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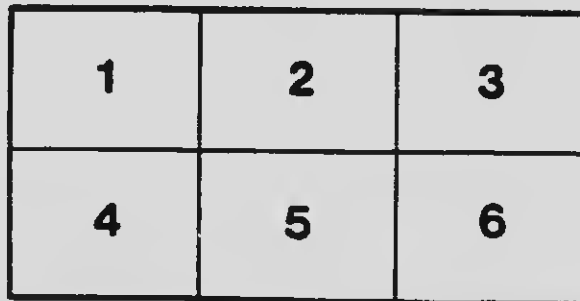
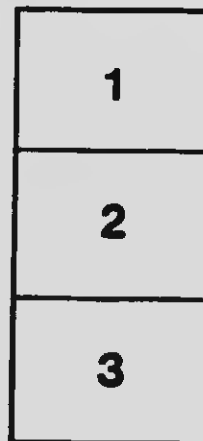
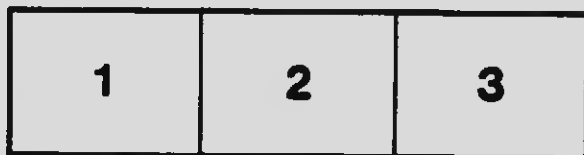
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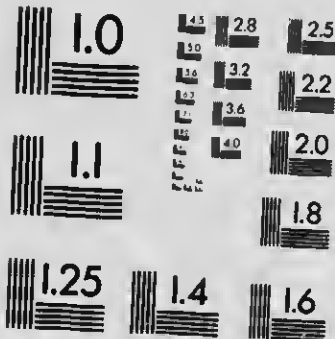
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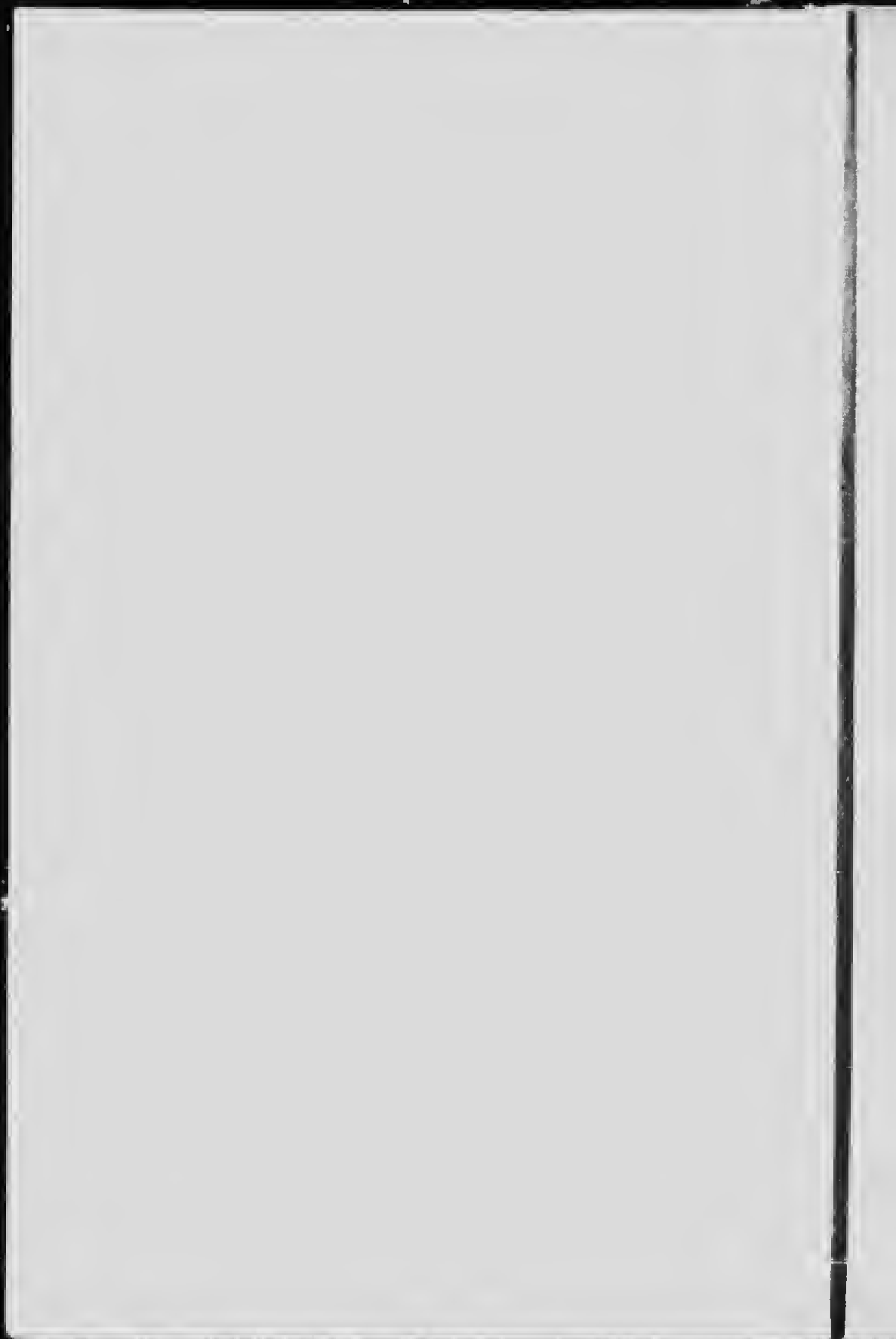
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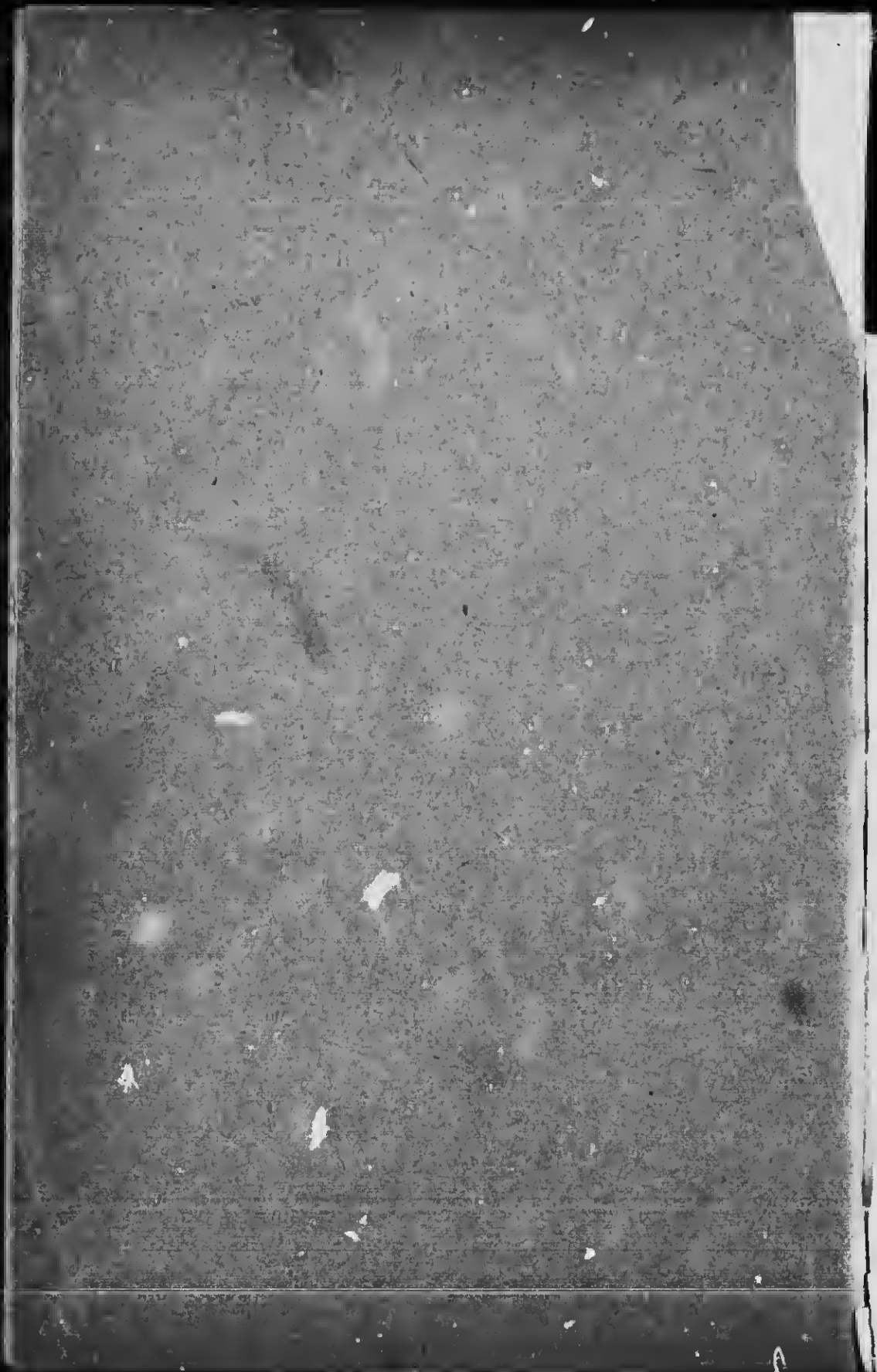
H. P. BIGGAR

