, the winde being at Southeast. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the streights, hauing coasted the South shore, and this day at noone we were in 62. degrees of latitude. [Sidenote: The land trendeth from this place Southwest and by South. My Lord Lumleys Inlet.] The 30. in the afternoone wee coasted a banke of yce, which lay on the shore, and passed by a great banke or Inlet, which lay between 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumlies Inlet. We had oftentimes, as we sailed alongst the coast, great ruttles, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of some great water through a bridge.

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[Sidenote: Warwicks Forland.] The 31. as we sayled by a Headland, which we named Warwicks Foreland, we fell into one of these ouerfals with a fresh gale of wind, and bearing all our sailes, wee looking vpon an Island of yce betweene vs and the shoare, had thought that our barke did make no way, which caused vs to take markes on the shoare: [Sidenote: A very forcible current Westward.] at length wee perceiued our selues to goe very fast, and the Island of yce which we saw before, was carried very forcibly with the set of the current faster then our ship went. This day and night we passed by a very great gulfes the water whirling and roaring as it were the meetings of tydes.

### August

[Sidenote: Chidleys cape.] The first of August hauing coasted a banke of ice which was driuen out at the mouth of this gulfes, we fell with the Southernmost cape of the gulfes, which we named Chidleis cape, which lay in 61 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie, so were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: so was the 8, with a litle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10 we had a frisking gale at Westnorthwest. The 11. faire. [Sidenote: The lord Darcies Island.] The 12 we saw fiue deere on the top of an Island, called by vs Darcies Island. And we hoised out our boat, and went ashore to them, thinking to haue killed some of them. But when we came on shore, and had coursed them twise about the Island, they tooke the sea and swamme towards Islands distant from that three leagues. When we perceiued that they had taken the sea we gaue them ouer because our boat was so small that it could not carrie vs, and rowe after them, they swamme so fast: but one of them was as bigge as a good prety Cow, and very fat, their feet as bigge as Oxe feet. Here vpon this Island I killed with my piece a gray hare.

The 13 in the morning we saw three or foure white beares, but durst not go on shore to them for lacke of a good boat This day we stroke a rocke seeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake: and this day we were in 54. degrees of latitude.

The 14 we stopt our leake in a storme not very outrageous, at noone.

[Sidenote: The fishing place betweene 54 and 55 degrees of latitude.] The 15 being almost in 52 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any kinde of marke, token, or beacon, which we willed them to set vp, and they protested to do so vpon euery head land, Island or cape, within twenty leagues euery way off from their fishing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees: This 15 I say we shaped our course homewards for England, hauing in our ship but litle wood, and halfe a hogshead of fresh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more forward then Peerson, for he feared to be put out of his office of stewardship: but because euery man was so willing to depart, we

consented to retorne for our owne countrey: and so we had the 16 faire weather, with the winde at Southwest.

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[Sidenote: Abundance of whales in 52 degrees.] The 17 we met a ship at sea, and as farre as we could iudge it was a Biskaine: we thought she went a fishing for whales; for in 52 degrees or thereabout we saw very many.

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at West.

The 19 faire also, with much winde at West and by South.

[They arrive at Dartmouth the 15 of September.] And thus after much variable weather and change of winds we arriued the 15 of September in Dartmouth anno 1587, giuing thanks to God for our safe arriuall.

\* \* \* \* \*

A letter of the sayd M. Iohn Daus written to M. Sanderson of London concerning his forewritten voyage.

Good M. Sanderson, with Gods great mercy I haue made my safe returne in health, with all my company, and haue sailed threescore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73 degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easie, as at my comming you shall fully know.

Yesterday the 15 of September I landed all weary; therefore I pray you pardon my shortnesse.

Sandridge this 16 of September anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which by triall you shall best know,

*Iohn Davis.*

\* \* \* \* \*

A Traverse-Booke made by M. Iohn Davis in his third voyage for the discoverie of the Northwest passage. Anno 1587.

[In the following chart, the final column, *the DISCOVERSE*, is moved to the line after which it is aligned in the original—KTH]

Moneth D H Course. L Eleva- The winde. *The DISCOVERSE*  
a o e tion  
y u a of the  
e r g pole.  
s. e u D M



s. e e i

s. g. n.

May

19 w.s.w. 50 30 n.e.

Westerly.

This day we departed from Dartmouth at two of the clocke at night.

20

21 35 w.s.w. 50 50 n.e.

Westerly.

This day we descried Silly N. W. by W. from vs.

22 15 w.n.w. 14 n.e. by e.

This day at noone we departed from Silly.

22 6 w.n.w. 6 n.e. by e.

22 3 w.n.w. 2

23 15 n.w. by w. 18 n.e.

23 39 w.n.w. 36 50 40

The true course, distance and latitude.

3 w.n.w. 2 n.n.e.

6 n.w. by w. 5 n.e. by n.

3 w.n.w. 3 n.n.e.

12 w.n.w. 12 n.e.

Noone the 24 24 w.n.w. 25 51 16.

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Northerly.

The true course, distance and latitude.

3 w.n.w. 3 n.n.e.

3 w.n.w. 2-1/2 n. by e.

6 w. by n. 5 n.

6 w. by n. 5 n.

2 s. 1/2 n.

Now we lay vpon the lee for the Sunshine, which had taken a leake of 500 strokes a watch.

Noone the 25 24 w. by n. 20 51 30

The true course, distance and latitude.

Noone the 25 3 w. 3 n.n.w.

3 w.s.w. 2 n.w.

1 s.w. 1 w.n.w.

2 w.n.w. 1-1/2 n.

3 w.n.w. 1-1/2 n.

3 Calme

4 w.n.w. 4 s.s.e.

5 w. 6 s.s.e.

Noone the 26 24 w by n. 23 51 40

The true course, distance, &c.

Westerly.

11 w. 16 s.s.e.

6 w.n.w. 2 s.s.e.

We lay at hull with winde, raine, and fog.

7 w. 5 s.e.

Noone the 27 24 w. northerly 23

The common course supposed.

Noone the 28 24 w. 20 52 13 e.s.e.

We towed the pinnesse 18 houres of this day.

Noone the 28 28 w. by n. 43 52 13

Northerly.

The true course, distance, &c.

Noone the 29 24 n.w. 30 s. by e.

6 n.w. 10 s.

3 n. by w. 2 w. by n.

3 w. by w. 3 w. by s.

12 n. w. 12 s.s.w

Noone the 30 48 n.w. by n. 65 54 50

The true course, &c.



9 n.w. 12 s.w.  
9 n.w. by w. 12 s.s.w.  
3 w.n.w. 3 n.n.e.  
Noone the 30 3 w. by n. 4 n.  
30 24 w. n. w. 27 55 30  
Northerly.  
The true course, &c.  
lune 1 12 w. 10 n.n.w.  
9 n.w. 8 e.n.e.  
3 n.w. 2-1/2 e.n.e.  
1 24 w.n.w. 17 55 45  
Westerly.  
The true course, &c.  
12 n.w. 16 e.s.e.  
6 n.w. 7 s.  
6 n.w. 8 s.s.w.  
Noone the 2 24 n.w. 32 56 55  
Northerly  
The true course, &c.  
Noone the 5 72 w. by s. 45 56 20  
Southerly  
The true course &c., drawn from diurs trauerses.  
Noone the 6 24 s.w. 16 w.n.w.



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7 s.w. by w. 6 w. by n.  
5 Calme.  
3 w.n.w. 1 s.  
Noone the 7 9 w.n.w. 12 s.  
12 w.n.w. 20 s.  
3 w.n.w. 4 s.  
Noone the 8 9 w.n.w. 7 s.  
12 w.n.w. 5 s.  
Noone the 9 12 w.n.w. 13 s.e.  
Noone the 9 12 w.n.w. 86 57 30  
Northerly  
The true course, distance, and latitude for 96 houres.  
Noone the 9 3 w.n.w. 4 s.e.  
3 w.n.w. 2 s.e.  
6 w.n.w. 1 Calme  
Noone the 10 12 w.n.w. 16-1/2 e.  
7 w.n.w. 12 e.  
2 n.w. 2 e.  
Noone the 11 15 n.w. 18 e.n.e.  
12 n.w. 12 e.n.e.  
12 n.w. 13 e. by s.  
Noone the 12 72 n.w. by w. 78 59 50  
Northerly  
The true course, &c. for 72 houres.  
Noone the 13 24 n.n.w. 26 60 58 e. by n.  
Westerly  
Noone the 14 24 n.n.w. 32 62 30 n.e.  
9 w.n.w. 7 n.  
3 n.w. 2 n.n.e.  
3 n.w. by n. 2 n.e. by n.  
This day in the morning at fiue of the clocke we discouered land being  
distant from vs at the neerest place sixteene leagues, This land in  
generall lay Northwest and to the Westwards, being very mountainous. The  
winde was this day variable, and the aire sometime foggie, and sometime  
cleere. The foresayd land bare from vs (so neere as we could iudge)  
North, Northwest, and Southeast.  
15 9 n.n.w. 8 n.e.  
Noone the 15 24 n.w.  
Northerly 22 63 20  
The true course, &c.



Noone the 16 24 n.n.e. 14 64

Easterly

The true course, &c. This 16 of lune at 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, being in the latitude of 64 degrees, through Gods helpe we came to an anker among many low islands which lay before the high land.

Noone the 17

This 17 of lune we set vp our pinnesse.

20

The 20 she was spoiled by Sauages. At midnight the 21 of lune wee departed from this coast, our two barks for their fishing voyage, and myself in the pinnesse for the discouery. From midnight the 21 we shaped our course as followeth.

At mid-

night the 21 8 w.n.w 7 s.e.

Noone the 22 4 n.w. 6 s.e.

13 n.w. 18 s.e.

11 n. 13 s.e.

At this time we saw great store of whales.

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Noone the 23 36 n.w. by n. 42 65 40

The true course, &c.

Noone the 24 24 n. by e. 41 67 40 s.s.e.  
northerly

2

The true course &c. Here the weather was very hot. This 24 of Iune at 6 of the clocke at night we met two sauages at sea in their small canoas, vnto whom we gaue bracelets, and nailes, for skins and birds. At 9 of the clocke they departed from vs.

Noone the 26 48 n. s.

3 n.w. 2 s.w.

The next day at 7 of the clocke in the morning, there came vnto vs 30 sauages 20 leagues off the shore, intreating vs to goe to the shore. We had of them fish, birds, skinnes, darts, and their coats from their backs, for bracelets, nailes, kniues, &c. They remained with vs foure houres, and departed.

7 n.n.e. 10 s.

6 n. 8 s.w.

8 w.n.w. 5 s.e.

Noone the 27 72 n.

westerly 52 70 4

The true course for, &c. 72 houres.

Noone the 29 72 n. 43 72 12

30

The true course, &c. Since the 21 of this moneth I haue continually coasted the shore of Gronland, hauing the sea all open towards the West, and the land on the starboord side East from me. For these last 4 dayes the weather hath bene extreame hot and very calme, the Sunne being 5 degrees aboue the horison at midnight. The compasse in this place varieth 28 degrees toward the West.

Iuly 1 30 w. by s. 44 71 36 n.w. by n.

westerley

The true course, &c. this day at noone we coasted a mighty banke of ice West from vs.

2 24 s.e. 12 71 9

Noone the 3 8 n.n.w. 11 71 40 n.

This day we fell againe with the ice, seeking to double it out by the North.

Noone the 5 48 s.s.e. 36 70 n.



The true course, &c.

6 24 s.s.w. 22 69 variable.

7

8

The true course, &c. This 6 of Iuly we put our barke thorow the ice, seeing the sea free on the West side: and hauing sailed 5 leagues West, we fell with another mighty barre, which we could not passe: and therefore returning againe, we freed our selues the 8 of this moneth at midnight, and so recovered the sea through Gods fauour, by faire winds, the weather being very calme.

Noone the 9 72 e.s.e. 7 68 50 calme.

The true course, &c.

10 24 s.e. by s. 8 68 30 calme.

The true course, &c. This day we coasted the ice.

11 24 e.n.e. 11-1/2 68 45 variable.

The true course, &c.

12 24 s.s.e. 16 68 n.n.w.

The true course, &c.

13



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24 e. by s. 20 s.

This day the people came to vs off the shore, and bartered with vs. Being within the Isle, and not finding good anchorage, we bare off again into the sea.

14 24 w. by n. 11 67 50 s.

The true course, &c.

15 24 w.s.w. 5 67 45 e.

The true course, &c. This day a great current set vs West 6 points from our course.

16 24 s.w. by w. 23 67 10 s.

westerly

The true course, &c. This day we fell with a mighty banke of ice West of vs.

Noone the 18 48 s. by w. 30 65 33 n. fog.

The true course, &c. Collected by diuers experiments.

19 24 w. 13 65 30 s. fog.

southerly

The true course, &c. This 19 of Iuly at one a clocke in the afternoone we had sight of the land of Mount Raleigh, and by 12 of the clocke at night wee were thwart the Streights which (by Gods helpe) I discovered the first yere.

20

The 20 day wee trauersed in the mouth of the sayd Streights with a contrary winde, being West and faire weather.

23

This 23 day at 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, hauing sailed 60 leagues Northwest, we ankered among an huge number of Isles lying in the bottome of the sayd supposed passage, at which place the water riseth 4 fadome vpright. Here as we rode at anker, a great whale passed by vs, and swam West in amongst the isles. In this place a S. W. by W. moone maketh a full sea. Here the compasse varied 30 degrees.

24

The 24 day at 5 of the clocke in the morning we set saile, departing from this place, and shaping our course S.E. to recouer the maine Ocean againe.

25

This 25 we were becalmed almost in the bottome of the Streights, and had the weather maruellous extreme hot.

26 s.e.

This day being in the Streights, we had a very quicke storme.

27 s.

Being still in the Streight, we had this day faire weather.



Noone the 29 64

At this present we got cleere of the Streights, hauing coasted the South shore, the land trending from hence S. W. by S.

Noone the 30 s.s.w. 22 63

This day we coasted the shore, a banke of ice lying thereupon. Also this 30 of Iuly in the afternoone we crossed ouer the entrance or mouth of a great inlet or passage, being 20 leagues broad, and situate betweene 62 and 63 degrees. In which place we had 8 or 9 great rases, currents or ouerfals, lothsomly crying like the rage of the waters vnder London bridge, and bending their course into the sayd gulfe.

Noone the 31 24 s. by w. 27 62 n.w.

This 31 at noone, comming close by a foreland

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or great cape, we fell into

a mighty rase, where an island of ice was carried by the force of the current as fast as our barke could saile with lum wind, all sailes bearing. This cape as it was the most Southerly limit of the gulfe which we passed over the 30 day of this moneth, so was it the North promontory or first beginning of another very great inlet, whose South limit at this present wee saw not. Which inlet or gulfe this afternoone, and in the night, we passed over: where to our great admiration we saw the sea falling down into the gulfe with a mighty ouerfal, and roing, and with diuers circular motions like whirlpooles, in such sort as forcible streames passe thorow the arches of bridges.

August

Noone the 1 24 s.e. by s. 16 61 10 w.s.w.

The true course, &c. This first of August we fell with the promuntory of the sayd gulfe or second passage, hauing coasted by diuers courses for our sauegard, a great banke of the ice driuen out of that gulfe.

Noone the 3 48 s.s.e. 16 60 26 variable.

Noone the 6 72 s.e. 22 59 35 variable  
southerly with calme.

The true course, &c.  
7 24 s.s.e. 22 58 40 w.s.w.

The true course, &c.  
8 24 s.e. 13 58 12 w. fog.  
variable.

The true course, &c.  
9 24 s. by w. 13 57 30 variable  
and calme.

The true course, &c.  
Noone the 10 24 s.s.e. 17 56 40 s.w. by w.

The true course, &c.  
11 24 s.e. 40 55 13 w.n.w.  
easterly

The true course, &c.  
12 24 s.e. 20 54 32 w.s.w.  
easterly

The true course, &c.  
13 24 w.s.w. 4 54 n.w.

This day seeking for our ships that went to fish, we stroke on a rocke, being among many iles, and had a great leake.

Noone the 14 24 s.s.e. 28 52 40 n.w.

This day we stopped our leake in a storme. The 15 of August at noon,



being in the latitude of 52 degrees 12 min. and 16 leagues from the shore, we shaped our course for England, in Gods name, as followeth.  
Noone the 15 52 12 s.s.w.

The true latitude.

16 20 e.s.e. 50 51 s.w.

halfe

point s.

The true course, &c.

17 24 e. by s. 30 50 40 s.

The true course, &c. This day upon the banke we met a Biscaine bound for the Grand Bay or for the passage. He chased vs.

18 24 e. by n. 49 51 18 w.

northerly.

The true course, &c.