THE VOYAGES
OF THE CABOTS AND OF THE CORTE-REALS
TO
NORTH AMERICA AND GREENLAND
1497-1503.

Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, tome X.

PARIS

1903



THE VOYAGES
OF THE CABOTS AND OF THE CORTE-REALS

MACON, PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS.

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H. P. BIGGAR

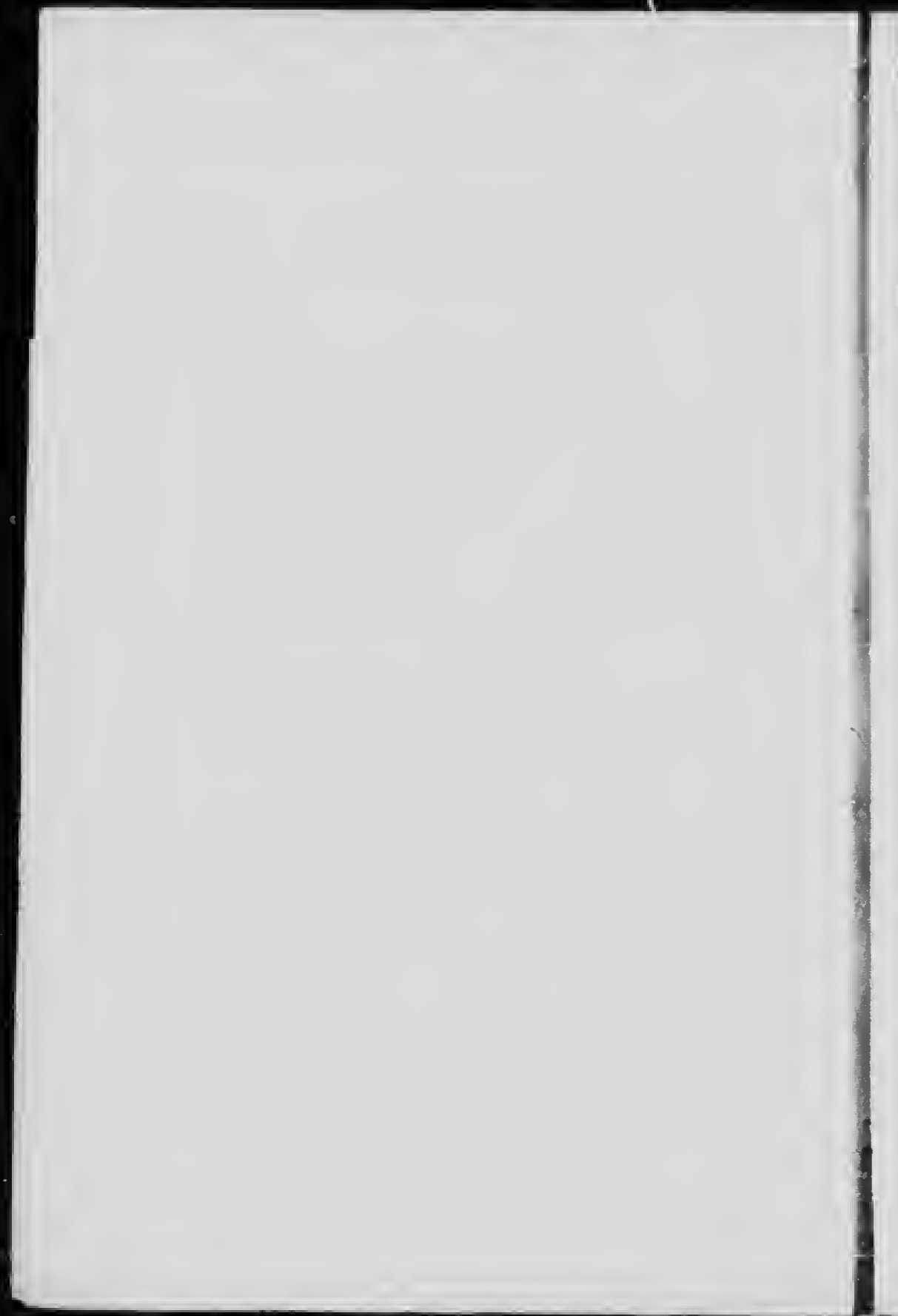
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THE VOYAGES
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TO
NORTH AMERICA AND GREENLAND
1497-1503.¹

The subject of the Cabots and their expeditions to the New World¹istles with so many difficulties and has been so frequently treated² that he is indeed bold who would venture to take it up anew. In this article an attempt is merely made to point out two grave errors hitherto committed and from the vantage ground thus gained to offer a fresh account of the expeditions of 1497 and 1498. On the subject of the voyages of the Corte-Reals on the other hand³ the reader will find less that is new; but since the second error in connection with the Cabots has arisen partly through a confusion of the first Corte-Real voyage of

1. I beg to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere and hearty thanks to M. René de Flotte Roquesaire, the eminent French cartographer, who most kindly took upon himself to prepare the copies from which the maps given here have been reproduced. M. de Flotte's work enjoys such a wide reputation that the honour conferred is a great one. I trust he will accept this short note as a feeble expression of my gratitude.

2. Cf. G. P. Winship, *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Careers of the Cabots*, etc. London, 1900. This list contains no less than 579 numbers.

1500 with the Cabot expedition of 1498, it has been judged well to add at the end a brief account of the three Corte-Real explorations.

The first error in connection with the Cabot voyages dates from 1864 in which year the late Mr. Rawdon Brown, who was employed by the Public Record Office to copy in Italy documents bearing on English history, published the first volume of his Venetian Calendar containing an English translation of Lorenzo Pasqualigo's letter of August 23rd 1497¹. Mr. Brown had already published in 1837 the Italian text of this letter which gives us the earliest account known of Cabot's first voyage². Where the Italian reads, *E al tornar aldreto a visto do ixole*, Mr. Brown translated, « And on his return he saw two islands to starboard³ ». The correct translation is however simply, « And on his way back he saw two islands ». *Aldreto* is the popular form for *addietro* which is the same as *indietro*⁴. *Al tornar aldreto* is therefore equivalent to the modern *al tornar indietro*. The expression *tornar a dietro* is frequently made use of by Ramusio and always in the sense of « to turn back⁵ ».

The error thus committed has held sway until the present day. Most writers indeed merely contented themselves with

1. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. 1, p. 262, No 752. London, 1864, in-4^o.

2. *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Mai in Sanuto*, pt. I, pp. 99-100, Venezia, 1837. The text was again reprinted by Count F. Miniscalchi Erizzo in his *Le scoperte artiche*, p. 128, note 1, Venezia, 1855, in-8^o.

3. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, etc., loc. cit.

4. *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, quarta impressione, vol. II. Firenze, 1731, in-fol., p. 352 : « DRETO, Voce piuttosto dell' uso popolare. E vale lo stesso, che Dietro. »

5. *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. III, Venetia, 1556, fol. 4 : « & havrebbe fatto, se la malignità del padrone et de marinari sollevati non l'havessero fatto tornare a dietro »; and fol. 417 : « ma per il freddo fu forzato a tornare a dietro. »

copying this English translation. In the year following its publication it was made use of at a meeting of the American Antiquarian Society and was printed in their *Proceedings*¹. This was the only version to which the late Dr. Kohl had access².

The Italian text was however again reprinted in 1879³, in 1880⁴ and in 1881⁵. On this last occasion Signor Desimoni, being himself an Italian, understood the words in their true sense⁶. Unfortunately such was not the case with Mr. Henry HARRISSE who in the following year published his first work on the Cabots⁷. In addition to reprinting the whole Italian text of this letter⁸, Mr. HARRISSE, in the beginning of section IX of his work, cited the very words in question but only to repeat anew the mistake already made by Mr. Rawdon Brown: « Lorenzo Pasqualigo dit qu'au retour Jean Cabot reconnut à sa droite deux îles : e al tornar al dreto a visto do ixole ». Mr. HARRISSE seems indeed to have had Mr. Rawdon Brown's English translation under his eye at the time¹⁰.

1. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October 21st 1865*, pp. 20-21, Cambridge, 1866.

2. *History of the Discovery of Maine*, pp. 130, 135 and 136, notes, Portland, 1869.

3. Marin Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. I, pp. 806-807, Venezia, 1879.

4. C. Bullo, *La vera patria di Nicolo de' Conti e di Giovanni Caboto, Studi e documenti*, p. 61, Chioggia, 1880, in-4°.

5. *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, vol. XV, pp. 227-228, Genova, 1881.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 194: « Nel ritorno ha visto due Isole ma non vi discese », etc.

7. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot, leur origine et leurs voyages, Étude d'histoire critique*, etc. Paris, 1882, large in-8°.

8. *Ibid.*, appendice VIII, p. 322. In his *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian his Son* (London, 1896), p. 391, Mr. HARRISSE states that this text is given « from the original MS. ».

9. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, etc., p. 97. Cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 61 « et en revenant, il a vu deux îles à tribord ».