19 24 s. halfe 51 51 35 variable



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point north. w. & s.  
The true course, &c.  
20 24 e.s.e. 31 50 50 s.w.  
The true course, &c.  
22 48 e. by n. 68 51 30 s.s.w.  
The true course, &c.  
23 24 e. by n. 33 51 52 s.  
northerly.  
The true course, &c.  
24 24 e. by n. 31 52 10 variable.  
The true course, &c. This 24 of August observing the variation, I found  
the compass to vary towards the East from the true Meridian, one degree.  
Noone the 27 72 e. 40 52 22 variable  
northerly & calme.  
The true coruse, &c for 72 houres.  
Noone the 29 48 e.s.e. 47 51 28 variable w. & n.  
The true course, &c.  
Noone the 31 48 s.e. by e. 14 51 9 variable.  
easterly  
The true course, &c.  
2 48 e. 65 51 n.w.  
southerly.  
The true course, &c.  
3 24 e. by s. 24 50 50 w.n.w.  
easterly.  
The true course, &c.  
4 24 s.e. by e. 20 50 21 n.n.e.  
The true course, &c.  
5 24 s.e. by e. 18 49 48 n.n.e.  
The true course, &c. Now we supposed our selues to be 55 leagues from  
Sillie.  
6 24 e. by s. 15 49 40 n.  
The true course, &c.  
7 24 e.s.e. 20 49 15 n.n.w.  
The true course, &c.  
8 24 n.e. 18 49 40  
9 24 w.s.w. 7 49 42  
10 24 s.e. by e. 8-1/2 49 28 variable.  
11 24 n.e. by e. 10 49 45 variable.  
12 24 n.w. by w. 6 50 n.e.



13 24 e. by s. 15 49 47 n.e.  
southerly

15

This 15 of September 1587 we arriued at Dartmouth.

Vnder the title of the houres, where any number exceedeth 24, it is the summe or casting vp of so many other dayes and partes of dayes going next before, as containe the foresayd summe.

\* \* \* \* \*

A report of Master Iohn Dauis of his three Voyages made for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, taken out of a Treatise of his. Intituled the worlds Hydrographicall description.

Now there onely resteth the North parts of America, vpon which coast my selfe haue had most experience of any in our age: for thrise I was that way imployed for the discouery of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Maiestie, with whom diuer noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioyned in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

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[Sidenote: The 1. voyage.] In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell vpon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, fiue hundred leagues distant from the Durseys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with snowe, no viewe of wood, grasse or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce as that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceits among vs, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading thereof in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in thirtie leagues sayling vpon the West side of this coast by me named desolation, we were past al the yce and found many greene and pleasant Iles bordering vpon the shore, but the maine were still couered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there moored to refresh our selues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or thereabout. The people of the countrey hauing espied our shippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoas, and holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, vnbearded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we vnderstood that towards the North and West, there was a great sea, and vsing the people with kindness in giuing them nayles and kniues which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selves to be past al daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entred into the same thirtie or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the yeere was spent (for this was the fiue of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westerly windes the 19 of September we arriued at Dartmouth.

[Sidenote: The 2. voyage.] And acquainting Master Secretary Walsingham with the rest of the honourable

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and worshipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, because by all likelihood it was the place and passage by vs laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the West became aduenturers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and hauing direction to search these straights, vntill we found the same to fall into another sea vpon the West side of this part of America, we should againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conueied to China, and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and arriuing vpon the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same vpon his West shore to the latitude of sixtie six degrees, and there anchored among the Isles bordering vpon the same, where we refreshed our selues, the people of this place came likewise vnto vs, by whom I vnderstood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed shee there forsook me. Then considering how I had giuen my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend Master William Sanderson, who of all men was the greatest aduenturer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance thereof, that he hath to my knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any fiue others whatsoever, out of his purse, when some of the companie haue bene slacke in giuing in their aduenture: And also knowing that I should loose the fauour of M. Secretary Walsingham, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tonnes, whereof M. Sanderson was owner, alone without farther company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at these straights followed the same 80 leagues, vntill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow sixe fadome vpriight, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. [Sidenote: The North Parts of America all Islands.] But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had vsed that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore recouered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entred in with violent swiftnesse, this we also thought might be a passage; for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but because I was alone in a small barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same, for it was now the seuenth of September, but coasting the shore towards the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fishermen aboard our Barke they all concluded

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that there was a great skull of fish, we being vnprouided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastened the same to one of our sounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more then fortie great Cods, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had we preserved some thirtie couple, or thereabouts, and so returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walsingham the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present vnto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, and heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduising me to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceived a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Westernne marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the aduenturers both honourable and worshipfull continued their willing fauour and charge, so that by this meanes the next yere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discouerie.

[Sidenote: The 3. voyage.] Departing from Dartmouth, thorough Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two ships to follow that busines, taking their faithful promise not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for this discouerie: but after my departure, in sixteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, and so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discouerie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and Northwest to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me, and Gronland, which I called Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithstanding desirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Westernne shore: thus I continued to the Latitude of 73 degrees in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Westernne shoure of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fishes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-base and such like, besides diuers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Fesant, Guls, Sea birds, and other kinds of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we vnderstood them, then I departed from that coast, thinking to discover the North parts of America: and after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being

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North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large, very salt and blew, and of an vnsearchable depth: So coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ships to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken and left in this distresse referring my self to the mercifull prouidence of God, I shaped my course for England, and vn hoped for of any, God alone releuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this last discouery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free and without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanish Fleete and vnfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted and never sithens attempted. The cause why I vse this particular relation of all my proceedings for this discouery, is to stay this obiection, why hath not Dauis discovered this passage being thrise that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded and in what forme this discouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserueth great fauor and commendations.[90]

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The discouerie of the Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria: made by two brethren, namely M. Nicholas Zeno, and M. Antonio his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. Francisco Marcolino.

In the yere of our Lord 1200 there was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named Messer Marino Zeno, who for his great vertue and singular wisdom, was called and elected gouernour in certaine common wealths of Italy: in the administration whereof he bore himselfe so discretly, that he was beloued of all men, and his name greatly reuerenced of those that neuer knew or saw his person. And amongst sundry his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certaine grievous ciuile dissensions that arose among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwise, if by his graue aduise and great diligence they had not bene preuented, the matter was likely to broke out into hot broyles of warre. He was the first Podesta, or Ruler, that the Common wealth of Venice appointed in Constantinople in the yeere 1205 when our state had rule thereof with the French Barons. This Gentleman had a sonne named Messer Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without issue, made his heire M. Andrea, the sonne of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was Captaine Generall and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes, that were in him. He had a sonne M. Rinieri, a worthy Senatour and prudent Counsellour: of whom descended M. Pietro Captaine Generall of the league of the Christians against the Turkes, who was called Dragon, for that in his shield, in stead of a Manfrone which was his armes at the first, he bare a Dragon. He was father to M. Carlo II

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grande the famous Procurator and Captaine generall against the Genowayes in those cruell warres, when as almost all the chiefe Princes of Europe did oppugne and seeke to ouerthrow our Empire and libertie, wherein by his great valiantie and prowess, as Furius Camillus deliuered Rome, so he deliuered his countrey from the present perill it was in, being ready to become a pray and spoile vnto the enemie: wherefore he was afterward surnamed the Lyon, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gaue the Lyon in his armes. M. Carlo had two brethren, M. Nicolo, the knight and M. Antonio, the father of M. Dragon, of whom issued M. Caterino, the father M. Pietro da i Grocecchieri. This M. Pietro had sonnes M. Caterino, that died the last yere, being brother vnto M. Francisco, M. Carlo, M. Battista, and M. Vincenzo: Which M. Caterino was father to M. Nicola, that is yet liuing.

Now M. Nicolo, the knight being a man of great courage, after this aforesaid Genouan warre of Chioggia, that troubled so our predecessours, entred into a great desire and fansie to see the fashions of the worlde and to trauell and acquaint himselfe with the maners of sundry nations, and learne their languages, whereby afterwards vpon occasions he might be the better able to doe seruice to his countrey, and purchase to himselfe credite and honour. Wherefore he caused a ship to be made, and hauing furnished her at his proper charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our seas and passing the straites of Gibraltar, he sailed for certaine dayes vpon the Ocean, keeping his course still to the Northwards, with intent to see England and Flanders. [Sidenote: The ship of M. N. Zeno cast away vpon Frisland in Anno 1380.] Where being assailed in those Seas by a terrible tempest, he was so tossed for the space of many dayes with the sea and winde, that he knew not where he was, till at length he discouered land, and not being able any longer to susteine the violence of the tempest the ship was cast away vpon the Isle of Friseland. The men were saued and most part of the goods that were in the ship. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Island came running in great multitudes with weapons to set vpon M. Nicolo and his men, who being sore weather-beaten and ouer-laboured at sea and not knowing in what part of the world they were, were not able to make any resistance at all, much lesse to defend themselues courageously, as it behooued them in such a dangerous case. [Sidenote: A forraine prince hapning to be in Frisland with armed men, when M. Zeno suffered shipwrecked there came vnto him and spake Latine.] And they should haue bene doubtlesse very discourteously intreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not beene hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who vnderstanding that there was euen at that present a great ship cast away vpon the Island, came running at the noyse and outcrys that they made against our poore Mariners,



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and dryuing away the inhabitants, spake in Latine and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiuing that they came from Italy and that they were men of the sayd Countrey, he was surprised with maruelous great ioy. Wherefore promising them all, that they should receiue no discourtesie, and that they were come into a place where they should be well vsed and very welcome, he tooke them into his protection vpon his faith. [Sidenote: Zichmni prince of Porland or Duke of Zorani.] This was a great Lord, and possessed certaine Islands called Porland, lying on the South side of Frisland, being the richest and most populous of all those parts, his name was Zichmni: and beside the said little Islands, he was Duke of Sorani, lying ouer against Scotland.[91]

Of these North parts I thought good to draw the copie of a Sea carde, which amongst other antiquities I haue in my house, which although it be rotten through many yeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to those that are delighted in these things, it may serue for some light to the vnderstanding of that, which without it cannot so easily be conceiued. Zichmni being Lord of those Sygnories (as is said) was a very warlike and valiant man and aboue all things famous in Sea causes. [Sidenote: Frisland the king of Norwayes.] And hauing the yere before giuen the ouerthrow to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Island, being desirous to winne fame by feates of armes, hee was come on land with his men to giue the attempt for the winning of Frisland, which is an Island much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore seeing that M. Nicolo was a man of iudgement and discretion, and very expert both in sea matters and martiall affaires, hee gaue him commission to goe aboard his Nauy with all his men, charging the captaine to honor him and in all things to use his counsaile.

This Nauy of Zichmni was of thirteene vessels, whereof two onely were rowed with oares, the rest small barkes and one ship, with the which they sayled to the Westwards and with little paines wonne Ledouo and Ilofe and diuers other small Islands: and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the hauen of the towne named Sanestol, they tooke certaine small barks laden with fish. And here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countrey as he went: they stayed here but a while, and led on their course to the Westwards till they came to the other Cape of the gulf or bay, then turning againe, they found certaine Islandes and broken lands which they reduced al vnto the Signorie and possession of Zichmni. These seas for as much as they sailed, were in maner nothing but sholds and rocks, in so much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not bene their Pilots, the whole fleete in iudgement of all that were in it, had bene cast away, so small was the skill of Zichmnis men, in respect of ours, who had bene trained vp in the arte and practise of Nauigation all the dayes of their life. Now the fleete hauing



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done such things as are declared, the Captaine, by the counsaile of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a land, at a towne called Bondendon, to vnderstand what successe Zichmni had in his warres: where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battell and put to flight the armie of his enemye: by reason of which victory, they sent Embassadors from all parts of the Island to yeeld the countrey vp into his handes, taking downe their ensignes in euery towne and castle: they thought good to stay in that place for his comming, it being reported for certaine that hee would be there very shortly. At his comming there was great congratulation and many signes of gladnesse shewed, as well for the victory by land, as for that by sea: for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in such sort that there was no talke but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great fauourer of valiant men and especially of those that could behaue themselues well at sea, caused M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after hauing commended him with many honourable speeches, and praysed his great industrie and dexteritie of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himselfe to haue receiued an inestimable benefite, as the sauing of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich and bountifull gifts. Then departing from thence they went in tryumphing maner toward Frisland, the chiefe citie of that Island. In this gulf or bay there is such great abundance of fish taken, that many ships are laden therewith to serue Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo sent to M. Antonio his brother, requesting that he would seeke some meanes to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great desire to trauaile as his brother, bought a ship, and directed his course that way: and after he had sailed a great while and escaped many dangers, he arriued at length in safetie with M. Nicolo, who receiued him very ioyfully, for that he was his brother not onely in flesh and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Frisland and dwelt there for the space of 14 yeres, 4 yeeres with M. Nicolo, and 10 yeres alone. Where they came in such grace and fauour with the Prince, that he made M. Nicolo Captaine of his Nauy, and with great preparation of warre they were sent forth for the enterprise of Estland, which lyeth vpon the coast betweene Frisland and Norway, where they did many dammages, but hearing that the king of Norway was coming towardes them with a great fleet, they departed with such a terrible flaw of winde, that they were driuen vpon certaine sholds: were a great part of their ships were cast away, the rest were saued vpon Grisland, a great Island but dishabited. The king of Norway his fleete being

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taken with the same storme, did vtterly perish in those seas: Whereof Zichmni hauing notice, by a ship of his enemies that was cast by chance vpon Grisland, hauing repayred his fleet, and perceiuing himself Northerly neere vnto the Islands, determined, to set vpon Island, which together with the rest, was subiect to the king of Norway: but he found the countrey so well fortified and defended, that his fleete being so small, and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And so he left that enterprise without performing any thing at all: and in the chanel, he assaulted the other Isles called Islande, which are seuen, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, and Bres: and hauing spoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo with certaine small barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done wel for this voyage, with those few ships which were left he returned safe into Frisland. [Sidenote: Engroneland.] M. Nicolo remaining nowe in Bres, determined in the spring to go forth and discouer land: wherefore arming out three small barkes in the moneth of Iuly, he sayled to the Northwards, and arriued in Engroneland. [Sidenote: Preaching fryers of Saint Thomas.] Where he found a Monasterie of Friers, of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that casteth forth fire, like Vesuius and Etna.

There is a fountaine of hot burning water with the which they heate the Church of the Monastery and the Fryers chambers, it commeth also into the kitchin so boyling hot, that they vse no other fire to dresse their meate: and putting their breade into brasse pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot ouen. They haue also smal gardens couered ouer in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the snow and colde, which in those partes being situate farre vnder the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of sundry sorts, euen as in other temperate countries in their seasons, in such sort that the rude and sauage people of those partes seeing these supernaturall effects, doe take those Fryers for Gods, and bring them many presents, as chickens, flesh, and diuers other things, they haue them all in great reuerence as Lords. When the frost and snowe is great, they heate their houses in maner before said, and wil by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an instant, temper the heate and cold at their pleasure. In the buildings of the Monasterie they vse no other matter but that which is ministred vnto them by the fire: for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cinders at the fierie mouth of the hill, and when they are most enflamed, cast water vpon them, whereby they are dissolued and become excellent white lime and so tough that being contriued in building it lasteth for euer. And the very sparkles after the fire is out of them doe serue in

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stead of stones to make walles and vautes: for being once colde they will neuer dissolue or breake, except they be cut with some iron toole, and the vautes that are made of them are so light that they need no sustentacle, or prop to holde them vp, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reason of these great commodities, the Fryers haue made there so many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to see. The couerts or roofes of their houses for the most part are made in maner following: first they rayse vp the wall vp to his full height, then they make it enclinining or bowing in by little and litle in fourme of a vault. [Sidenote: Winter of 9 moneths.] But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those partes, because the climate (as I haue saide) is extreme colde: for the first snow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the space of nine moneths, for so long dureth their winter. They feede of the flesh of wilde foule and of fish: for wheras the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide hauen, which by reason of the heate of the water, doeth neuer freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea foule and such abundance of fish, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of foules and fish, and in a thousand other necessarie affaires and busines about the Monasterie.

Their houses are built about the hill on euery side, in forme round, and 25 foote broad, and in mounting vpwards they goe narrower and narrower, leauing at the top a litle hole, whereat the aire commeth in to giue light to the house, and the flore of the house is so hot, that being within they feele no cold at all. Hither in the Summer time come many barks from the Islands there about, and from the cape aboue Norway, and from Trondon, and bring to the Friers al maner of things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish, which they dry in the sunne or in the cold, and skins of diuers kindes of beasts. [Sidenote: Trade in summer time from Trondon to S. Thomas Friers in Groneland. Resort of Fryers from Norway and Sueden, to the Monastery in Engroneland, called S. Tho.] For the which they haue wood to burne and timber very artificially carued, and corne, and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two aforesaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them couet to trafficke with them, and so they without any trauell or expences haue that which they desire. To this Monasterie resort Fryers of Norway, of Suetia and of other countreys, but the most part are of Islande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the spring of the yere to dissolue the yce. The fishers boates are made like into a weauers shuttle: taking the skins of fishes, they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and

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sowing them together in many doubles they make so sure and substanciall, that it is miraculous to see, howe in tempests they will shut themselues close within and let the sea and winde cary them they care not whether, without any feare either of breaking or drowning. [Marginal note: M. Frobisher brought these kinde of boats from these parts into England.] And if they chance to be driuen vpon any rocks, they remaine sound without the least bruse in the world: and they haue as it were a sleeue in the bottome, which is tyed fast in the middle, and when there commeth any water into the boat, they put it into the one halfe of the sleeue, then fastening the ende thereof with two pieces of wood and loosing the band beneath, they conuey the water forth of the boats: and this they doe as often as they haue occasion, without any perill or impediment at all.

Moreouer, the water of the Monastery, being of sulphurious or brimstonie nature, is conueyed into the lodgings of the principall Friers by certaine vesselles of brass, tinne, or stone, so hot that it heateth the place as it were a stone, nor carying with it any stinke or other noysome smell.

Besides this they haue another conueyance to bring hot water with a wall vnder the ground, to the end it should not freeze, vnto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brasse that standeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heat their water to drinke and to water their gardens, and thus they haue from the hill the greatest commodities that may be wished: and so these Fryers employ all their trauaile and studie for the most in trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but especially handsome and commodious: neyther are they destitute of ingenious and painefull artificers for the purpose; for they giue very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and seedes they are very bountifull, and giue they care not what. So that there is great resort of workemen and masters in diuers faculties, by reason of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

[Sidenote: In the Monastery of Saint Thomas most of them spake the Latine tongue.] The most of them speake the Latine tongue, and specially the superiours and principals of the Monastery. And this is as much as is knowen of Engroneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular description of a riuer that he discouered, as is to be seene in the carde that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being vsed and acquainted with these cruell coldes, fel sicke, and a litle while after returned into Frisland, where he dyed. [Sidenote: The end of the 2. letter.] He left behind him in Venice, two sonnes, M. Giouanni and M. Toma, who had two sonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom descended the other Zenos, that are liuing at this day.

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[Sidenote: M. Zeno dyed in Frisland.] Now M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio succeeded him both in his goods, and in his dignities and honour and albeit he attempted diuers wayes, and made great supplication, he could neuer obtaine licence to returne into his countrey. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himself Lord of the sea. Wherefore vsing alwayes the counsaile and seruice of M. Antonio, he determined to send him with certaine barks to the Westwards, for that towards those parts, some of his fishermen had discovered certaine Islands very rich and populous: which discovery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, sauing that we haue changed some old words, leauing the matter entire as it was.

Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe there departed foure fisher boats, the which, a mightie tempest arising, were tossed for the space of many dayes very desperately ypon the Sea, when at length, the tempest ceasing, and the wether waxing faire, they discovered an Island called Estotiland, lying to the Westwards about 1000 Miles from Frisland, vpon the which one of the boats was cast away, and sixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place sent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that vnderstood the language of the fishermen, except one that spake Latine, who was also cast by chance vpon the same Island, who in behalfe of the king asked them what countrey men they were: [Sidenote: Sixe were fiue yeeres in Estotiland.] and so vnderstanding their case, rehearsed it vnto the king, who willed that they should tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandement, for that they could not otherwise doe, dwelt fiue yeres in the Island, and learned the language, and one of them was in diuers partes of the Island, and reporteth that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is litle lesse then Island, but farre more fruitfull, hauing in the middle thereof a very high mountaine, from the which there spring foure riuers that passe through the whole countrey.

The inhabitants are very wittie people, and haue all artes and faculties, as we haue: and it is credible that in time past they haue had trafficke with our men, for he said, that he saw Latin bookes in the kings Librarie, which they at this present do not understand: they haue a peculiar language, and letters or caracters to themselues. They haue mines of all maner of mettals, but especial they abound with gold. They haue their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring fures, brimstone and pitch and he saith, that to the Southwards, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. [Sidenote: Many cities and castles.] They sow corne, and make beere and ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do vse as we do wine. They haue mighty great woods,

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they make their buildings with wals, and there are many cities and castles. They build small barks and haue sayling, but they haue not the load stone, nor know not the vse of the compasse. [Sidenote: A countrey called Drogio.] Wherefore these fishers were had in great estimation, insomuch that the king sent them with twelue barks to the Southwards to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had such contrary weather, that they thought to haue perished in the sea: but escaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell: for they were taken in the countrey and the most part of them eaten by the Sauage people, which fed vpon mans flesh, as the sweetest meat in their iudgements that is.

[Sidenote: The 6 fishermen of Frisland onely saved, by shewing the maner to take fish.] But that fisher with his fellowes shewing them the maner of taking fish with nets, saued their liues: and would goe euery day a fishing to the sea and in fresh riuers, and take great abundance of fish and giue it to the chiefe men of the countrey, whereby he gate himselfe so great fauour, that he was very well beloued and honoured of euery one.

The fame of this man being spread abroad in the countrey, there was a Lord there by, that was very desirous to haue him with him, and to see how he vsed his miraculous arte of catching fish, in so much that he made warre with the other Lord with whom he was before, and in the end preuailing, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fisherman was sent vnto him with the rest of his company. [Sidenote: In the space of 13 yeeres he serued 25 lords of Drogio.] And for the space of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in those parts, he saith, that he was sent in this order to more than 25 Lords, for they had continuall war amongst themselues, this Lord with that Lord, and he with another, onely to haue him to dwell with them: so that wandring vp and downe the countrey without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almost all those parts. He saith, that it is a very great countrey and as it were a new world: the people are very rude and voide of all goodnesse, they go all naked so that they are miserably vexed with colde, neither haue they the wit to couer their bodyes with beasts skins which they take in hunting, they haue no kinde of mettall, they liue by hunting, they carry certaine lances of wood made sharpe at the point, they haue bowes, the strings whereof are made of beasts skins: they are very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another, they haue gouernours and certaine lawes very diuers among themselues. But the farther to the Southwestwards, the more ciuilitie there is, the ayre being somewhat temperate, so that there they haue cities and temples to idols, wherein they sacrifice men and afterwards eate them, they haue there some knowledge and vse of gold and siluer.



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Now this fisherman hauing dwelt so many yeeres in those countreys purposed, if it were possible, to returne home into his countrey, but his companions despairing euer to see it againe, let him goe in Gods name, and they kept themselues where they were.

Wherefore he bidding them farwell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well receiued of the Lord that dwelt next to that place; who knew him and was a great enemie of the other Lord: and so running from one Lord to another, being those by whom he had passed before, after long time and many trauels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants, that there were certaine boates arriued vpon the coast: wherefore entring into good hope to accomplish his intent, he went to the sea side, and asking them of what countrey they were; they answered of Estotiland, whereat he was exceeding glad, and requested that they would take him in to them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the countrey, and there was none that could speake it, they vsed him for their interpreter.

[Sidenote: He returned from Estotiland to Frisland.] And afterward he frequented that trade with them in such sort, that he became very rich, and so furnishing out a barke of his owne, he returned into Frislande, where he made reporte vnto this Lord of that wealthy countrey.

And he is throughly credited because of the mariners, who approue many strange things, that he reporteth to be true. [Sidenote: Zichmni minded to send M. Antonio Zeno with a fleete towards those parts of Estotiland.] Wherefore this Lord is resolved to send me forth with a fleet towards those parts, and there are so many that desire to go in the voyage, for the noueltie and strangenesse of the thing, that I thinke we shall be very strongly appointed, without any publike expence at all. And this is the tenour of the letter before mentioned, which I haue here set downe to giue intelligence of another voyage that M. Antonio made, being set out with many barkes, and men, notwithstanding he was not captaine, as he had thought at the first he should: for Zichmni went in his owne person: and concerning that matter I haue a letter in forme following.

[Sidenote: The 4. letter.] [Sidenote: The fisherman dyed that should haue bene interpreter. Certaine mariners taken in his steede, which came with him from Estotiland.] One great preparation for the voyage of Estotiland was begun in an vnlucky houre: for three dayes before our departure the fisherman died that should haue bene our guide: notwithstanding this Lord would not giue ouer the enterprize, but instead of the fisherman tooke certaine mariners that returned out of the Island with him: and so making our Nauigation to the Westwards, we discouered certaine Islands subiect to Frisland, and hauing passed certaine shelues we stayed at Leduo for the space of 7 daies to refresh our selues, and to furnish the fleet with

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necessarie prouision. [Sidenote: Isle Ilof.] Departing from thence we arriued the first of Iuly at the Isle of Ilofe: and for that the wind made for vs, we stayed not there, but passed forth, and being vpon the maine sea, there arose immediately a cruel tempest, wherewith for eight dayes space we were miserably vexed, not knowing where we were: and a great part of the barks were cast away, afterward the weather waxing faire, we gathered vp the broken peices of the barks that were lost, and sayling with a prosperous winde we discovered land at West. [Sidenote: Zichmni his discouerie of the Island Iscaria.] Wherefore keeping our course directly vpon it, we arriued in a good and safe harborough, where we saw an infinit companie of people ready in armes, come running very furiously to the water side, as it were for defence of the Iland. [Sidenote: An Island man in Icaria.] Wherefore Zichmni causing his men to make signes of peace vnto them, they sent 10 men vnto vs that coulde speake ten languages, but we could vnderstand none of them, except one that was of Island. [Sidenote: The kings of Icaria called Icaria after the name of the first king of that place, who as they report, was sonne to Dedalus the king of the Scots.] He being brought before our prince and asked, what was the name of the Island, and what people inhabited it, and who gouerned it, answered that the Island was called Icaria, and that all the kings that reigned there, were called Icari, after the name of the first king of that place, which as they say was the sonne of Dedalus king of Scotland, who conquered that Island, left his sonne there for king, and left them those lawes that they retaine to this present, and after this, he desiring to sayle further, in a great tempest that arose, was drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call those seas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the kings of the Island Icari, and for that they were contented with that state, which God had giuen them, neither would they alter one iote of their lawes and customes, they would not receiue any stranger: wherefore they requested our prince, that hee would not seeke to violate their lawes, which they had receiued from that king of worthy memory and obserued very duly to that present: which if he did attempt, it would redound to his manifest destruction, they being all resolutely bent rather to leaue their life, then to loose in any respect the vse of their lawes. [Sidenote: The people of Icaria desirous of the Italian tongue.] Notwithstanding, that we should not thinke they did altogether refuse conuersation and traffick with other men, they tolde vs for conclusion that they would willingly receiue one of our men, and preferre him to be one of the chiefe amongst them, onely to learne my language the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and customes, as they had already receiued those other ten oftensundry nations, that came into their Island. [Sidenote: Infinite multitudes of armed men in Icaria.] To these things our Prince answered



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nothing at all, but causing his men to seke some good harborough, he made signes as though he would depart, and sayling round about the Island, he espied at length a harborough on the East side of the Island, where hee put in with all his Fleet: the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great speede as they could, doubting least they should be assaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out in deed, for those that dwelt thereabouts, making signes vnto the other with fire and smoke, put themselues presently in armes and the other comming to them, they came all running downe to the sea side vpon our men, with bowes and arrowes, and other weapons, so that many were slaine and diuers sore wounded. And we made signes of peace vnto them, but it was to no purpose, for their rage increased more and more, as though they had fought for land and liuing. [Sidenote: Zichmni departed from Icaria Westwards.] Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to sayle along in a great circuite about the Islande, being alwayes accompanied vpon the hil tops and the sea coastes with an infinite number of armed men: and so doubling the Cape of the Island towards the North, we found many great sholdes, amongst the which for the space of ten dayes we were in continuall danger of loosing our whole fleet, but that it pleased God all that while to send vs faire weather. Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the East cape, we saw the inhabitants still on the hill tops and by the sea coast keepe with vs, and in making great outcryes and shooting at vs a farre off, they vttered their old spitefull affection towards vs. Wherefore wee determined to stay in some safe harborough, and see if wee might speake once againe with the Islander, but our determination was frustrate: for the people more like vnto beasts then men, stood continually in armes with intent to beat vs back, if we should come on land. Wherefore Zichmni seeing he could not preuaile, and thinking if he should haue perseuered and followed obstinately his purpose, their victuals would haue failed them, he departed with a fayre wind and sailed sixe daies to the Westwards, but the winde changing to the Southwest, and the sea waxing rough, wee sayling 4 dayes with the wind the powp, and at length discovering land, were afraid to approch nere vnto it, the sea being growen, and we not knowing what land it was: but God so prouided for vs, that the wind ceasing there came a great calme. Wherefore some of our company rowing to land with oares, returned and brought vs newes to our great comfort, that they had found a very good cuntry and a better harborough: [Sidenote: 100 men sent to discerie the cuntry.] vpon which newes we towed our ships and smal barks to land, and being entred into the harborough, we saw a farre off a great mountain, that cast forth smoke, which gaue vs good hope that we should finde some inhabitants in the Island, neither would Zichmni rest, although it were a great way off,

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but sent 100 souldiers to search the countrey and bring report what people they were that inhabited it, and in the meane time they tooke in wood and water for the prouision of the fleete, and catcht great store of fish and sea foule and found such abundance of birds egges that our men that were halfe famished, were filled therewithall. Whiles we were riding here, began the moneth of lune, at which time the aire in the Island was so temperate and pleasant, as is impossible to express; but when we could see no people at al, we suspected greatly that this pleasant place was desolate and dishabited; We gaue name to the hauen calling it Trin, and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called Capo de Trin. [Sidenote: The 100 souldiers returned which had bene through the Island, report what they saw and found.] The 100 souldiers that were sent forth, 8 dayes after returned, and brought word that they had bene through the Island and at the mountaine, and that the smoke was a naturall thing proceeding from a great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there was a spring from which issued a certaine water like pitch which ran into the sea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people halfe wilde, hiding themselues in caues of the ground, of small stature, and very fearefull: for as soone as they saw them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great riuer and a very good and safe harborough. Zichmni being thus informed, and seeing that it had a holesome and pure aire, and a very fruitfull soyle and faire riuers, with sundry commodities, fell into such liking of the place, that he determined to inhabite it, and built there a citie. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious trauell began to murmure, saying that they would returne into their countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entred into the harborough, they should not be able to come out againe before the next Summer. Wherefore he retaining onely the barks with Oares and such as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest with the shippes backe againe, [Sidenote: M. Antonio Zeno, made chiefe captaine of those ships which went back to Frisland.] and willed that I (though vnwilling) should be their captaine. I therefore departing, because I could not otherwise chuse, sayled for the space of twenty dayes to the Eastwards without sight of any land: then turning my course towards the Souteast, in 5. dayes I discovered land, and found my selfe vpon the Isle of Neome, and knowing the countrey, I perceiued I was past Island: wherefore taking in some fresh victuals of the inhabitants being subiect to Zichmni, I sayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Frisland, where the people, who thought they had lost their prince, because of his long absence, in this our voyage receiued vs very ioyfully.

What followed after this letter I know not but by coniecture, which I gather out of a peice of another letter, which I will set down here vnderneath: That Zichmni built a towne in the port of the lland that he discovered, and that he searched the countrey very diligently and discovered it all, and also the riuers on both sides of Engroneland, for that I see it particularly described in the sea card, but the discourse or narration is lost. The beginning of the letter is thus.

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[Sidenote: The 5 letter.] Concerning those things that you desire to know of me, as of the men and their maners and customes, of the beasts, and of the countries adioyning, I haue made therof a particuler booke, which by Gods help I will bring with me: wherein I haue decribed the countrey, the monstrous fishes, the customes and lawes of Frisland, Island, Estland, the kingdome of Norway, Estotiland, Drogio, and in the end the life of M. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the discouery which he made, and the state of Groneland. I haue also written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortall memory, as euer liued, for his great valiancie and singular humanitie, wherein I haue described the discouery of Engroneland on both sides, and the citie that he builded. Therefore I will speake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very shortly, and to satisfie you in sundry other things by word of mouth.

All these letters were written by M. Antonio to Messer Carlo his brother: and it griueth me, that the booke and diuers other writings concerning these purposes, are miserably lost: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the maner of children is) I tore them, and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great grieve. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should not bee lost: whatsoeuer I could get of this matter, I haue disposed and put in order in the former discourse, to the ende that this age might be partly satisfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great discoueries made in those partes, then to any other of the time past, being most studious of the newe relations and discoueries of strange countries, made by the great mindes, and industrie of our ancestours.

For the more credite and confirmation of the former Historie of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni (which for some fewe respects may perhaps bee called in question) I haue heere annexed the iudgement of that famous Cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yealding and submitting of his iudgement thereunto: who in his Theatrum Orbis, fol. 6. next before the map of Mar del Zur, boroweth prooffe and authoritie out of this relation, to shew that the Northeast parte of America called Estotiland, and in the original alwayes affirmed to bee an Islande, was about the yeere 1390 discovered by the aforesayd Venetian Gentleman Messer Antonio Zeno, aboue 100 yeeres before euer Christopher Columbus set saile for those Westernne Regions; and that the Northren Seas were euen then sayled by our Europaeen Pilots through the helpe of the loadstone: with diuers other particulars concerning the customes, religion and wealth of the Southern Americans, which are most euidently confirmed by all the late and moderne Spanish Histories of Nueva Espanna and Peru.

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And here I shall not (as I suppose) commit any great inconuenience, or absurditie, in adding vnto this History of the new world, certaine particulars as touching the first discovery thereof, not commonly known. Which discoverie al the writers of our time ascribe (and that not vnworthily) vnto Christopher Columbus. For by him it was in a maner first discovered, made knowne, and profitably communicated vnto the Christian world, in the yeere of our Lord 1492. [Sidenote: Estotiland first discovered.] [Sidenote: The second discoverie thereof.] Howbeit I finde that the North part thereof called Estotiland, (which most of all extendeth toward our Europe and the Ilands of the same, namely, Groneland, Island, and Frisland) was long ago found out by certaine fishers of the Isle of Frisland, driuen by tempest vpon the shore thereof: and was afterward about the yeere 1390 discovered a new by one Antonio Zeno a gentleman of Venice; which sayled thither vnder the conduct of Zichmni king of the saide Isle of Frisland, a prince in those parts of great valour, and renowned for his martiall exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Francisco Marcolino out of the letters of M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni two gentlemen of Venice which liued in those partes. Out of which collections I doe adde concerning the description of Estotiland aforesaid these particulars following.