10. *Ibid.*, p. 322, note 1: « Imprimé... par M. Rawdon Brown... en anglais, dans ses *Calendars*, t. I, p. 262, n° 752 ».

Thanks to this fresh lease of life the error has been repeated by every author who has since treated the subject. Mr. Brown's translation continued to be reprinted from year to year ¹, while in each of his successive volumes Mr. Harrisse went steadily on repeating his old error ². So strong in fact had tradition in this matter now become that even scholars like the late Dr. S. E. Dawson³, Mr. C. R. Beazley ⁴ and Mr. G. P. Winship ⁵ were also led astray. Once however it is clear that the islands seen by Cabot on his return were not necessarily to starboard but may equally well have been to port, the great difficulty is removed for a landfall on Cape Breton island.

The second error in connection with the Cabot voyages is one of identification and when corrected the course of the

1. J. F. Nicholls and J. Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, vol. III, pp. 294-295, Bristol, 1882; A. J. Weise, *The Discoveries of America to the Year 1525*, pp. 189-190, New-York, 1884, in-8°; J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. III, p. 53, London, 1886; C. R. Markham, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus and Documents relating to the Voyages of John Cabot*, pp. 201-202, London (Hakluyt Society), 1893; and G. E. Weare, *Cabot's Discovery of North America*, pp. 139-140, London, 1897.

2. *The Discovery of North America*, London, 1892, in-4°, p. 8: « There is another detail, however, which is of importance. Cabot on his return saw two islands to starbord: *ale (sic) tornar aldreto a visto do ixole*; » and again in his *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America*, etc., p. 53: « There is another detail, however, which is of importance. Cabot on his return saw two islands to starboard: « *ale (sic) tornar aldreto a visto do ixole*. » Cf. also, p. 110: « The two islands... which, when homeward bound, John Cabot is said to have seen to the starboard », etc.

3. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the Year 1894*, Ottawa, 1895, sect. II, p. 60: « On his return, Cabot passed two islands to the right. » Cf. also *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, vol. XII, p. 208, London, September 11th 1897.

4. *John and Sebastian Cabot*, London, 1898, p. 60: « On his return, Cabot sighted two large and fertile islands on the starboard. »

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 79: « On the return, two islands were seen towards the right », etc.

expedition of 1498 becomes clear. According to Mr. HARRISSE « we possess no direct information concerning this voyage ' ». All that can be made out is that « John Cabot's ultimate objective, when he set out from England in 1498, was an equatorial or southern region ' ». In his map drawn up to exhibit « the route probably followed », Mr. HARRISSE makes Cabot sight land near Cape Bonavista in Newfoundland, follow the coast to the north to a point not indicated, then return and coast it as far south as Florida¹. Mr. C. R. BEAZLEY was of opinion that « John Cabot..... started on his second voyage in the beginning of May 1498, attempted to penetrate to Asia by the North-West, was foiled (about June 11th), then coasted along the East shore of the American mainland to Cape Hatteras, if not to Florida, and returned to England some time subsequent to October 28th in the same year ' ». Finally in the « Introductory Essay on the Careers of the Cabots based upon an independent Examination of the Sources » which Mr. G. P. WINSHIP published in his *Cabot Bibliography* that appeared in 1900, this second voyage is described as follows :

“ It was doubtless Easter or later before the fleet of four or five vessels was ready to sail. The ships, . . . probably followed much the same course as in the preceding year². Soon after leaving the Irish coast they encountered a storm which forced one boat to put back. After this, nothing whatsoever is known regarding the fate of the expedition. It may, in whole or in part, have

1. *The Discovery of North America*, p. 41.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 39, Plate III giving, « Second Voyage of John Cabot (1498-1499?) ».

4. C. R. BEAZLEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.

5. Cf. *Cabot Bibliography*, p. XIII : « June 24, 1497, was probably the date on which he [John Cabot] anchored somewhere on the eastern sea-coast of British North America, between Halifax and southern Labrador ». He adds at p. XIV that it is probable Cabot landed « on Cape Breton Island or thereabouts ».

reached the American coast in safety According to one account, apparently written in the early autumn of 1498, no news had then been received from the voyagers. The same statement may be made with equal truth in 1900¹ ”.

Mr. Winship thinks that the voyage « to find a new route to Cathay across the Arctic circle » was made by Sebastian Cabot in 1508. « He sailed into the North until his progress was blocked by bergs and field ice at about 58° or 60° north latitude. Compelled to turn back, he came upon a coast-line towards the west, which he followed southwards for some distance² ».

Such is the present state of this question. In the following article an attempt is made to show that the expedition to the north-west really took place in 1498; that the coast first sighted was not our Labrador, but the east coast of Greenland which region Cabot named Labrador; that on finding their passage northward along this coast a most difficult one, they headed south until they came to cape Farewell when they proceeded to explore the southern and western shores of Greenland; that on meeting once more with ice on the west coast of Greenland they again steered in a westerly direction until they came to our present Labrador in about 57° 30'; that they then followed the American coast down as far as cape Race and the region explored in the previous summer; and that finally they proceeded on down that coast as far as cape Henlopen at the mouth of Delaware bay in 38°, whence, as their provisions were running short, they once more returned to England arriving at Bristol sometime after October 28th 1498.

Gomara the Spanish historian tells us in his *History of the Indies* published in 1552 that Cabot « set his course towards Iceland above cape Labrador and as far north as 58°³ ». Cape Fare-

1. *Cabot Bibliography*, p. xv.

2. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

3. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *Istoria de las Indias*, Çaragoza, 1552, fol. xxv.

well on the island of Umanarsuak stands in latitude $59^{\circ} 46' N.$ By adding to Gomara's 58° the one degree by which according to M. de La Roncière all 16th century reckonings of latitude are short, we obtain to within three-quarters of a degree the latitude of our cape Farewell.

To see indeed that Gomara's Labrador was really our Greenland one has only to consult the standard maps of the time. Among the most important of these is the map made for Charles V. in 1529 by Diego Ribero, who from 1519 onwards had been Sebastian Cabot's subordinate in the hydrographical department at Seville¹. On Cabot's departure for La Plata in April 1526 Ribero took his place. Ribero's map was thus doubtless drawn up from data supplied in part by Sebastian Cabot himself. Though an improved map was issued by Chaves in 1536 it did not extend beyond $51^{\circ} 30' N.$, which is the latitude of our strait of Belle Isle². Ribero's map of 1529, drawn up from data supplied by Sebastian Cabot, was thus the only Spanish map in existence in Gomara's time for the region north of the strait of Belle Isle³.