Estotiland (saith he) aboundeth with all things necessary for mankinde. In the mids thereof standeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which issue foure riuers that moisten all the countrie. The inhabitants are wittie and most expert in Mechanicall arts. They haue a kinde of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this Kings Librarie are preserued certaine Latine bookes which they vnderstand not, being perhaps left there many yeeres before by some Europeans, which traffiqued thither. They haue all kinde of mettals; but especially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland: from whence they fetch skinnes, pitch and brimstone. The inhabitants report that towardes the South, there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous: they haue many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ships and cities, whereof and of castles there are great store. The vse of the loadstone for Navigation is vnknowne vnto them. [Sidenote: Drogio.] They make relation also of a certaine region toward the South, called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, vnto whom mans flesh is delicate meat: wherof being destitute they liue by fishing, which they vse very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a newe world: but the people are barbarous and goe naked: howbeit against the colde they cloth themselues in beastes skinnes. These haue no kinde of metall: and they liue by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long stauies with sharpe points, and bowes. They wage warres one against another. They haue gouernours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence more towardes the South the climate is much more temperate: and there are cities, and temples of idoles, vnto whom they sacrifice liuing men, whose flesh they afterwards deuoure. These nations haue the vse of siluer and gold.

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This much of this tract of landes out of the aforesaide collections and abridgements. Wherein this also is worthy the obseruation, that euen then our Europaeen Pilots sayled those seas by the helpe of the loadstone. For concerning the vse thereof in Nauigation, I suppose there is not to be found a more ancient testimonie. And these things I haue annexed the rather vnto this table of Mar del Zur; considering that none of those Authours which haue written the Histories of the Newe world, haue in any part of their writings, mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.

### THE NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,

#### OF THE

*English nation,*

*To NEWFOVNDLAND, to the isles of RAMEA and the isles of Assumption otherwise called NATISCOTEC.*

*Situate at the mouth of the River of Canada, and to the coastes of cape Briton, and Arambec, corruptly called Norumbega,*

*With the patents, letters, and aduertisements thereunto belonging.*

The voyage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king Henry the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the the discouerie of the North partes.

Master Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the first volume of this my work) exhorted the aforesayd king with very waighty and substantial reasons, to set forth a discouery euen to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers, M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships wel manned and victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to seeke strange regions, and so they set forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord. 1527.

And whereas master Hal, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great enquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in Nauigation, might giue me any light to know who those cunning men should be, which

were the directors in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by sir Martine Frobisher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint Paul

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in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduance the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ships was called the Dominus vobiscum, which is a name likely to be giuen by a religious man of those dayes: and that sayling very farre Northwestward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Maiestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coastes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of these vnknown regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforesayd. And this much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should haue vsed more care in preseruing of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

\* \* \* \* \*

The voyage of M. Hore and diuers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the year 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8.

One master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and giuen to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged diuers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings fauor and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discoverie vpon the Northwest parts of America: wherein his perswaions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and diuers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entered into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the West countrey of fiue hundred markes by the yeere liuing. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolke, which was lately liuing, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastall Serieant Rastals brother, M. Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the Trinitie, a ship of seuen score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was embarked. [Sidenote: M. Armigil Wade.] In the other ship whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, Afterwards Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the priuie Counsell, M. Oliuer Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Ioy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappell, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about six score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all were mustered in warlike maner at Grauesend, and after the receiuing of the Sacrament, they embarked themselues in the ende of Aprill. 1526.



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[Sidenote: Cape Briton. The Island of Penguin standeth about the latitude of 30 degrees.] From the time of their setting out from Grauesend, they were very long at sea, to witte, aboue two moneths, and neuer touched any land vntill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Briton, shaping their course thence Northeastwardes, vntill they came to the Island of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They draue a great number of the foules into their boates vpon their sayles, and tooke vp many of their egges, the foules they flead and their skinnnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

[Sidenote: M. Dawbneys report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.] M. Oliuer Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, [Sidenote: They behold the Sauages of Newfoundland.] That after their arriuall in Newfoundland, and hauing bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing yet seene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Sauages of those parts, rowing down the Bay toward them, to gaze vpon the ship, and our people, and taking viewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were vnder the hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came vp, and tooke viewe of the Sauages rowing toward them and their ship, and vpon the viewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that lay vp in the Bay or riuer there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Sauages fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Sauages that were fled.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine braue trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these caryed with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Sauages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of firre and pine trees.



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And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourelly to her yong great plentie of diuers sorts of fishes. [Sidenote: Extreme famine.] But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieue themselues of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and desertes here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take vp a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortun'd that one of the company driuen with hunger to seeke abroad for reliefe found [Sidenote: Our men eate one another for famine.] out in the fieldes the sauour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterue, enioying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing and was perswaded that some of them were neither deuoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed by Sauages: [Sidenote: The Captaines Oration.] And hereupon hee stood vp and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almighty, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called vpon them, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to haue holpen them in that distresse, that it had bene better to haue perished in body, and to haue liued euerlastingly, then to haue relieued for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned euerlastingly, both body and soule to the vnquenchable fire of hell. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke vpon their miserable present state and for his owne mercie to relieue the same. The famine increasing, and the inconuenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselues rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: [Sidenote: The English surprise a French ship, wherein they returned home.] And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arriued a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England.

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[Sidenote: Haukes and other foules.] In their iourney they were so ferre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselues being weary of flying ouer farre from the maine.

[Sidenote: Foules supposed to be Storkes.] They sawe also certaine great white foules with red bils and red legs, some what bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storkes. They arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed vnto a certairie castle belonging to sir Iohn Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyaye were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, vntill they found a secret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now aliue that was in this discouerie.

[Sidenote: The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.] Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subiects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooued with pitie, that he punished not his subiects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence vnto the French.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieue their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

\* \* \* \* \*

An act against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into Iseland and Newfoundland, made in An 2. Edwardi sexti.

Forasmuch as within these few yeeres now last past, there haue bene leuied, perceiued and taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as haue vsed and practised the aduentures and iourneys into Iseland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and vpon the Seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties, diuers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, and such other like things, to the great discouragement and hinderance of the same Marchants and fishermen, and to no little dammage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints haue bene made, and informations also yeerely to the kings Maiesties most honourable councell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent also that the sayd Marchants and fishermen may haue occasion the rather to practise

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and vse the same trade of marchandizing, and fishing freely without any such charges and exactions, as are before limited, whereby it is to be thought that more plentie of fish shall come into this Realme, and thereby to haue the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therefore enacted by the king our soueraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himselfe, his seruant, deputie, seruants, or deputies of any such Marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefit or aduantage whatsoever it be, for any licence to passe this Realme to the sayd voyages or any of them, nor vpon any respect concerning the said voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeit for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or aduantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter haue or take of any such Marchants or fishermen. For the which forfeiture the party grieued, and euery other person or persons whatsoever he or they be, shall and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which suite no essoigne, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed. And for the second offence the party so offending not only to lose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and ransome at the kings will and pleasure.

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England to Newfound land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yeere 1548. and it is much to be marueiled, that by negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched.

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A letter to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578.

Master Hakluyt, after most heartie commendations, with like thanks for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any merits that hitherto haue been mine, but wholly proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefit your countrey and all such poore men as haue any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as seruant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knowne to those that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompense your traueilling mind and pen, wherewith you cease not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good

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and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men the deuils instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the haruest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to mooue men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captiuitie of that spirituall Pharao, the deuil.

Now to answer some part of your letter touching the sundrie nauies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra noua, for fish: you shal vnderstand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and some yeres come many more then other some, as I see the like among vs: who since my first trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. saile to 50 which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Westernne men, who thinke their neighbours haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, for that they see me to take such paines yeerely to go in proper person: they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harbors, creekes and hauens, and also the land much more then euer any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof soener it springeth. But to let this passe, you shall vnderstand that I am informed that there are aboue 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie to kill Whale for Traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition then any nation sauing the Englishmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fish, and doe vse all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, so that you take nothing from them more then a boate or twaine of salte, in respect of your protection of them from rousers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be neere fiue or sixe thousand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly aboue 50 saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tuns, and not vpwarde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailes, the most of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tonnes, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Auiero[92]

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And Viana[93] and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Island maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations. [Sidenote: The fertility of Newfoundland.] Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shall vnderstand that I haue in sundry places sown Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, Plumstones, nuts, all which haue prospered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Pearetree meet to graffe on. As for roses, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to maste a ship of threescore and ten: But neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and sufficient for any ship. There be also Okes and thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cold, and also willow, which will serue for many other purposes. [Sidenote: Seuerall sortes of fish.] As touching the kindes of Fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of vs a Cat, Oisters, and Muskles, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Muskle, and generally all haue some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth 300. duckets: There are also [Sidenote: Called by Spaniards Anchouas, and by the Portugals Capelinas.] other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a Smelt which commeth on shore, and another that hath like propertie, called a Squid: there be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my olde companions) I say doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5 ports, and coniure them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foote, onely two or three wordes whatsoever they be appointed by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doth our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuoure him, and therefore for feare comming so neare the shore, is driuen drie by the surge of the sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt you may take vp with a shoue net as plentifully as you do Wheat in a shouell, sufficient in three or four houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are desirous of stange newes, that I take as fast as one would gather vp stones, and them I take with a

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long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleeeue so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with three hookes stretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele speare, with which I pricke these Flounders as fast as you would take vp fritters with a sharpe pointed sticke, and with that toole I may take vp in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Mastiue I haue, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Cods by reason of sheluing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his feilowes. This doeth cause my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

I told you once I doe remember how in my trauaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Oisters which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oisters and Muskies did sticke fast, as their propertie is, to stakes and timber.[94]

Nowe to let these merrie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall vnderstand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Mariners doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of yce lie neere the shore: but vp in the land they shall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidental meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeing from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little small riuers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountains, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares euery where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be poudred but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like store. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geese, and many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of



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flesh with them, but victuall themselves alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Pleasance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes and other mighty beastes like to Camels in great likenesse, and their feete were clouen, I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to bee a kind off Buffes which I read to bee in the countreyes adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares, and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces within lesse then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogs in sight, yet stode they not in feare till wee gaue shot and set the dogs vpon them: the Beares also be as bold, which will not spare at midnight to take your fish before your face, and I beleeeue assuredly would not hurt any bodie vnlesse they be forced.

Nowe to shoue you my fancie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discovered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux,[95] and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle,[96] which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all Newfoundland) wee shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe so please the Queenes Maiestie, and from thence send wood and cole with all necessaries to Labrador lately discovered: but I am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleeeue that we shall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we haue vsed, where wee shall haue not farre from thence plentie of salt made vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I find salt kernal on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie. I know more touching these two commodities last remembred then any man of our nation doeth; for that I haue some knowledge in such matters, and haue most desired the finding of them by painefull trauaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I haue bene ouer long by Master Butlers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of remembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the riuer of Canada[97] should be inhabited, and the riuer searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make prooe whether it be true or no that I haue read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape Briton. I had almost forgot to speake of the

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plentie of wolues, and to shew you that there be foxes, blacke, white and gray: other beasts I know none saue those before remembered. I found also certain Mines of yron and copper in S. Iohns, and in the Island of Yron, which might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for prooffe whereof I haue brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceiued by the vile Portugals descending of the lewes and ludas kinde, I had not failed to haue searched this riuier, and all the coast of Cape Briton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should haue brought me in part of recompence of my good seruice in defending them two yeeres against French Rouers, that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me lose not onely the searching of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse aboue 600. li. For recompence whereof I haue sent my man into Portugall to demand iustice at the Kings hand, if not, I must put vp my supplication to the Queenes Maiesty and her honourable councell, to grant me leaue to stay here so much of their goods as they haue damnified mee, or else that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might haue made. I pray you aduertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the suite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Maiestie and the councell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me haue susteined three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. Iohn, or the riuier of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I shall giue my diligence for the true and perfect discouerie, and leaue some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vse and command,

*Anthony PARCKHVRST.*

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The Letters Patents graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert,  
knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued seruant Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonshire knight, and to his heires and



assignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for euer hereafter, to discover,

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finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, and to every or any of them, shall seeme good: and the same to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heirs and assigns for euer, with all commodities, iurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of vs, our heirs and successours, shall goe and trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayde sir Humfrey, and of his heirs and assigns, the statutes or actes of Parliament made against Fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for vs, our heirs and successours, giue full authoritie and power to the saide Sir Humfrey, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, that hee and they, and every, or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the same voyages, to trauell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and every or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by vs, our heirs and successors. And further, that he, the said Humfrey, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them shall haue, hold, occupy and enioy to him, his heirs, or assigns, and every of them for euer, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, and territories so to be discovered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all Cities, Townes and Villages, and places, in the same, with the rites, royalties and iurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the sayd lands or countreys of the seas thereunto adioining, to be had or vsed with ful power to dispose thereof; and of every part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heirs and successours, paying vnto vs, for all seruices, dueties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys, and territories, shall for euer bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heirs and assigns of vs, our heirs and successours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before reserued onely for all seruices.

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And moreouer, we doe by those presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them shall, and may from time to time and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea, as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all, and euery such person and persons whatsoever, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayd, if they shall not be before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesayd, with the subiects of any Christian prince, being in amitie with her Maiesty, where the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within sixe yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and euery person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the said sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes as aforesayd, shall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforesayde, (the subiects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted) and those persons and euery of them with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possesse, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him, the sayd sir Hnmfrey, his heires and assignes, and of euery or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterprise: we doe by these presents graunt, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours. And wee doe gaunt to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heirs and assignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the said sir

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Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this iourney for discoverie, or in the second iourney for conquest hereafter, trauel to such lands, countries and territories as aforesaid, and to their and euery of their heires: that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with such licence as aforesayd, shall, and may haue, and enioy all priuileges of free denizens and persons natine of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch, as vpon the finding out, discovering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneys or voiajes, to determine to liue together in Christian peace and ciuill quietnesse each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit, enioy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for vs, our heires and successors are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter aduenture themselues in the sayd iourneys or voyages habitatiue or possessiue, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humrrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within sixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or euery, or any of them deuised or established for the better gouernment of the said people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes and pollicy of England: and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soueraignes vnder God. And further we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt

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full power and authority to our trustie and welbeloued counseller, sir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England of vs, for the time being, and to the priuie counsell of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foore of them, shall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and themselues, or by their or any of their sufficient attorneys, deputies, officers, ministers, factors and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the said lord treasurer or foure of the priuie counsell of vs, our heires, or successours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wisdoms or discretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them, and his and their, and euery or any of their said associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kings, princes and states, that if the said Sir Humfrey his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust and vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subiects of vs, our heires, or successours, or any of the Subiects of any King, prince, ruler, gouernour or state being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or successours: and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such prince, ruler, gouernour or state, or their subiects, wee, our heires or successours shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom those Letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, so that both we and the saide Princes, or others so complayning, may holde vs and themselues fully contended: And that if the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to bee made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited: that then it shall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and successours, to put the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered as is aforesaid, or any of them out of our allegiance

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and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of our protection the saide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention &c. In witness whereof, &c. Witnessse ourselfe at Westminster the 11. day of Iune, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

\* \* \* \* \*

De Nauigatione Illustris et Magnanimi Equiris aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in nomun Orbem coloniam suscepta, Carmen hepizatikou Stephani Parmenii Bvdeii.

Ad eundem illustrem equitem autoris praefatio.

Reddenda est, quam fieri potest breuissime, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, et cur ita homo nouus et exterus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beat est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putanerim: ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, foetum hunc nostrom in lucem exire voluisti. In seruitute et barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquam etiam aetatis partem educatus; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniae nostrae, tum imprimis saluae adhuc earum reliquiae florescunt, in literis adoleuisses, more nostrorum hominum, ad inuisendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solum complura Musarum hospitia, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, iam ferme triennio ea in re posito. Fuerat haec nostra, profectio ita a nobis comparata, vt non tantum mores et vrbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introeundum nobis putaremus, Caeterum, vt hoc a nobis sine inuidia dici possit, (certe enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo protest) non locus, non natio, non respublica vlla nobis aequae ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem euentum consilij mei considerem. Accedit, quod praeter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis ciuibus, quibus comaliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passim humanitate acceptus essem, vt iam (sit hoc saluo pietate a me dictum) suauissimae Anglorum amicitiae ferme aboleuerint desiderium et Pannoniarum et Budae meae, quibus patriae nomen debeo. Quas ab caussas cum saepenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostrae huius voluntatis et existimationis edendi; accidit vtique secundum sententiam, vt dum salutandis et cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac



doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi  
praeclarissimo tuo de ducenda propediem colonia

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in nouum orbem instituto. Quae dum aguntu, agnoscere portui ego illud corpus et animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, et agnoui profecto, eaque tali ac tanta obseruantia prosequi coepi; vt cum paulo post plura de tuis virtutibus, et rebus gestis passim audissem, tempus longe accommodatissimum existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officij studijque nostri, erga te et tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc est primum ouum, vnde nostrum [Greek: hepizatikon] originem ducit. Reliquum est, vt eas et redeas quam prosperrime, vir nobilissime, et beneuolentia tua, auctoritate, ac nomine, tueare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.

Ad Thamesin.

Amnis, inoffensa qui tam requiete beatus  
Antipodum quaeris iam tibi in orbe locum:  
Nunc tibi principium meritae, pro tempore, laudis  
Fecimus, et raucae carmina prima tubae.  
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,  
Ornatu perages gaudia festa nouo.

Quae noua tam subito mutati gratia coeli?  
Vnde graues nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras?  
Duffugiunt nebulae, puroque nitentior ortu  
Illustrat terras, clementiaque aequora Titan?  
Nimirum posuere Noti, meliorque resurgit  
Evrys, et in ventos soluuntur vela secundos,  
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale Britanniae  
Tendit ad ignotum nostris maioribus orbem  
Vix notis Gilebertvs aquis. Ecquando licebit  
Ordiri heroas laudes, et fecta nepotum  
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si coepta silendum est  
Illa, quibus nostri priscis aetatibus audent  
Conferri, et certare dies: quibus obuia plano  
Iamdudum Fortvna solo, quibus omne per vndas  
Nereidvm genus exultat, faustoque tridenti  
Ipse pater Netevs placabile temperat aequor.  
Et passim Oceano curui Delphines ab imo  
In summos saliunt fluctus, quasi terga pararent  
In quibus euectae sulcent freta prospera puppes,  
Et quasi diluuium, tempestatesque minatur  
Follihus inflatis inimica in uela physeter.  
Et fauet AEGAEON, et qui Neptvnia PROTEVS  
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.  
Atque idem modo ab antiqua virtute celebrat





Sceptra Chaledonidvm: seclis modo fata futuris  
Pandit, et ad seros canit euentura minores.

Vt pacis bellicue bonis notissima vasto  
Insula in Oceano, magni decus Anglia mundi;  
Postquam opibus diues, populo numerosa frequenti,  
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;  
Non incauta sui, ne quando immensa potestas  
Pondere sit ruitura suo, noua moenia natis  
Quaerat, et in longum extendat sua regna recessum:  
Non aliter, quam cum ventis sublimibus aptae  
In nidis creuere grues, proficiscitur ingens  
De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia Nilvm.

Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula, soli  
Seruata est regio nullis regnata Monarchis.  
Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata  
Margine, et audacim quarto dignata Colymbvm;

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Iam quinta lustranda plaga tibi, iamque regenda  
Imperio superest. Evropam Asiamque relinque,  
Et fortunatam nimium, nisi sole propinquo  
Arderet, Libyen: illis sua facta viasque  
Terminet Alcides: abs te illustranda quietescit  
Parte alis telus, quam non Babylonia sceptrum,  
Non Macedum inuictae vires, non Persica virtus  
Attingit, aut unquam Latiae feriere secures.  
Non illo soboles Mahometi mugit orbe:  
Non vafer Hispanus, coelo, superisque relictis,  
Sacra Papae humano crudelia sanguine fecit.  
Illic mortales hominumque iguota propago;  
Siue illi nostrae veniant ab origine gentis,  
Seu tandem a prisca Favoniorum stirpe supersint  
Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus urbes  
Sylvasque et pingues habitant ciuilibus agros:  
Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur  
Italiae antiquae, et primi rude temporis aeuum:  
Cum genitor nati fugiens Satyrus ob iram  
In Latio posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos  
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.  
Aurea in hoc primum populo coepisse feruntur  
Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati;  
Vt simul argenti percurrens tempora, et aeris,  
Degener in durum chalybem vilesceret aetas;  
Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum  
(Sic perhibent vales) aevo vertente rediret.  
Fallor an est tempus, reuolutoque orbe videntur  
Aurea pacificae transmittere secula gentes?  
Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus urbes  
Respicio, et passim lacerantes regna tyrannos:  
Si Mahometigenis Asiam Libyamque cruento  
Marte premi, domitaque iugum ceruice subire:  
Iamque per Evropaes fines immane tribunal  
Barbari adorari domini, Dacisque, Pelasgisque  
Aethiis, omni solo quod diuidit Hebrus,  
Et quondam bello inuictis, nunc Marte sinistro  
Angustos fines, paruumque tuentibus oram  
Pannoniae populis, et prisca in gente Liburnis.  
Tum vero in superos pugnas sine fine cieri



Patribus Avsoniis; ardere in bella, necesque  
Sarmaticas gentes: et adhuc a caede recenti  
Hispanvm sancto Gallvmqve madere cruore.  
Non sunt haec auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox  
Ingenio referunt ferrum, et si dicere ferro  
Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.

At vero ad niueos alia si parte Britannos  
Verto oculos animumque, quot, o pulcherrima tellus  
Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?  
Namque quod hoc summum colitur tibi numen honore  
Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta iuuentus  
Ilius ad sacra iussa vices obit, arguit aurum.  
Quod tam chara Deo tua sceptrata gubernat Amazon,  
Quam Dea, cum nondum coelis Astraea petitis  
Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.  
Quod colit haud vllis indusas moenibus vrbes  
Aurea libertas, et nescia ferre tyrannum  
Securam aetatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.  
Quod regio nullis iniuria gentibus, arma



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Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,  
Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.  
Quod gladij, quod mucrones, quod pila, quod hastae  
In rastros abiere, et bello assueta iuuentus  
Pacem et amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.  
Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes  
Aeris, et in pacis venerari tempore fortes;  
Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahaenea nutris  
Pectora? Sint testes procerum tot millia, testes  
Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille  
Illa cui assurgunt Mvsae, quam conscia Pallas  
Laetior exaudit, Gileberti gloria nostri.  
Illius auxillum, et socialia praelia amici  
Mirantur Belgae, et quamuis iniustus Ibervs  
Commemorat iustas acies, domitasque per oras  
Martia victrices formidat Hibernia turmas.  
Illum oppugnatae quassatis turribus arces,  
Illum expugnatae perruptis moenibus vrbes,  
Fluminaque et portus capti, hostileque notatum  
Sanguine submersae meminere sub aequore classes.  
Hic vbi per medios proiectus Seqvana Celtas  
Labitur, et nomen max amissurus, et vndas.  
Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis  
Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci  
Tam varies casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?  
Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, et dulcissima sacri  
Oscula coniugij, numerantemque ordine longo  
Avcheriam digitis in mollibus, aequora mille  
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos  
Avcherios exempla suos, fratremque patremque;  
Qui dum pro patria laudem et virtute sequuntur,  
Obsessi in muris soli portisque Caleti,  
Praeposuerunt mori, quam cum prodentibus vrbem,  
Et decus Albionvm, turpi superesse salute.  
Quod si parua loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est  
Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens viuere mundo,  
Quid vetat ignotis vt possit surgere terris?  
Auguror, et faueat dictis Devs, auguror annos,  
In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in vrbes  
Barbara plebs coeat, quam cum noua saxa vocaret



Amphion Thebas, Troiana ad moenia Phoebvs.  
Atque vbi sic vltro iunctas sociauerit aedes,  
Deinde dabit leges custodituras easdem;  
In quibus ignari ciues fraudumque, dolique,  
A solida assuescant potius virtute beari;  
Quam genio et molli liquentia corpora vita  
In Venerem ignauam, pinguemque immergere luxum:  
Quam nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores  
Viuere ad arbitrium stolidae mutabile plebis.  
Non illic generi virtus, opibusue premetur  
Libertas populi, non contra in deside vulgo  
Oppugnabit opes ciuis sub nomine pauper:  
Quisque suo partem foelix in iure capesset.  
Tum sua magna parens ingenti foenore tellus  
Exiguo sudore dabit bona: cura iuuentam  
Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet,  
Quo minus e virtute petant sua commoda ciues.  
O mihi foelicem si fas conscendere puppim:  
Et tecum patria (pietas ignosce) relict



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Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores  
Mecum vna Aonias, illic exordia gentis  
Prima nouae ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!  
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturumque canora  
Incluta facta tuba, ad clades miserabilis Istri  
Inuitum retrahunt. His his me fata reseruent:  
Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe  
Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita coelo  
Munera naturae; dum spreto Helicone manebit  
Ilia Aganippaeis sacrata Oxonia Musis.

Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine Nymphae,  
Impediuntque comas lauro, et florentis oliuae  
Fronibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes  
Oceani immensi longe venerantur Elisam.  
Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem  
Prospicit, et iamiam Tamesino in patre tuetur  
Paulatim obliquis Gilebertum albescere velis.  
Sic dea Peliaco spectasse e vertice Pallas  
Fertur Iasonios comites, ad Phasidos vndas  
Vix bene dum notis committere carbasa ventis.  
Diva faue, nutuque tuo suscepta parari  
Vela iuua; Si sola geris dignissima totum  
Talibus auspicijs proferri sceptrum per orbem.  
Propterea quia sola tuos ita pace beasti  
Tranquilla populos, ut iam te principe possint  
Augere imperij fines. Quia sola videris  
Quo niueae Charites, quo corpore Delia virgo  
Pingitur, et iusto si sit pro teste vetustas.  
Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos  
Semideos homines: tali est de sanguine magnus  
Siue Hector genitus, siue Hectore maior Achilles:  
Duntaxat sine fraude vlla, sine crimine possint  
Vila tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,  
Quae sexum factis superas, quae patribus audes,  
Nympha, dijs dignas laudes aequare Latinis.  
Mentior infoelix, nisi sic in corpore virtus  
Lucet formoso, ceu quae preciosior auro est  
Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.  
Mentior, et taceo, nisi sola audiris vbique  
Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter et omnes



Securam requiem peragis tutissima casus:  
Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi  
Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur  
Terrificis monstris furtiva per ocia somno.  
Mentior et taceo, solam nisi viuere ciues  
AEternum cupiunt: quando nec verbere toruo,  
Nec caedis poenaeue thronum formidine firmas:  
Sed tibi tot meritis maiestas parta, et inermis  
Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes:  
Vt quot pene rei iustum meruere tribunal,  
Tot veniam grato narrent sermone clientes.  
Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod iustumque piumque  
Agnoscit probitas, et quae potes omnia, solis  
Legibus vsurpas cautas sanctissima vires.  
Nec mala formidas: si quidem quasi fune ligatur  
Consilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret  
In castris Bellona tuis: Quin pronus adorat  
Gradivvs tua iussa pater, sequiturque vocantem  
Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.



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Dumque fores alijs, vitamque et regna tuetur  
lanitor externus, cingunt tua limina ciues:  
Dumque alijs sordet sapientia regibus, almo  
Pegasidvm tu fonte satur, tot Appollinis artes  
Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.  
Nil nostri inuenere dies, nil prisca vetustas  
Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis  
Christiadvn gentes, quas te, diuina virago,  
Iustius Aoniae possint iactare sorores.  
Audijs haec inundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet  
Imperio parere tuo: et quae forte recusat  
Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptrum  
Incurua Mahometigenae ceruice saluant:  
Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad foedera Galli:  
Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus Iberus,  
Nescia Romano Germania Marte domari  
Quaerit amicitias Britonvm: procul oscula mittit  
Virgineis pedibus Lativm, longeque remoti  
Pannoni in tutos optant coalescere fines.  
Quinetiam quae submisso diademate nuper  
Obtulit inuictis fascesque fidemque Britannis.[A]  
Nonne vides passis vt crinibus horrida dudum  
Porrigit ingentem lugubris America dextram?  
Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, soror Anglia, nostras  
Respicias, et dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis?  
An vero nescisse potes, quae tempora quantis  
Cladibus egerimus? postquam insatiabilis auri,  
Nam certe non vllus amor virtutis Iberos  
In nostrum migrare soluum, pietasue coegit.  
Ex illo, quae sacra prius vaesana litabam  
Manibus infernis, sperans meliora tuumque  
Discere posse Devm, iubeor mortalibus aras  
Erigere, et mutas statuas truncosque precata  
Nescio quod demens Romanvm numen adoro.  
Cur trahor in terras? si mens est lucida, puris  
Cur Deus in coelis recta non quaeritur? aut si  
A nobis coelum petitur, cur saepe videmus  
Igne, fame, ferro subigi, quocunque reatu  
Oenotriae sedis maiestas laesa labascit?  
Non sic religio, non sic me iudice gaudet





Defendi sua regna Devs, quod si optimus ille est;  
Quod si cuncta potest, et nullis indiget armis.  
Mitto queri caedes, exhaustaque moenia bello:  
Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora seruos  
Abiecta, immanique iugum Busiride dignum.  
Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus:  
Si tibi tam plenis habitantur moenibus vrbes,  
Vt nisi in excelsum crescant, coeloque minentur  
AEdes aeriae; quanquam latissima, desit  
Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant  
Turrigeras arces imitatae mole carinae,  
Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.  
Si tibi iam sub sole iacens penetratus vtroque est  
Mundus, vtroque iacens peragrata est terra sub axe.  
Ni frustra gelidam vectus Wilobeivs [B] ad arcton  
Illa in gente iacet, cui dum Sol circinat vmbras,  
Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno.  
Ni frustra quaesiuit iter, duraque bipenni  
Illo Frobiservs [C] reditum sibi in aequore



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fecit,

Horridum vbi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni  
Frigora natiuos simulant immitia montes.  
Ni frustra per Cimmerios, sylisque propinqua  
Flumina Riphaeis eoa profectus ad vsque est  
Moenia lencisonvs, [D] Persasque et proxima Persis  
Bactra, et Bactrorvm confines regibus Indos.  
Ni frustra, quod mortali tot secla negarant,  
Hac tuus immensum nuper Dracvs [E] ambijt orbem,  
Qua patri Oceano clausas circumdare terras  
Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare  
Tellure, et duplici secludere littore mundos.  
Iam si fortuna, iam si virtute sequare  
Digna tua; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum  
Corpora, quae magno cecidisse sub Hercvle non sit  
Dedecus, Ogigivs non quae aspernetur laccvs.  
Quae si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata  
Auersare meos multo vt tibi sanguine fines  
Inuidiosa petas: est nobis terra propinqua,  
Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in Isthmo.  
Hanc tibi iamdudum primi inuenere Brittanni,  
Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione Cabotvs [F]  
Proximus a magno ostendit sua vela Colvmbo.  
Haec neque vicina nimium frigescit ab arcto,  
Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas:  
Frigus et aestatem iusto moderamine seruat,  
Siue leues auras, grati spiracula coeli,  
Seu diae telluris opes, et munera curas.  
Pone age te digno tua sceptra in honore, meoque  
lunge salutarem propius cum littore dextram.  
Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,  
Vicinoque bono laetum illucescere Solem.  
Quod si consilijs superum, fatisque negatum est  
Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus:  
Quod si de immerita iustum est ceruice reuelli  
Ignarum imperij dominum, populique regendi;  
Quod si nulla vnquam potuit superesse potestas,  
Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis  
Obsequium. A mita quaesita potentia Cyro  
Amisssa est saeuae soboli. Parcendo subegit  
Tot reges Macedvm virtus, tot postera sensim  
Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.

Et quod Romvleis creuit sub patribus olim  
Imperium, diri semper minuere Neronēs.

[Sidenote A: Noua Albion.] [Sidenote B: Hugo Willobei⁹us eques auratus.] [Sidenote C:  
Martinus Frobisher⁹us eques auratus.] [Sidenote D: Antonius Ienkinson⁹us.] [Sidenote E:  
Franciscus Dracus eques auratus.] [Sidenote F: Sebastianus Cabot⁹us.]

\* \* \* \* \*

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our  
Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting  
him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian  
inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon those large and ample countreys  
extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying vnder very temperate  
Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall  
possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haies gentleman,  
and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued vnto the  
end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe  
and entire.

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Many voyages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discouery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment vpon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually possesse therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest vnto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres haue had opportunity nor meanes so great to discouer and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we haue had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled gouernment of many prouinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

[Sidenote: The coasts from Florida Northward first discovered by the English nation.] The first discouery of these coasts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida vnto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discouery vpon the coast, and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Maiesties territories and reuenue had bene mightily enlarged and aduanced by this day. And which is more: the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might haue brought forth a most plentifull haruest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoeuer is builded vpon other foundation shall neuer obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue bene the humours of men stirred vp to great attempts of discouering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the euent do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto those infidels before the appointed time.

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But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discouery and possession by Christians, both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdom hath permitted to be reuealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans vnto Christianity.

[Sidenote: A fit consideration.] In the meane while, it behooueth euery man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistible) both of sea, and infinite perils vpon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motiues be deriued from a vertuous and heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner ouer their bodies and soules; aduancement of his honest and well disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions: reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. [Sidenote: Probable coniectures that these lands North of Florida, are reserued for the English nation to possesse.] And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely neuer) the time is compleat of receiuing also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by euent or precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserued the same to be reduced vnto Christian ciuility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spayne, Iohn and Sebastian Cabot made discouery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

[Sidenote: The Spanyards prosperous in the Southerne discoueries, yet vnhappy in the Northerne.] And whensoever afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North they proued most vnhappy, and were at length discouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeaououring to bring those Northerly regions also vnder the Spanish iurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits vnto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

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[Sidenote: The French are but vsurpers vpon our right.] The French, as they can pretend lesse title vnto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discouery of the same continent so far Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before discovered by the English nation, vsurping vpon our right, and imposing names vpon countreys, riuers, bayes, capes, or head lands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts: [Sidenote: The French also infortunate in those North parts of America.] which iniury we offered not vnto the Spaniards, but left off to discouer when we approached the Spanish limits: euen so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent vpon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifold attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

[Sidenote: A good incouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North America.] Then seeing the English nation onely hath right vnto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of first discouery, vnto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seuenth: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage vs vpon so iust ground, as is our right, and vpon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys apperteining vnto the crowne of England: [Sidenote: The due time approacheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens vnto Christianity.] the same (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arriued vnto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if euer their calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. [Sidenote: The word of God moueth circularly.] Which also is very probable by the reuolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moued from the East, towards, and at last vnto the West, where it is like to end, vnlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which we were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: euen so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

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These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard eueuts in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for these affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credite, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

[Sidenote: The planting of Gods word must be handled with reuerence.] The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) vnto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well aduised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the carriage of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. [Sidenote: Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.] An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many haue made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce iustificable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust soeuer, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous vnto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable vnto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduersly.