On Ribero's map of 1529 we have in the north as a guiding

« camino la buelta de Islandia sobre cabo del Labrador. E hasta se poner en cincuenta y ocho grados. »

1. Cf. *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, année 1887, N^o 1, pp. 57-64, *Note sur la mappemonde de Diego Ribero*, par le Dr. E.-T. Hamy, Paris, 1887.

2. G. F. de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, etc., 1. II, Madrid, 1852, lib. XXI, cap. x, p. 149 : « Estas veynte leguas postreras está el fin de ellas en çinquenta é un grados y medio. . . . é allí haçe fin la carta moderna del cosmógrafo Alonso de Chaves, que nuevamente se corrigió y emendó el año que passó de mill é quinientos y treynta y seys años. »

3. This is clear from the fact that for the region north of the strait of Belle Isle Oviedo is obliged to have recourse to Ribero. Cf. Oviedo, *op. cit.* : « Á esto que está dicho se acresçienta lo que paresçe por la carta del cosmógrafo Diego Rivero. . . . Este en sus patrones é cartas pone desde el río de los Baccallaos », etc.

point the island of Iceland called *Islanda*¹. It is placed between latitude 67° and 71° N. which is four degrees too high since its true latitude is from 63° 23' to 66° 33'. To the west of Iceland is our Greenland given correctly as a peninsula and what is still more remarkable with its southern coast-line made to run almost due east and west as in truth it actually does. Cape Igalalik, the south-eastern extremity of the main shore, lies in fact in 60° 10' and the latitude of the south-western extremity beside cape Desolation is only half a degree further north or 60° 45'. The whole region south of these points is composed of islands which extend down as far as 59° 46', the latitude of cape Farewell which forms the southern extremity of Umanarsuak island. On Ribero's map however this southern coast line is placed in 56° which brings the whole peninsula four degrees too far south.

On Ribero's map Greenland is not called Greenland but *Tiera del Labrador* or the « Ploughman's Land »; and a further inscription says that it was discovered by the English. The Weimar copy has merely : « The English discovered this country. It produces nothing of any utility² ». On the Propaganda copy however we read : « The land of Labrador which was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol³. » Finally the Wol-

1. *Vid.* map No 1 from J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860, in-fol. This map is also given in his *History of the Discovery of Maine*, p. 299, No XVI, and again in Konrad Kretschmer, *Atlas der Festschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin zur vierhundertjährigen Feier der Entdeckung Amerika's*, Tafel XV, Berlin, 1892, in-fol.

2. *Ibid.* : « Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses. No ay en ella cosa de provecho. » Cf. HARRISSE, *John Cabot*, etc., p. 84 : « All these facts prove that the names, legends and configurations of the northern extremity of the New Continent, as inscribed and depicted in charts emanating from Spanish cosmographers in general, and Diego Ribero in particular, were supplied directly by Sebastian Cabot », etc.

3. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, Stockholm, 1897, in-fol., Nos XLVIII-XLIX : « Tiera del Labrador laqual descubrieron los Ingleses de la villa de Bristol », etc.

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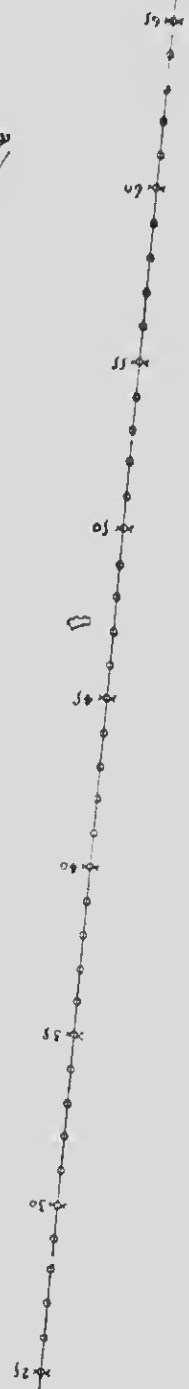
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 en ella cosa de provecho
**TIERA DELLABRA-
 DOR.**