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[Sidenote: The first and great preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.] When first sir Humfrey Gilbert vndertooke the Westernne discouery of America, and had procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit and possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neuerthesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a iarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, and men ready vpon the coast to go aboard: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leauing the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea: where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his grieve) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.[98]

[Sidenote: A constant resolution of sir Humfrey Gilbert.] Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid he continued his former designment and purpose to reuiue this enterprise, good occasion seruing. Vpon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the priuilege of his rank, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whom if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, and be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without prejudice vnto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did inuest him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfry Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

[Sidenote: A second preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.] Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolute himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.



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In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his aduice and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability ioyned vnto him, resolving to aduenture their substance and liues in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere vnto Plimmouth: then resolved to put vnto the sea with shipping and prouision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neuerthesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

[Sidenote: Consultation about our course.] The first, that is, beginning South, without all controuersie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to haue commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

[Sidenote: Commodities in discovering from South Northward.] Also the yere being farre spent, and arriued to the moneth of Iune, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to couet the South, which we had space enough then to haue attained: and there might with lesse detriment haue wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in fauour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that foras much as both our victuals, and many other needfull prouisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seuen hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being vsually at that time of the yere, and vntill the fiue of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieued abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Not staying long vpon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

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By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this [Sidenote: Cause why we began our discovery from the North.] Northerly course, obeying vnto necessity, which must be supplied. [Sidenote: Incommodities in beginning North.] Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all obiections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediatly we agreed vpon the maner of our course and orders to be obserued in our voyage; which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and masters of euery ship a copy in maner following.

Euery shippe had deliuered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed vp in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included seuerall watch-words. That open, seruing vpon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed was promised on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serue vntill we arriued and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vous. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe: or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboard of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were vpon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without mistrust, hauing our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Masters to be obserued by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights vntill he be answered againe by euery ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one aboue another.



4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another to hoise sailes twise, if the weather will serue, and to strike them twise againe; but if the weather serue not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

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6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently euery shippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery ship to answere it with one shot: and euery man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, euery master to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboard one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall aterne him sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, euery ship to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to giue knowledge that they haue seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then euery man to come aboard her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discouery, whereby they are separated: then euery ship to repaire vnto their last good port, there to meete againe.

Our course agreed vpon.

The course first to be taken for the discouery is to beare directly to Cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour ourselues either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours vnto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore euery ship separated from the fleete to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our course vnto the Newfound land.

Beginning our course from Silley, the neerest is by Westsouthwest (if the winde serue) vntill such time as we haue brought our selues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subiect much to Southerly windes in Iune and Iuly. Then to take trauerse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indeuour to keepe in the



height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

If by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coast of England, then to repaire vnto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare hauen or Baltimore hauen.

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If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour vnto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; euery ship leauing their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in such a case, were of the Generals priuate deuice written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and deliuered vnto euery shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened vntill occasion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for instruction of after commers: that euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there vp higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

[Sidenote: Beginning of the voyage.] Orders thus determined, and promises mutually giuen to be obserued, euery man withdrew himselfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes vnder saile, hauing a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tuesday the eleuenth day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1585, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Causet[99] Bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I haue also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight alias The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

[Sidenote: Our fleet consisted of fiue sailes, in which we had about 260 men. Prouisions fit for such discoueries.] We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse,



and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those people.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleuenth day of Iune being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

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[Sidenote: Obserue.] Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the euening according (to the order before specified) they signified vnto vs out of the Vizadmirall that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke, And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke vs, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arriued greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could neuer vnderstand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little griued with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the foretop.

From Saturday the 15 of Iune vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees scarce.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after Iune, which in March, Apriell and May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our trauese was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

[Sidenote: Great fogges vpon the Ocean sea Northward.] Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were disseuered, losing the company of the Swallow and the Squirrill vpon the 20. day of Iuly, whom we met againe at seuerall places vpon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Saturday the 27 of Iuly, we might descry not farre from vs, as it were mountaines of yce driuen vpon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, [Marginal note: The banke in length vnknown, stretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30. fadome.] which are high grounds rising within the sea and vnder water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water vpon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, and do extend into the South infinitely. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse:



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but we found the same about 10 leagues ouer, hauing sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before and after we had passed the banke.[100] [Sidenote: A great fishing vpon the banke.] The Portugals, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fishing vpon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and haue ended by Iuly. That fish is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

[Sidenote: Abundance of foules.] During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule houering ouer the same, to prey vpon the offalles and garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting vpon the sea.

[Sidenote: First sight of land.] Vpon Tuesday the 11 of Iune, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of Iuly (seuen weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not iudge, so great hase and fogge did hang vpon the coast, as neither we might discern the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forsaking this bay and vncomfortable coast (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

[Sidenote: Iland and a foule named Penguin.] We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men vse to take without difficulty vpon that Iland, and to barrell them vp with salt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like prouision.

[Sidenote: An Iland called Baccaloas, of the fish taken there.] Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for ioy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps and hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by vs surprised vpon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had

taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both

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which we rescued, and tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods iustice did follow the same company, euen to destruction, and to the ouerthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went vnder protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

[Sidenote: Misdemeanor of them in the Swallow.] Therefore vpon further enquiry it was knowne, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his freight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboard this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leauing then, not without charge to deale fauourably, they came aboard the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefe) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboard their own ship, it was ouerwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men were drowned: the rest were preserued euen by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saued and deliuered them aboard the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reueale the fact, and iustifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as shal be declared in place conuenient.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, vntill we came against the harbor called S. Iohn, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were and alwaies be Admirals [Marginal note: English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleetes, fishing vpon the South parts of Newfound land.] by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fisherman within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, and prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie

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notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commission from her Maiestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2 butts length) the Admirall fell vpon a rocke on the larboard side by great ouersight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboard our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen to vnderstand the Generals intent and cause of our arriuall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the aduancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repaying of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as might conueniently be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any fauour and priueledge, which vpon their better aduise they should demand, the like being not to be obteyned hereafter for greater price. So crauing expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise giuen of their best indeuour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

[Sidenote: Good order taken by English marchants for our supply in Newfound land.] It was further determined that euery ship of our fleete should deliuer vnto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leaue our prouision: whereunto the Portugals (aboue other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (aboue our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily vnto vs. Moreouer as the maner is in their fishing, euery weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and haue

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weekly their Admirals feast solemnized: [Sidenote: Good entertainment in Newfound land.] euen so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually inuited and feasted. [Sidenote: No Sauages in the South part of Newfound land.] To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds haue only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed vnto vs their accustomed walks vnto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in euery place.

[Sidenote: Possession taken.] Monday following, the Generall had his tent set vp, who being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted vnto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. Iohn, and 200 leagues euery way, inuested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for euer: And signified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised vnder her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it, And to ordaine lawes for the gouernement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and gouerned. [Sidenote: Three Lawes.] And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed and deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall the partie or parties offending should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should vtter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.

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These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and gouvernement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, and infixed vpon a pillar of wood. [Sidenote: Actuell possession maintained in Newfound land.] Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for euer: the Generall granted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. Iohn, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and seruice vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for euer, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselues or their assignes.

Now remained only to take in prouision granted, according as euery shippe was taxed, which did fish vpon the coast adioyning. [Sidenote: Men appointed to make search.] In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and prouisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation vnto the Generall what eyther themselues could knowe by their owne trauaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some obserued the eleuation of the pole, and drewe plats of the country exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans seuerall relation, I haue drawen a briefe description of the Newfoundland, with the commodities by sea or lande already made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neuerthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A briefe relation of the Newfound lande, and the commodities thereof.

[Sidenote: New found land is al Islands or broken lands.] That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfes and entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three and 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is 46 degrees 25 minuts) vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. [Sidenote: Goodly roads and harbours.] The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

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[Sidenote: New found land is inhabitable.] The common opinion that is had of intemperature and extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the same eleuation: euen so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie vnder the climats of Briton, Aniou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: vnlesse vpon the outcast lying open vnto the Ocean and sharper windes, it must in deede be subiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subiect to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere vnto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany Italy and Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seldome vncovered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. [Sidenote: Cold by accidentall meanes.] Euen so all hils hauing their discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnal course from East to West passeth ouer (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriueth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrary he passeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neuerthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable vnder the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be vnhabitable, as some do suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we haue seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of Iune, Iuly, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Race, vntill after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold



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so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which haue arriued there after November and December, haue found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile, considering the ground vpon the coast, is rough and uneuen, and the snow is driuen into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with vs. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land vpon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, aboue that with vs here: it can not be as great as in Sweedland, much lesse in Moscouia or Russia: [Sidenote: Commodities.] yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor and cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meats and drinckes: all which neede not be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.[101]

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, seruing either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are and may be made diuers: so that it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommodities of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: [Sidenote: Fish of sea and fresh water.] viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmones, and other fish to vs vnknownen: Also Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia and the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond[102] herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fishing: There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters hauing peare but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adioyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and Industrie: Namely rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furies, flaxe, hempe, corne, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts are Firre trees Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to vs vnknownen.





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The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing forth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattell. Roses passing sweet, like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proued by English marchants which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countrey men haue sowed in the time of May, haue come vp faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming vp by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the valies. In which are said to be muskles not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diuersitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called by some a Gaunt.

Vpon the land diuers sorts of haukes as Faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifull larger than ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and vnable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, Canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract and foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater and some lesser, wolues, Foxes, which to the Northward a little further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, and marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable alieue, which he sent vnto his brother sir John Gilbert knight of Deuonshire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderstood. [Sidenote: Newfound land doth minister commodities abundantly for art and industrie.] We could not obserue the hundreth part of creatures in those vnhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures seruing for the vse of man, though man hath not vsed a fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue and die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeuours, and for art to worke vpon.

For besides these alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not auerre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

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For amongst other charges giuen to inquire but the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettall. [Sidenote: Siluer Ore brought vnto the Generall.] The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vsing protestation, that if siluer were the thing which might satisfie the Generall and his followers, there it was, aduising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he vndertooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maiestie, that I may vse his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to liue, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I haue seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my priuate humor, I would proceede no further. [Sidenote: Reasons why no further search was made for the siluer mine.] The promise vnto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we haue alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I haue sent it aboard, whereof I would haue no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains, and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea prooffe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answer I iudged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith will I conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.[103]

[Sidenote: Misdemeanour in our companie.] While the better sort of vs were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and continuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort and disposition were plotting of mischief. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching opportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were preuented. Others drew together in company, and carried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselues, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licenced to returne home. Insomuch as after we had reuiewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

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[Sidenote: God brought together these men into the ship ordained to perish, who before had committed such outrage.] The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fishermen there met at sea.

[Sidenote: Why sir Humf. Gilbert went in the Frigate.] The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most conuenient to discouer vpon the coast, and to search into euery harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings and fights, and ouercharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to giue a shew, then with iudgement to foresee vnto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their ouerthrow.

[Sidenote: Liberalitie of the Portugals.] Now hauing made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboard our prouision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrells, and such like: Also we had other necessary prouision for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discouery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

[Sidenote: S. Iohns in 47 deg. 40 min.] We departed from this harbor of S. Iohns vpon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact obseruation to be in 47 degrees 40 miutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Iohns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea riseth vp a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily known. [Sidenote: Cape Race in 46 degrees 25 minutes.] It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

[Sidenote: Fish large and plentifull.] Vnder this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed vpon no other prouision.

From hence we shaped our course vnto the Island of Sablon, if conueniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

[Sidenote: Cattell in the Isle of Sablon.] Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Iohns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals



(aboue thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Island lying so neere vnto the maine, which we intended to plant vpon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieued of victuall, and serued of store for breed.



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In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. [Sidenote: Good soile.] We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance euery where.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Nauigation we spent 8 dayes, hauing many times the wind indifferent good; yet could we neuer attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs escaped: where neuerthesse we lost our Admirall with al the men and prouision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make coniecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I haue set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22. {West, 14. leagues.

{West and by South, 25.

{Westnorthwest, 25.

{Westnorthwest, 9.

{Southsouthwest, 10.

{Southwest, 12.

{Southsouthwest, 10.

August 29. {Westnorthwest, 12. Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of these leagues, 117.

The reckoning of Iohn Paul masters mate from Cape Race.

August 22. {West, 14. leagues.

23 {Northwest and by West, 9.

24 {Southwest and by South, 5.

25 {West and by South, 40.

26 {West and by North, 7.

27 {Southwest, 3.

28 {Southwest, 9.

{Southwest, 7.

{Westsouthwest, 7.  
29 {Northwest and by West, 20. Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of all these leagues, 121.

Our course we held in clearing vs of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marueilous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

[Sidenote: August 27.] Vpon Tewsdays the 27 of August, toward the euening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to sound, who found white sande at 35. fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neuerthelesse wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to preuent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

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[Sidenote: Predictions before the wracke.] The euening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admirall, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haught boyes: and in the end of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of doleful knels.

Towards the euening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, hauing first striken diuers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before vs. [Sidenote: Losse of our Admirall.] And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in euery three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were vpon them vnawares, vntill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his iudgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withal, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost vpon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger before he felt the same, to late to recouer it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, because that way caried vs to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seuen fadome, then fiue fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recouered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye vnto the Admirall, whom we sawe cast away, without power to giue the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped ouerboord to saue themselues, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or vpon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselues to men in those extremities: for we desired to saue the men by euery possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was possible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

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This was a heavy and grieuous euent, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe freighted with great prouision, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. [Sidenote: Stephanus Parmenius a learned Hungarian.] Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the cite of Buda, called hereof Budaeus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

[Sidenote: Daniel a refiner of metal.] Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and discouerer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of vs in vndoubted hope.

No lesse heauy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, ouerseene onely in liberty giuen late before to men, that ought to haue bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolved, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recouering the ship, and that men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselues, the Captaine was aduised before to ship also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not giue example with the first to leaue the shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leaue off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default, shewing an ill president vnto his men, by leauing the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted vpon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and vnauoidable; how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his seruants at such times.

[Sidenote: A wonderfull scape and deliuerance. A great distresse. A desperate resolution.] In the meane season, certaine, to the number of fourteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselues to Gods mercy, amidst the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water.

The boate seeming ouercharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen ouerboord vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to liue, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuerthelessse Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, aduising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a few.



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[Sidenote: Two men famished.] The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at last with the men (aliue but weake) vpon the New found land, sauing that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of vs Brasile, of his trauell into those Countries, died by the way, famished and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to haue no better sustenance then their own vrine, for sixe dayes together.

Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserue, neither Sea nor famine can confound. For those that arriued vpon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coast.

After this heauie chance, wee continued in beating the sea vp and downe, expecting when the weadier would cleere vp, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming vpon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

[Sidenote: Causes inforcing vs to returne home againe.] Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendment, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe vpon vs euery day. The Leeside of vs lay full of flats and dangers ineuitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulphed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknownen. But aboue all, prouision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolved vpon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words. Be content, we haue seene enough, and take no care of  
expençe past: I will set you forth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home.  
Therefore I pray you let vs no longer strue here, where we fight against the elements.

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Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine and Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, prouing an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

[Sidenote: August 31.] So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, [Sidenote: A monster of the sea.] at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by moouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Torposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented our selues in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemies, if it were the deuill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swallowed vp.

[Sidenote: September 2.] Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed vnto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This Munday the Generall came aboard the Hind to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we ouerpassed for that time. Praysed be God.

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[Sidenote: Our last conference with our Generall.] The weather faire, the Generall came aboard the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master and company which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning untill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be the Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the New found land. [Sidenote: Circumstances to be well obserued in our Generall, importing the Ore to be of a Siluer mine.] Whatsoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, euen at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because vpon a faire day, when wee were becalmed vpon the coast of the New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could neuer conueniently send againe aboard the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuersely, and by sundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had neuer before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Iohns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and trauell vpon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine and Master of the Golden Hind, vnto the South discouery, and reserued vnto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arriuall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two flectes, one for the South, another for the North: Leauing that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maiesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd)

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with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for vs all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great feruencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and settled in beliefe of inestimable good by his voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept vnto himselfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have deliuered.

Leauing the issue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. [Sidenote: Wilfulnes in the Generall.] And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaille, to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

[Sidenote: A token of a good mind.] But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I haue passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be so ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then aduised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had prouision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboard his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, and set him aboard his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Acores South of vs, yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntill we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales vpon the land) vpon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diuersitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diuersitie of windes. Howsoever it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer saw more outrageous Seas. We had also vpon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill signe of more tempest: the same is vsuall in stormes.

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[Sidenote: A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distresse.] Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recouered: and giuing forth signes of ioy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind (so oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeeming a souldier, resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

[Sidenote: Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned.] The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cried, the Generall was cast away, which was so true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, vnto which we gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

[Sidenote: Arriuall in England of the Golden Hinde.] In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Hauen.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, and lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, while sayling well, might happily haue bene there before vs. [Sidenote: A fit motion of the Captain vnto Sir Humfrey Gilbert.] Also to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnesses of all occurents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of euery person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeauour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether despairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to haue his barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

Neuerthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde seruing to proceede higher vpon the coast: they demanded monie to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the wind, then seruing to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge vnto the Captaine, and great ease vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

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Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure vnto Sir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate at Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. [Sidenote: An ill recompense.] Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so vnprofitable a voyage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompensed: their Captaine neuerthelesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoever haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perseuerance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one same peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Euen so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes liuing, it pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

[Sidenote: Constancie in sir Humfrey Gilbert.] Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the seruice of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deserueth high commendation: euen so, he may iustly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

[Sidenote: His temeritie and presumption.] First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine and determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance vpon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salued some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.