- S. Juan
- S. Pedro
- S. de la Sualta
- S. de los gomas
- S. del fuego
- S. de auer
- C. de marco
- S. de hyspaliis
- S. de la cerna
- S. de bacallaoz
- C. del aspera
- R. de las palas
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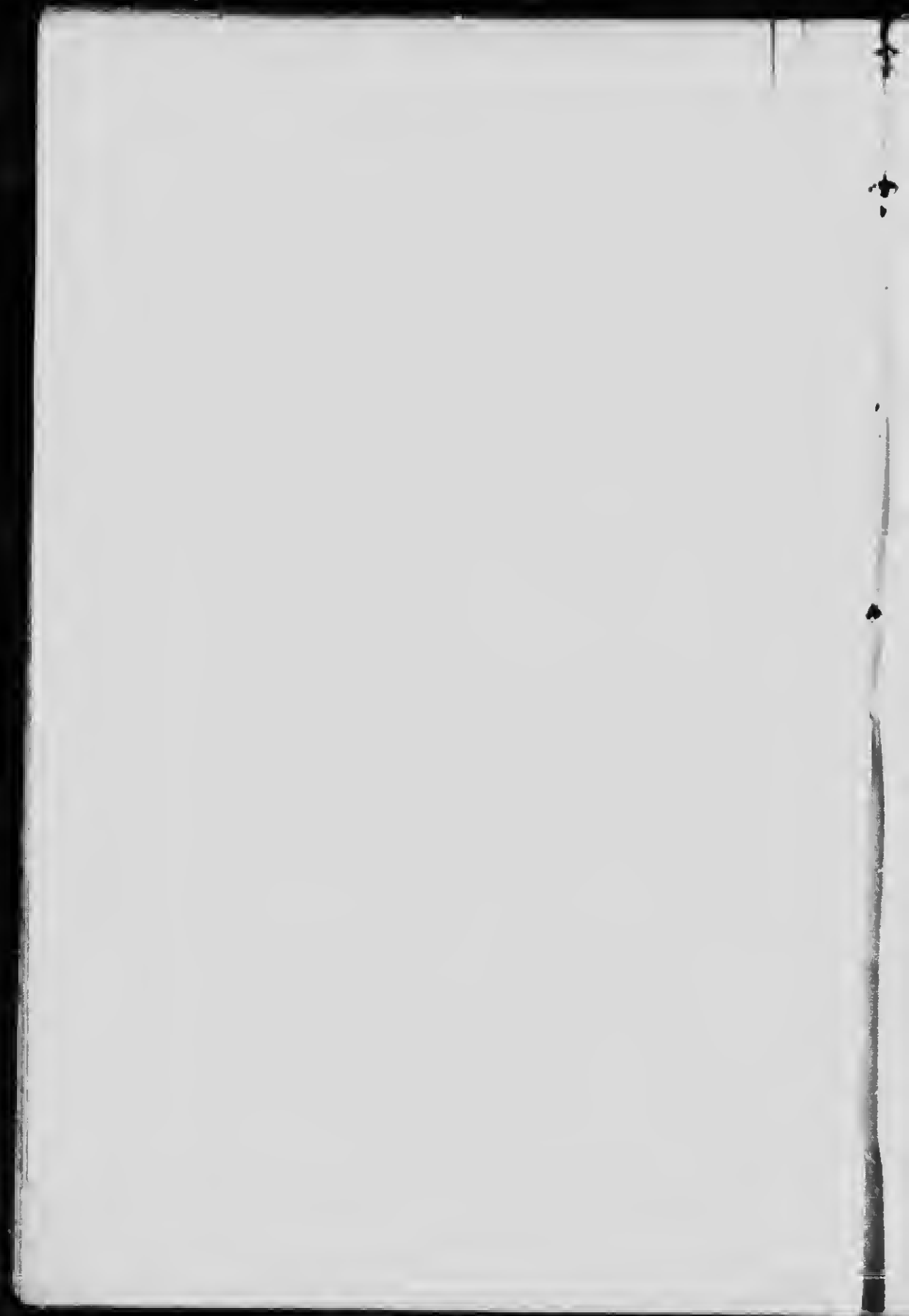
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Hispania

Ribero's Map. 1529.



fenbüttel map, which unfortunately has never been reproduced, gives us not only the same information but also the origin of the name. The inscription there reads: « The land of Labrador which was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol and as he who first sighted it was a ploughman [Labrador] from the Azores islands his name stuck to that country »¹. That this man formed one of John Cabot's crew is told us expressly by Alonso de Santa Cruz, the Spanish cosmographer, who had accompanied Sebastian Cabot on his voyage to La Plata from April 1526 to August 1530, and who had therefore had plenty of opportunities for conversation with John Cabot's son. In his *Islario general* which is still in manuscript Santa Cruz says: « This land was called Labrador because a ploughman [Labrador] from the Azores gave information and intelligence of it to the king of England at the time he sent to explore it by Antonio Gaboto the English pilot and the father of Sebastian Gaboto, Your Majesty's present Pilot Major »². John Cabot had already been called « Antonio » in a work published in 1532³, which Santa Cruz had consulted⁴.

1. HARRISSE, *Jean et Sebastien Cabot*, p. 186: « Tierra del Labrador. La qual fue descubierta por los Yngleses de la vr'a de Bristol, e por q̄ el q̄ dio el laviso della era labrador de las illas de los Açores [sic pro Açores] le quido este nombre. »

2. *Islario general de todas las Islas del mundo* in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, MS. J 92, fol. 293: « Fue dicha tierra del Labrador por que dió della aviso é indicio un labrador de las islas de los Açores al Rey de Inglaterra quando el la enbió á descubrir por Antonio Gaboto, piloto ingles, y padre de Sebastian Gaboto, piloto mayor que oy es de Vuestra Magestad ». Cespedes who altered this MS. to read as his own erased *oy es* and put *que fue*.

3. Jacob. Ziegler, *Quar intus continentur..... Schonlia*, etc. Argentorati, 1532, fol. xcii v: « Petrus Martyr Mediolanensis in hispanicis navigationibus scribit, Antoninum quendam Cabotum solventem à Britannia, navigasse continue versus septentrionem, quoad incideret in crustas glaciales mense Julio, » etc. Ziegler perhaps slipped up over the *domi Cabottu* of the edition of 1530. Cf. Martyr's, *De orbe novo*, dec. III, cap. vi, fol. xlvii, Compluti, 1530. The full text reads: « Familiarem habeo domi Cabottum ipsum, » etc.

4. *Islario general*, fol. 294v: « Zieglero tiene ser esta tierra continuada desde Escondia, movido por lo que Antonio Gaboto della dixo », etc.

The statement that the Cabot in question was Sebastian's father leaves however no doubt as to who was meant. We know from a letter of the Spanish Ambassador then in England that in the spring of 1498 John Cabot went to Lisbon to secure men for his second expedition¹. One of these seems to have been a certain João Fernandes, *llavrador*, of the island of Terceira in the Azores². According to Senhor Ernesto do Canto who discovered the document bearing this name, it has here not the signification of « ploughman » but that of « landowner »³. On the 23th of October 1499 this man received Letters patent from King Manoel at Lisbon for an expedition of his own⁴, while he is also one of those to whom Henry VII. issued Letters patent on the 19th of March 1501 for fresh trans-atlantic discoveries⁵. A certain « Francis » Fernandes also of the Azores is included in the Letters patent of December 9th 1502⁶, while in a document of September 26th of that year he was given a pension of £ 10 by Henry VII. « in consideracion of the true service which he has doon unto us to our singler pleasur as (one of our) Capitaignes unto the newe founde lande⁷ ». John Cabot

1. Pedro de Ayala's despatch of July 25th 1498, in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. V, vol. II, p. 218, No VIII : « El inventor, que es otro Genovés como Colón. . . . ha estado en Sevilla y en Lisboa procurando haver quien le ayudasse á esta invención. »

2. *Arquivo dos Açores*, vol. XII, Ponta Delgada, 1894, p. 369 : « estando así em posse d'ellas ho dito tempo, ouve hum mandado delrey nosso senhor para hir a descobrir eu e hum Johã Fernandes llavrador no quall descobrimento andamos bons tres anos », etc.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 367, note 2 : « *Lavrador*, como todos sabem, não é exclusivamente aquelle que conduz o arado para lavar a terra, mas tambem em sentido mais generico o proprietario ou rendeiro que manda cultivar terras, suas ou alheias — pagando a quem as trabalhe, como perfeito synonymo de agricultor. »

4. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 449.