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Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credite, foyled in his first attempt, in a second should vtterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst refused not to entertaine euery person and meanes whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. [Sidenote: Afflictions needfull in the children of God.] For besides that fruite may growe in time of our traouelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made vnsauorie, and lesse delightful his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwayes aspired.

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Ornatissimo viro, Magistro Richard Hakluyto Oxonij in Collegio aedis  
Christi, Artium et Philosophiae Magistro, amico, et fratri suo.

S. Non statueram ad te scribere, cum in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore iam lunio nos subsecuturum. Itaque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiore te fieri iusseram. Verum sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Itaque scribam ad te iisdem fere verbis, quia noua meditari et [Greek: sunonumixein] mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Vndecimo lunij ex Anglia reuera tandem et serio soluimus, portu et terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis quinque nauibus constabat: maxima, quam [Marginal note: Dominus Raleigh.] frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo consilio, statim tertio die a nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuo coniunctim nauigauimus ad. 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alij aliam viam tenuimus: nobis seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cum vltra 41. paucis ante diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spirauere. [Sidenote: Insula penguin.] Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec insulam accessimus, ventis alio vocantibus. Caeterum conuenimus omnes in eundem locum paulo ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idque intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate



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et nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. et 48. gradum, Dium loannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum et angustiam navis paulo afflictiores comitatus habuit et iam duos dysentericis fioloribus amisit: de caeteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno vere generoso iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Caeteri salui et longe firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam et regni Angliae possessionem potestatemque vendicauit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione et obsequio Reginae Angliae. Reficimur hoc tempore paulo hilarius et lautius. Certe enim et qualibus ventis vsi simus, et quam fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naues Lusitanicas et Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: eae nobis impares non patientur nas esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, et a nobis tuli, auctoritate regij diplomatis omni obsequio et humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, et populi. Caeterum quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando praeter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quaestus. Vix hamus fumum attingit, illico insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra vniuersa [Marginal note: In the south side of Newfoundland, there is store of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clarke found.] montana et sylvestris: arbores vt plurimum pinus: ex partim consenuere, partim nunc adulescent: magna pars vetustate collapsa, et aspectum terrae, et iter euntium ita impedit, vt nusquam progredi liceat. Herbae omnes procerae: sed raro a nostris diuersae. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, et spicas in similitudinem secales: et facile cultura et satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in syluis vel potius fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, et conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, vt mihi ex peliibus conicere licuit, et minores quam nostri. Populus an vllus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec vllum vidi qui testari posset. Et quis quaeso posset, cum ad longum progredi non liceat? Nee minus ignotum est an aliquid metalli sub sit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes prae se ferat. Nos Admiratio auctores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spatium pateret: nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. [Sidenote: The great heate of the sunne in summer.] Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quae conflagentibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Coelum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est, vt nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non

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possint. Hyeme quam frigidum sit, magnae moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum est a comitibus mense Maio sexdecim totos dies interdum se inter tantam glaciem haesisse, vt 60. orgyas altae essent insulae: quarum latera soli apposita cum liquescerent, liberatione quadam vniuersam molem ita inuersam, vt quod ante prouum erat, supinum euaderet, magno praesentium discrimine, vt consentaneum est. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est: ad orientem supra mare perpetuae nebulae: Et in ipso mari circa Bancum (sic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis a terra fundus attingitur, et pisces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies absque pluuiis. Expeditis nostris necessitatibus in hoc loco, in Austrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tanto indies maiori spe, quo plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Haec de nostris. Cupio de vobis scire: sed metuo ne incassum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vntonus meus absentiam meam ferat, praeter modum intelligere velim: Habebit nostrum obsequium et officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Reuera autem spero, hanc nostram peregrinationem ipsius instituo vsui futuram. Nunc restat, vt me tuum putes, et quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuat dei filius labores nostros eatenus, vt tu quoque participare possis. Vale amicissime, suauissime, onratissime Hakluyde, et nos ama. In Newfoundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Augusti 1583.

STEPHANVS PARMENIVS  
Budeius, tuus.

The same in English.

To the worshipfull, Master Richard Hakluyt at Oxford in Christchurch Master  
of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

I had not purposed to write vnto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in Iune last to haue followed vs your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be aduertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I haue no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of Iune we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed leauing the hauen and land behind vs at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of fiue shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent vs, withdrew her selfe from vs the third day, wee know not vpon what occassion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23 of Iuly: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of vs sailed one way, and some another: to vs alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41 degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding neuer blew to vs at any fit time.

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It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds seruing for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto by common Councell we had determind to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great ioy. The place is situate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and 48. degrees called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flixie: of the rest we conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my selfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong; for mine owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arriued at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and dantier, then it was before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught vs what contrary winds wee haue found, and what great trauell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match vs, suffer vs not to bee hunger starued: the English although they were of themselues strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they shewed vs all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness: Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that trauell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne vp with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the ways of those that seeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the vse of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing vp like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes

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killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I conjectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither haue I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither: In like sort it is vnknowne, whither any mettals lye vnder the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to haue some Mynes in them: we mooued the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might haue space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish neuer came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the riuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dried by the sunne, be euery day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserued from burning; but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the midst of the Sea haue taught vs: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides whereof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inuened and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward rose vpward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we haue serued, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Vmptom doth take my absence: my obedience, and duetie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this iourney of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Iohns Port, the 6. of August, 1583.

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Steven PARMENIVS of  
Buda, yours.

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A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the Delight, going for the discovery of Norembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his ouersight.

Departing out of Saint Iohns Harborough in the Newfound land the 20. of August vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course vnto the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly haue seene. [Sidenote: 20 Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.] But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controuersie of our course. The Generall came vp in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsoutwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and vnknown sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. [Sidenote: 15 Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.] I told him againe that the Isle of Salon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off; and that he should be vpon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was vntrue, and charged me in her Maiesties name, and as I would shewe myselfe in her Countrey to follow him that night. [Sidenote: Herin Clarke vntruely chargeth sir Humfrey Gilbert.] I fearing his threatenings, because he presented her Maiesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seuen of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would haue had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to saue a man, for there was not water vpon the sand for either of them much lesse the Admirall, that drew fourteene foote. [Sidenote: The ship cast away on Thursday being the 29 of August 1583.] Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoysse out the boat to recouer the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboard they did not hoysse it in againe that night. And when the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulede: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could neuer see the Captaine: [Sidenote: Sixteene gate into the shipboate.] Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some

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had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleased God, and looked euery moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a course of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate liued in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe vs withall but one oare, which we kept vp the boate withall vpon the Sea, and so went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our company one Master Hedly that put foorth this question to me the Master. [Sidenote: Master Hedlyes vngodly proposition.] I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyueth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of vs may come to the land if our boate were not ouerladen. Let vs make sixteene lots, and those foure that haue the foure shortest lots we will cast ouerboord preseruing the Master among vs all. I replied vnto him, saying, no we will liue and die together. Master Hedley asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gaue God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the land within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seuentie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, saue onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then wee desired all to die: for in all these fiue dayes and fiue nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die sauing only my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to lande by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should neuer come to land, but that I promised them that the seuenth day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me ouer boord: [Sidenote: They came on land the 7 day after their shipwracke.] which did happen true the seuenth day, for at eleuen of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seuen dayes and seuen nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meantime shifted vpon any other point, wee had neuer come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arriuall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe ypon our knees and gaue God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with vs. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes vnto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selues with water and berries very well. [Sidenote: The fruitfulnessse of the



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south part of Newfound land.] There were of al sorts of berries plentie, and as goodly a Countrey as euer I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre euery way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as euer I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to see what foode they could find to sustaine thenselues, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboard we found great store of peason as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and liued very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly riuier like the riuier of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had rested our selues wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to haue gone to the Grande Bay to haue come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore fiue dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly riuier that ranne farre vp into the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. [Sidenote: Foureteen of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of S. Iohn de Luz.] There we happened vpon a ship of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ship brought vs into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboard, as it is the order in Spaine, they demanding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put vs on land and bad vs shift for our selues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

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A true report of the late discoeries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentlemen, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight.

Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the aduenturers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortness of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe aduenturer and furtherer  
of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land.



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The first Part, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

[Sidenote: Master Edward Hays.] It was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last iourney for the Westernne discoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

By him I vnderstand that Sir Humfrey departed the coast of England the eleuenth of Iune last past, with fiue sayle of Shippes, from Caushen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the best forsooke his company, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the assistance of Almighty God) did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen, in Newfoundland, the 3. of August last. [Sidenote: Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arriue at Saint Iohn's Hauen in Newfoundland, the 3. of August, Anno 1583.] Vpon whose arriuall all the Masters and chiefe Mariners of the English Fleet, which were in the said Hauen, before endeuouring to freight themselues with fish, repaired vnto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commission: which being done, he promised to intreat them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Maiesties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the best sort that they could, and shewed him and his all such courtesies as the place could afford or yeelde.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with most of his Captaines and souldiers. [Sidenote: Among these there was found the tract of a beast of 7. ynches and 2 halfe ouer.] They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beasts and great store of Foule of diuers kinds: And Fish of sundry sortes, both in the salt water, and in the fresh, in so great plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very easily taken. What sundry other commodities for this Realme right neccssarie, the same doeth yeelde, you shall vnderstand in this treatise hereafter, in place more conuenient.

On Munday being the fifth of August, the Generall caused his tent to be set vpon the side of an hill, in the vieweof all the Fleete of English men and strangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie sayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Masters, Gentlemen and other souldiers, he caused all the Masters, and principall Officers of the ships, aswell Englishmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repayre vnto his tent: [Sidenote: Sir Humfrey tooke possession of the Newfoundland in right of the Crowne of England.] And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission vnder the great scale of England to bee openly and solemnely read vnto them, whereby were granted vnto him, his heires, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priueledges. The effect whereof being signified vnto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of

England by digging of a Turffe and receiuing the same with an Hassell wand, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.

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Then he signified vnto the company both strangers and others, that from thencefoorth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by such lawes as by good aduise should be set downe, which in all points (so neere as might be) should be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presently be ordained and established three Lawes.

[Sidenote: Three lawes established there by Sir Humfrey.] First, that Religion publicly exercised, should be such, and none other, then is vsed in the Church of England. The second, that if any person should bee lawfully conuicted of any practise against her Maiestie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitors according to the lawes of England.

The third, if any should speake dishonourably of her Maiestie, the partie so offending, to loose his eares, his ship and goods, to be confiscate to the vse of the Generall.

All men did very willingly submit themselues to these lawes. Then he caused the Queenes Majesties Armes to be ingraued, set vp, and erected with great solemnitie. [Sidenote: Sundry persons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey and doe mainteine possession for him in diuers places there.] After this, diuers Englishmen made sute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance, their accustomed stages, standings, and drying places, in sundry places of that land for their fish, as a thing they doe make great accompt of, which he granted vnto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath possession maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, set, giue and dispose of many things, as absolute Gouvernour there, by vertue of her Maiesties letters patents.

And after their ships were repaired, whereof one he was driuen to leaue behind, both for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20 of August, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himselfe did goe seeming to him most fit to discouer and approach the shore.

The 21 day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largness and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coast West toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall sent certaine men a shore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they would willingly haue stayed and wintred there. But hauing the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their course towards the firme

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of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere especially, they could neuer see, till Cox Master of the Golden Hinde did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great and outrageous storme, hauing vnder 3. fathome water. But God deliuered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to their vnspeakable grieffe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary prouisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come vpon them, and foule weather increased with fogs and mists that so couered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not approach it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempestuous weather separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time M. Hays with his Barke is safely arriued, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

[Sidenote: Plutarch.] Vpon this report (together with my former intent to write some briefe discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembrance, the Historie of Themystocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified vnto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyse.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisdom and vertue, made choyse of him to haue conference with Themystocles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the said deuise: which was, that they might set on fire the Nauie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme deuised by Themystocles was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund what the same was) did by common consent reiect and condemne it, preferring honest and vpriight dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration of this late vndertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men; as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages as gainefull to the Christians. And vpon mature deliberation I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were now aliue: which being by me herein sufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endeauour themselves to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vndertaken.

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Now whereas I doe vnderstand that Sir Himfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane with a conuenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage already in part perfourmed, and (by the assistance of almightie God) to plant themselues and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtlesse to bee found all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, so that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both [Marginal note: Englishmen, Msster Iohn Hawkins; Sir Francis Drake; M. William Winter; M. Iohn Chester; M. Martin Frobisher; Anhony Parkhurst; William Battes; Iohn Louel; David Ingram. Strangers, French, Iohn Ribault; Iaques Cartier; Andrew Theuet; Monsieur Gourgues: Monsieur Laudonniere. Italians, Christopher Columbus; Ioha Verazanus.] of our owne nation and strangers, (who haue bene trauailers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long liuing in ignorance and idolatry, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as haue trauailed in those partes) that our heartes are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselues to the relieuing of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules?

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with armes aduanced) aboue the climates both of Spaine and France, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discouerie of our nation, and other strangers, who haue oftentimes trauailed vpon the same coasts.

[Sidenote: God doth not alwayes begin his greatest workes by the greatest persons.] Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercy of Almighty God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long vnknown regions, hauing in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renoumed Prince, the Queenes Majesties grandfather King Henry the seuenth, with his intended voyage for the Western discoueries, was not onely derided and mocked generally even here in England, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselues, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred vp the man to that enterprise.

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And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? [Sidenote: His custome was to bowe himselfe very lowe in making of courtesie.] Some scorned the wildnesse of his garments, some tooke occasion to iest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he that lowts so lowe,[104] which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones? If hee were any such man (sayd they) he would cary another matter of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the consideration of the inward man.

[Sidenote: Hernando Cortes. Francisco Pizarro.] In the ende, what successe his Voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizarro in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco may know more particularly. All which their discoveries, trauailes and conquests are extant to be had in the English tongue. This deuise was then accounted a fantastickall imagination, and a drowsie dreame.

But the sequele thereof hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient prooffe, neither to be fantasticke nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath enlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly enriched the subiects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well knowne, that sithence the time of Columbus his first discoverie, through the planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe greater store of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Precious stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake some of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we haue so long slumbered:

That wee may now not suffer that to quaille for want of maintenance, which by these valiant Gentlemen our Countrey men is so nobly begun and enterprised. For which purpose, I haue taken vpon me to write this simple short Treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reason perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduisedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better consideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto will continue their good disposition: [Sidenote: A reasonable request.] And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no nigards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feastings and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publique profile, or

commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

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And to this ende haue I taken pen in my hand, as in conscience thereunto mooued, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would haue pleased some one of them to haue vndertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeuour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge bee simple, yet through the assistance of almightie God) to probue that the [Sidenote: The argument of the booke.] Voyage lately enterprised, for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maiesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in general, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, benefciall to the Sauages, and a matter to be attained without any great danger or difficultie.

And lastly, (which is most of all) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of Almightye God. And for that the lawfulnessse to plant in those Countreys in some mens iudgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the prooofe of the lawfulnessse of trade, traffique, and planting.

## END OF VOL XII.

### APPENDICES.

Appendices.

#### I. Greenland.

Greenland is an extensive country, the greater part of which belongs to Denmark, situated between Iceland and the continent of America. Its southern extremity, Cape Farewell, is situated in 59 deg. 49 min. N. lat, and 43 deg. 54 min. W. lon. The British Arctic expedition of 1876 traced; tee northern shores as far as Cape Britannia, in lat. 82 deg. 54 min. The German Arctic expedition of 1870 pursued the east coast as high as 77 deg. N., so that between Koldeway's furthest in 1870 and Beaumont's farthest in 1876 there remains an interval of more than 500 miles of the Greenland coast yet unexplored. The estimated area of the whole country is about 340,000 square miles. The outline forming the sea-coast of Greenland is in general high, rugged, and barren; close to the water's edge it rises into tremendous precipices and lofty mountains, covered with inaccessible cliffs, which may be seen from the sea at a distance of more than 60 miles.

The vast extent of Greenland, together with its peculiar position between Europe and America, secures for it a very special interest. From its most northern discovered point, Cape Britannia, it stretches southward, in a triangular form, for a distance of 1500 miles. Its interior is nearly a closed book to us, but the coast has been thoroughly explored and examined on the western side from Cape Farewell to Upernavik, a



distance of about 800 miles, as well as along the western shores of the channels leading from Smith's Sound; and from Cape Farewell to the Danebrog Islands and Cape Bismarck on the east side. These belts of coast line consist of the most glorious mountain scenery—lofty peaks, profound ravines, long valleys, precipices and cliffs, vast glaciers, winding fiords often running 100 miles into the interior, and innumerable islands.

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Greenland was discovered in 981 or 983 by an Icelander or Norwegian named Gunbiorn, and was soon afterwards colonized by a number of families from Iceland, of whom all historical traces soon disappeared; they appear to have formed their settlement on the western coast. The country was called Greenland because its southern extremity was first seen in spring-time, and presented a pleasing appearance, but it was speedily found to be little better than an icebound region. Davis rediscovered Greenland in his voyage, 1585-87; and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch government fined out several expeditions to re-establish a communication with the lost colony.