5. F. Adle, *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, Appendix D, Philadelphia, 1831.

6. Rymer, *Fœdera*, t. V, ps. IV, pp. 186-188. Hagæ Comitib., 1741, in-fol.

7. HARRISSE, *John Cabot*, etc., pp. 397-398.

seems to have taken this João Fernandes with him on his second expedition and as he had already explored Greenland or was the first to sight that coast on this occasion, his name was given to that land'. Senhor do Canto and Mr. HARRISSE were also of this opinion but supposed Fernandes had taken part in a different expedition than that of the Cabots'.

Of this Labrador or our Greenland we have two descriptions: that of Gomara who begins to describe the coast on the north-east side opposite Iceland and that of Oviedo who proceeds from the west side to the east coast. « The most northerly part of the Indies », says Gomara, « lies in the same latitude as Iceland. The first 200 leagues of coast down as far as Rio Nevado [or the river of Melted Snow¹], have not been thoroughly explored. From the river of Melted Snow in 60° the distance is 200 leagues to Boundary Bay²; and all this coast lies in the same 60° and is called Labrador³ ». The reason the west coast is

1. Cf. p. 13, notes 1 and 2.

2. HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, etc., Paris, 1900, p. 42: « L'expédition anglo-azoréenne . . . était de retour à Bristol avant le 7 janvier 1502 . . . On peut présumer qu'il [João Fernandes] retourna en Portugal, et à temps pour communiquer à quelque cartographe de ce pays les épreuves rapportées du Nord de l'Amérique par lui-même. Elles seraient ainsi devenues, vers 1503, l'origine de la désignation *Terra de Labrador* inscrite sur le Groënland dans les cartes portugaises, de cette époque » Cf. also his *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 186-187 and the *Arquivo dos Açores*, XI, pp. 355-371.

3. This Rio Nevado is probably Prince Christian sound in 60° 5' which is some thirty-five miles long. Cf. Capt. W. A. GRAAH, *Narrative of an Expedition to the East Coast of Greenland*, p. 47, London, 1837.

4. Probably the present Sukkertoppen on the west coast in 65° 20'. Cf. *infra*, p. 90.

5. Gomara, *op. cit.*, fol. viii: « Lo mas setentrional de las indias esta en par de . . . Islandia. Corre doçientas leguas de costa, que aun no esta bien andada, hasta rio nevado. De rio Nevado, que cae a sesenta grados, ay otras doçientas leguas hasta la baia de Maluas, y toda esta costa casi ta en los mesmos sesenta grados, y es lo que llaman tierra del Labrador. »

made to run west instead of north-west is on account of its being so represented on Sebastian Cabot's map of 1544.

Gomara then goes on to describe the Eskimos who live on salmon and build their huts of wood covered over with the skins of fish and other animals ¹. He adds that in that country the birds and bears are white which is very characteristic of Greenland ². He finally concludes by saying that that country had been explored from Norway by the pilot John Scolvo and also by the English under Sebastian Cabot ³. Scolvo we know visited Greenland whence it necessarily follows that this was also the region explored by Cabot. That the coast explored by Cabot was Greenland was also the opinion of Jacob Ziegler who in his *Schondia* published in 1532 describes Cabot's voyage under his account of Greenland ⁴. In his map he put down the name *Bacallaos* on the east coast of Greenland ⁵.

Oviedo who describes first the west coast of this Labrador or

1. Gomara, *op. cit.*, fol. xx : « Son los de alli ombres dispuestos, aun que morenos. Y trabajadores. . . . visten martas, y pieles de otros muchos animales, el pelo a dentro de invierno y a fuera de verano. Aprietanse la barriga y muslos, con entorchados de algodón, y nervios de peces, y animales. Comen pescado mas que otra cosa, especial salmon. . . Hazen sus casas de madera. . . Y cubren las de cuero de peces, y animales en lugar de tejas. »

2. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* : « Dizen que. . . los ossos con otros muchos animales, y aves, son blancas. »

3. *Loc. cit.* : « Tambien an ido alla ombres de Norvega con el piloto Joan Scolvo. E ingleses con Sebastian Gaboto. » Scolvo went to Greenland in 1476. *Vid.*, p. 62, *infra*.

4. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, fol. xcii : « Gronlandia interpretatur virens terra, sic dicta ob insignem proventum pabuli Cuius & pecoris quanta sit copia hinc licet spectare, quod sub tempore quo ad eos navigatur, componunt promercales ingentes strues butyri & casei, unde etiam coniectamus, terram non esse asperam montibus. . . . Petrus Martyr. . . . scribit Antoninum quendam Cabotum », etc. as in note 3, p. 13.

5. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, *Octava Tabula*. This map has been reproduced in A. E. Nordenskiöld's, *Voyage de la « Vega »*, vol. I, appendice, carte V, Paris 1883, and again in his *Facsimile-Atlas*, p. 57. N^o 31, Stockholm, 1889.

our Greenland tells us that it runs south-west for some 100 leagues when it turns and runs north-east for another hundred leagues¹. He adds another important fact which shows clearly that our Greenland is meant. « This land of Labrador, » continues Oviedo, « lies west and east with Ireland and Scotland, and according to Diego Ribero the distance from Labrador to Ireland is about 280 or 300 leagues² ». The distance from Greenland to Ireland is roughly 650 miles, while that from Ireland to our Labrador is over fifteen hundred.