## II. Newfoundland.

Newfoundland is, as it were, a stepping-stone between the Old World and the New. At its south-western extremity it approaches within 50 miles of the island of Cape Breton, while its most eastern projection is but 1640 miles distant from Ireland. Its population in 1881 was 161,384, and its area was estimated at 42,006 square miles; but, strange as it seems, up to the present time the interior is almost unknown, while the mere existence of certain splendid fertile valleys in portions of the island has only been discovered in quite recent times. The appearance of the coast is rocky and forbidding, but there are a great number of deep bays and fiords, containing magnificent harbours, and piercing the land for 80 or 100 miles, while the sides present varied scenes of beauty, such as are rarely surpassed in the world's most favoured lands. The effect of these inlets is to give the island the enormous coast line, compared to its area, of more than 2000 miles. The loftiest range of mountains, the Long Range, has a few summits of more than 2000 feet, but the elevations of the island rarely exceed 1500 feet. Lakes are very numerous. The mines are very valuable, and Newfoundland now ranks as the sixth copper-producing country in the world. Lead mines have also been discovered and worked. There is good reason for believing that gold and coal will yet be found.

## III. Polar Ice

It is believed on good grounds of inference, but absolutely without positive evidence, that the south pole is covered with a great cap of ice, and some physiographers have gone so far as to assert its thickness as possibly six miles at the centre. But as to the ice of the north pole, thanks to the efforts to discover a north-west passage which showed us the breach in the wall of the polar fortress, we know very much more.

Sir Edward Belcher encountered ice 106 feet thick drifting into and grounding on the shores of Wellington Channel. It was in Banks Strait that Sir Edward Parry was finally stopped by the great undulating floes, reaching 102 feet in thickness, that he tells us he had never seen in Baffin's Sea or in the land-locked channels he had left behind him,

but which filled the whole sea before him. Such floes are the edge of a pack which we may conjecture extends uninterruptedly from shore to shore of the Polar Sea.

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## IV. Icebergs

Icebergs are masses of ice rising to a great height above the level of the sea, presenting a singular variety in form and appearance. They are masses broken off from glaciers, or from barrier lines of ice-cliff, and owe their origin to the circumstance of glaciers being in a continual state of progress. Glaciers reach the sea shore in many places in the Arctic regions. When pushed forward into deep water, vast masses are lifted up by their inherent buoyancy, and, broken off at the landward end, are borne away by the winds, or on tides and currents, to parts of the sea far removed from their place of formation. Owing to the expansion of water when freezing, and the difference in density between salt and fresh water, the usual relative density of sea water to an iceberg is as 1 to 91674, and hence the volume of ice below water is about nine times that above the surface. The largest icebergs are met with in the Southern Ocean; several have been ascertained to be from 800 to 1000 feet in height, and the largest are nearly three miles long. One was met with 20 deg. south of the Cape of Good Hope, between Marion and Bouvet Isles, which was 960 feet high, and therefore more than 9000 feet, or 1-3/4 mile in thickness.

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XXXVIII. A letter of the learned Hungarian Stephanus Parmenius Budeius to master Richard Hakluyt the collectour of these voyages

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### FOOTNOTES:

1. Son of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, minister of Elizabeth, and himself minister to the same queen and to James I. A clever but unscrupulous man, he was never popular, and his share in the fate of Essex and Raleigh has obscured his fame. He was created Earl of Salisbury. His secret correspondence is to be found in Goldsmid's *Collectanea Adamantaea*. Born 1565. Died 1612.
2. Hakluyt here merely condenses the researches of Grotius, who had published, in 1542, his famous but rare Tract "On the Origin of the Native American Races," a translation of which the present Editor issued in his "*Bibliotheca Curiosa*," Edinburgh, 1884. Hakluyt was evidently ignorant of Gunnbjorn's glimpse of a Western land in 876, of Eric the Red's discovery of Greenland about 985, of Bjarni's and Leif's discoveries, or indeed of any of the traditions of the Voyages of the Northmen, or he would certainly have included them in his Collection. Those who are interested in these matters should consult Wheaton's *History of the Northmen*, London, 1831; *Antiquitates Americanae*, edited by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, Hafniae, 1837; *The Discovery of America by the Northmen*, by N. L. Beamish, London, 1841; *Historia Vinlandiae Antiquae*, by Thormodus Torfoeus, Hafniae, 1705; and the edition of the Flateyan MSS., lately published at Copenhagen.
3. I have, to the best of my ability, in Vols. I. to XI. of this edition, arranged the contents of Hakluyt's first two volumes in the order he would have desired, had he not "lacked sufficient store."
4. The *History of Wales*, written by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, in the British Language, translated into English by Humphrey Llwyd, and edited by Dr. David Powel in 1584, is the book here quoted. It is very rare.





5. If Madoc ever existed, it seems more probable that the land he discovered was Madeira or the Azores. Such at least is the view taken by Robertson, and also by Jeremiah Belknap (*American Biography*, 8vo, Boston, 1774). Southey founded one of his poems on this tradition.
6. In Welsh, Meridith ap Rhees.
7. Marginal note.—These verses I received of my learned friend M. William Camden.
8. The most interesting life of Columbus is that by Lamartine, a translation of which appeared in the "*Bibliotheca Curiosa*."

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9. Nothing is known of Cabot's early years. In the Archives of Venice is the record of his naturalization, dated 28 March 1476, which shows he had lived there fifteen years. (Archives of Venice: Senato Terra, 1473-1477. Vol vii p. 109.)

10. This patent was granted in reply to the following application by John Cabot:

"To the Kyng our Souvereigne lord,

"Please it your highnes of your moste noble and haboundant grace to graunt vnto Iohn Cabotto, citezen of Venes, Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto his sonneys your gracious lettres patentes vnder your grete seale in due forme to be made accordyng to the tenour hereafter ensuyng. And they shall during their lyves pray to God for the prosperous continuance of your moste noble and royale astate long to enduer." (Public Records, Bill number 51.) Consult also Rymer's Foedera; London, 1727, folios 595-6.

11. Armed with this authority, John Cabot sailed from Bristol in the spring of 1497, with two ships, one being called the Matthew. (The History and Antiquities of the city of Bristol, by William Barrett, 1789).

12. In the National Library, Paris, is a large map of the world on the margin of which is written:

"Sebastian Caboto capitan, y piloto mayor de la S. c c. m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y rey nuestro sennor hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno del nasciem de nro saluador Jesu Christo de m.d. xliii. annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud con sus uientos como carta de marear, imitando en parte al Ptolomeo, y en parte alos modernos descubridores, asi Espannoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre, y por el descubierto." I give a facsimile of part of this map. As will be seen the words "Prima tierra vista" are opposite a cape about the 48th parallel, which would be Cape Breton. In a letter written to the Duke of Milan by Raimondo di Soncino, his minister in London, and dated the 18th Dec. 1497, a very interesting account is given of Cabot's voyage. Archives of Milan. Annuario scientifico, Milan, 1866 p 700.

13. Query, July.

14. J. B. Ramusio compiled in Italian a celebrated collection of maritime voyages. The most complete edition is formed by joining vol. I. of 1574 to vol. II. of 1555 and vol. III. of 1554. He died 1557, aged 72.

15. Ramosius has evidently mixed up the two voyages of John Cabot with those of his son. John's second and last voyage was in 1498, with five

ships; though little is known of the result, that little has been collected by Mr. Weise in his "Discoveries of America."

16. A celebrated Icelandic astronomer, a disciple of Tycho-Brahe. The opinion here quoted appears in his *Specimen Historicorum Islandiae et magna ex parte chorographicum*; Amsterdam, 1643. When aged 91, he is said to have married a young girl. Born 1545; died 1640.

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17. An error for John Cabot
18. His *Chronicle of England and France*, by a London tradesman, was first printed in 1516.
19. This celebrated Antiquary was born in 1525. Originally a tailor, his tastes procured him the encouragement of Archbishop Parker and the Earl of Leicester. His principal works are *Flores Historiarum* (1600) and his *Survey of London*, first published in 1598. Died a beggar in 1605.
20. If Cabot's discoveries extended from 38 deg. to 58 deg., he cannot have gone south of Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina.
21. Gilbert was half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh. This "discourse" was published in 1576, and two years later he himself sailed on a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland, but on the return journey his ship foundered with all on board.
22. Luke Marinaeus, chaplain to Charles V. author of *Obra de las cosas memorabiles de Espana*, Alcala, 1543; folio, the work here referred to.
23. Ficinus, (born 1433, died 1499); a protege of the Medici, translated Plato and Plotinus. These translations will be found in his collected works, published at Bale in 1591, 2 vols. folio. Herein he tries to prove Plato a Christian, as he also does in his *Thelogia Platonica*; Florence, 148; folio. The original editions of his works are extremely rare.
24. Crantor's opinion is only known to us by Cicero's reference, his works being all lost. He flourished about 315 B.C.
25. Born in 412, at Constantinople. Studied at Alexandria and Athens, and succeeded Syrianus in the Neo Platonic School. Died 485, Several of his works are extant.
26. Philo of Alexandria was well versed in the philosophy of Plato, and tried to show its harmony with the books of Moses. A fine edition of his works was published in 1742, in 2 vols. folio, edited by Mangey.
27. Amerigo Vespucci, born at Florence, 1451, was sent by his father to Spain. Fired by the example of Columbus, he became a navigator, and made three voyages to the New World, which ultimately was named after him, though the honour should belong to Columbus. Died at Seville 1512.



28. It has also been supposed by many ancient writers that Atlantis was situated between the 20th and 30th degrees of north latitude, and the 40th and 60th degrees of west longitude, in that part of the Atlantic known as the Sargasso sea.
29. Born 1493; died 1541. He was the first to publish the Almagestes of Ptolemy in Greek at Bale, 1538, folio. He was the friend of Luther and Melancthon.
30. The first Edition of his chronological tables is that of Berne, 1540. Little is known of him except that he was born at Rotweil in Germany and was a councillor of the city of Berne, in the library of which town is a unique copy of his History of Berne, 3 vols. folio, in German.

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31. Guicciardini, the author of the celebrated *History of the events between 1494 and 1532*.
32. *Frisius* was born at Dorkum in Frisia, his real name being John Gemma. His map of the world was published in 1540. Died at Louvain in 1555. *Gastaldus* was a Genoese and wrote many tracts on Geography. He was the father of Jerome Gastaldus, the author of a celebrated work on the Plague. *Tramasinus* was a celebrated Venetian printer of the 16th Century. *Andreas vavasor* is probably an error for Francis Vavasor, the Jesuit.  
  
*Munster, Appianus, Puteanus, Peter Martyr, and Ortelius* are well known, but *Hunterus, Demongenitus, and Tramontanus* are unknown to me.
33. Ochter's voyage will be found in Vol. I., p. 51, of this Edition of Hakluyt.
34. See Vol. I. of this Edition of Hakluyt.
35. See Vol. II. p. 60 (note) of this Edition
36. Giovanni Verrzzani is evidently meant. A Florentine by birth, he entered the service of Francis I., and in 1524 discovered New France. An account of his travels and tragic death is to be found in Ramusius. In the Strozzi library, at Florence, a manuscript of Verazzani's is preserved.
37. Born at St Malo. Discovered part of Canada in 1534. His *Brief recit de la Navigation faite es iles de Canada, Hochelage, Saguenay et autres*, was published at Paris in 1546, 8vo.
38. *Baros*, who had been appointed treasurer of the Indies, wrote a *History of Asia and of India* in 4 decades which were published between the years 1552 and 1602. It has been translated from Portuguese into Spanish, and considering that it contains many facts not to be found elsewhere, it is surprising that there should have been neither a French nor English Edition. *Baros* was born in 1496 and died in 1570.
39. This is probably an error for Peter Nonnius, professor of Mathematics at the University of Coimbra who published two books *De Arte Navigandi* in 1573.
40. Little is known of this writer. He appears to have been the son of Jerome Fracastor, a Veronese who obtained a certain celebrity as a poet at the beginning of the 16th Century.



41. In a former passage it is stated that Cabot did not get beyond the 58th degree of latitude.
42. It is now well known that the diminished saltiness of the sea off the Siberian coast is due to the immense masses of fresh water poured into it by the Ob, the Lena, and other Siberian rivers.
43. Either Salvaterra or the Frier must have possessed a vivid imagination. The former at any rate thoroughly took in Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

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44. It seems very strange to us after the Northwest passage has been discovered by M'Clure in 1852 and the North East passage by Nordenskiold in 1879 to read the arguments by which each of the upholders of the two routes sought to prove that his opponent's contention was impossible. Of the two disputants we must confess that Jenkinson's views now appear the likeliest to be realised, for M'Clure only made his way from Behring Straits to Melville island by abandoning his ship and travelling across the ice, while Nordenskiold carried the Vega past the North of Europe and Siberia, returning by Behring's straits and the Pacific.
45. Cape Chudley.
46. Born near Doncaster. He made several attempts to find the Northwest passage. (See post.) In 1585 he accompanied Drake to the West Indies; assisted in defeating the Spanish Armada, and was mortally wounded in 1594 at the attack on Fort Croyzan, near Brest. Some relics of his Arctic expedition were discovered by Captain F. C. Hall in 1860-62, and described in his delightful book, "Life with the Esquimaux."
47. Midway between Orkney and Shetland.
48. Foula, the most westerly of the Shetlands, round in form, is 12 miles in circuit.
49. Esquimaux.
50. Far from coming from Newfoundland, this drift-wood is carried into the Arctic Ocean by the Yenisei and other large rivers of Siberia.
51. Contrary to the opinion of Mr. Weise, who insists that Friseland is Iceland, I am inclined to believe that the East coast of Greenland is meant.
52. Lieutenant Nansen's expedition across Greenland negatives this supposition, but the West coast is more habitable than the East.
53. Frobisher Bay: it is not a strait. Hall's *Island* is Hall's Peninsula.
54. twisted
55. Long. From Saxon *sid*. (See BEN JONSON, *New Inn*, v. 1.)
56. Raisins.



57. In a very short time. Sometimes written *giffats*
58. It is almost in the exact latitude of Gaboon Bay.
59. Our author is wrong. Morocco lies between the *annual* Isothermal lines of 68° Fahr. (or 20 Cent.), whilst the mean temperature at the Equator was considered by Humboldt to be 81.4 deg. Fahr. and by Atkinson (Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society) 84.5 deg..
60. Our author means the *fifth* proposition of the *first* book of Euclid, the celebrated *Pons Asinorum*.
61. John Holywood, so named after the place of his birth near York, after studying at Oxford, settled in Paris where he became famous. He died in 1256, leaving two works of rare power considering the century they were written in, viz, *de Spheri Mundi*, and *de Computo Ecclesiastico*. They are to be found in one volume 8vo, Paris, 1560.

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62. John Gonzalvo d'Oviedo, born 1478. Was Governor of the New World, and wrote a *Summario de la Historia general y natural de las Indias Occidentales*. Best edition, *Salamanca* 1535, and *Toledo*, 1536, folio. This is the work here quoted.
63. This is not the case.
64. Blank in original.
65. Kirkwall.
66. Blank in original.
67. Blank in original.
68. Probably a Narwal.
69. Good.
70. Blank in the original.
71. Blank in original.
72. Blank in original.
73. Blank in original.
74. Blank in original.
75. Blank in original.
76. Muddy.
77. Blank in original.
78. Blank in original.
79. Blank in original.
80. Blank in original.
81. South Equatorial Current.
82. Gulf Stream.



83. The elimination of salt from sea-water by cold was evidently unknown to the writer.

84. The writer was evidently not a convert to the System of Copernicus, but agreed with Ptolemy that the Heavens were solid and moved round the earth, which was the centre of the Universe.

85. *Pirrie*, a sudden storm at sea. According to Jamieson, *Pirr*, in Scotch, means a gentle breeze.

“A pirrie came, and set my ship on sands.”  
*Mirror for Magistrates*, p. 194.

86. *Yer* = ere.

87. Sir Christopher Hatton.

88. Flat.

89. Thus the only result of Davis's Voyage was the discovery of the broad piece of water since known as Davis's Straits, extending between Greenland on the East and Cumberland Island on the West. It connects the Atlantic with Baffin's Bay. In the next voyage, Davis seems to have crossed the mouth of Hudson's Straits, without entering them.

90. The full text of Davis's account is given in Vol. vi., p. 250 of this Edition.

91. It seems probable that either Zeno was wrecked on one of the Shetlands, and that by *Sorani* is meant Orkney, or that Iceland is the true Frisland.

92. Aveiro, province of Beira, 31 miles N.W. of Coimbra.

93. Viana do Castello, province of Minho, 40 miles N. of Oporto.

94. See Vol ix., p. 143 of this Edition.

95. (?) Chateau-Richer on the St. Lawrence, 15 miles below Quebec.

96. Near Cape Charles.

97. The St. Lawrence.

98. This refers to Gilbert's first voyage in 1578.

99. Causand.

100. The Newfoundland Banks are rather a submarine Plateau than banks in the ordinary sense. The bottom is rocky, and generally reached at 25 to 95 fathoms: length and breadth about 300 miles: the only shallow region in the Atlantic.

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101. The cold on the coast is partly due to the quantities of ice descending from Baffin's Bay.
102. Maelstrom.
103. Silver, and even gold, has been found in Newfoundland.
104. Bends.