Jean Alfonse also calls our Greenland, Labrador, and his description of the relative positions of Norway, Iceland and Greenland is so interesting as to be worth citing almost in full. « Norway, » says Alfonse, « is a cold region but fertile in meat and fish.... This land is one with Labrador [our Greenland] which lies between it and the New Lands but nearer to the New Lands. The distance from the one to the other [Norway to Greenland] is 400 leagues³ and the coast continues the whole way⁴.... Norway and Labrador [Greenland] lie east and west,

1. Oviedo, *loc. cit.*, II, 150 : « è de allí adelante vnielue la costa al Sueste bien çient leguas, sin dar otro nombre à parte alguna della, è desde allí se toma la tierra otras çient leguas al Nordeste. »

2. Oviedo, *loc. cit.* : « la qual tierra està de Hueste al Leste con Hibernia y con Escocia è Inglaterra; è la dicha isla de Hibernia puede estar, segund opinion de Diego Rivero, dosçientas è ochenta ó tresçientas leguas, poco mas ó menos, de la tierra del Labrador ».

3. The distance from Norway to Iceland is 600 miles and from Iceland to Greenland 150. Iceland itself however is 300 miles long. If one takes the old French posting league of 2.1221 English miles the distances would virtually correspond.

4. This statement and that to the effect that Iceland was « instituée nord et su avec Irlande » (*Ibid.*, p. 179) show that Alfonse had seen a map similar to Ziegler's, if not that very map itself. This map was the basis of that of *Schonlandia* in the Basle Ptolemies of 1510 and 1512 (No. 41, Nova Tabula XIII) where the configuration of these regions is the same except that the inscriptions have been moved northwards: *Gronlandia* has become *Gronlandt* and *Terra Bacallios* is now *Terra nova sive de Bacolhos*.

with one quarter north-west and south-east. They are both mountainous regions in which live many sorts of wild animals. The climate is so severe that it is not possible for one of our nation to live there. Off this coast lies the island of Iceland, which is inhabited and belongs to the king of Denmark. It lies about 50 leagues from the main shore¹. . . . The coast of the mainland is not at present inhabited nor explored both on account of the excessive cold as also of the long nights; for in some parts the nights last two and three months, and the days as long, when the sun crosses the equator; for these regions lie in 71° and 72° North lat. And the island of Iceland lie² in 64° and 66°² in the same latitude as the coast of Labrador³. »

Greenland is separated from our Labrador by Davis strait which though it is indicated as a gulf on the two copies of Ribero's map that have come down to us, was yet clearly marked as a

1. Iceland is 150 miles from Greenland.

2. Iceland as before mentioned extends from 63° 23' to 66° 33'.

3. Jean Fonteneau dit Jean Alfonse, *La cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du nord*, publiée et annotée par Georges Musset, Paris, 1904, large 8°, pp. 179-180 : « Norovégue est terre froide et est fertile de chair et poisson... Ceste terre tient à la terre du Laborador, qui est entre la Terre Neufve et elle, la plus près de la Terre Neufve; et y a de l'une à l'autre quatre cens lieues et tout sont terres entre l'un et l'autre... Norovergue et la terre du Laborador, qui est dict Laboureur, sont l'est et ouest et prenent ung quart de nor-ouest et suest. Et sont haultes terres fort montaigneuses où il y a plusieurs sortes de bestes sauvaiges; et est tant froide la terre, qu'il est impossible que nul de nostre nation ny d'autre d'Europe y sceust habiter. Et en ceste coste est l'isle d'Island, qui est peuplée de gens et tient du roy Dannemarc, environ cinquante lieues de la terre ferme... La coste de la terre ferme n'est pas à présent fort hentée ny descouverte, et à cause qu'elle est fort froide et pour les grandz nuitz. Car il y a telle terre qui a deux et trois moys de nuit et autant de jour, quant le soleil passe la ligne esquynociale, pour ce qu'elles sont en la haulteur de soixante unze et soixante et douze degrez de la haulteur du polle arctique. Et l'isle d'Island est de soixante et quatre jusques à soixante et six degrez de la haulteur du polle arctique, en la mesme haulteur qu'est la coste du Laborador. »

strait on the copy made use of by Oviedo. It is also found as a strait on almost all the other early maps except Ribero's. Oviedo tells us that the distance across this strait on the copy of Ribero's map used by him was 25 leagues¹. The distance across the mouth of Davis strait from cape Chidley, at the north end of Labrador, to Greenland is about 400 miles. Further up however at cape Walsingham in 66° the width narrows down to 250 miles.

Jean Alfonse also gives us a description of Davis strait and notes its most remarkable natural feature, i.e. the passage down it of the icebergs from the polar seas. « Between Labrador [Greenland] and the New Lands », says Alfonse, « there is a great stretch of fresh water. It has not been ascertained how far (north) it extends. I however am of opinion that it reaches to the north pole. Down it come the icebergs that arrive at Newfoundland² ».

Davis strait is clearly indicated on all the earliest maps of these regions that have come down to us. At first it has its proper

1. After describing the coast-line of North America up as far as a cape in 57° 30' which is probably the present Table Hill in 57° 40', the most noticeable highland along the whole coast of Labrador, Oviedo (*op. cit.*, II, 149-150) continues as follows : « Desde el cabo que dicho, se corren veynte é cinco leguas al Nordeste, no por costa, sino de mar alta, porque allí se pierde la costa é no se ve en aquel espacio... É corridas estas veynte é cinco leguas, está la tierra que llaman del Labrador en çinquenta é nueve grados. » Since Greenland is brought 4 degrees too far south on Ribero's map, Oviedo's line would cross Davis strait from 57° 30' on our Labrador to 63° on the west coast of Greenland or from Table Hill to Lichenfels.

2. *La Cosmographie*, Musset's edition, p. 179 : « Entre la terre du Laboureur et la Terre Neufve, y a une grande mer d'eau douce, et ne sçait l'on où elle va. Toutesfoys je pense qu'elle va jusques souz le polle ; et d'icy sortent les grandz glaces qui vont à la Terre Neufve » ; and again, p. 480 : « la mer glacée d'où sortent les glaces qui viennent à la Terre Neufve..... est entre ceste terre et la terre du Laboureur, et va jusques souz le polle artique ». Cf. also the map reproduced at p. 476 of M. Musset's edition and also at p. 46 of Justin Winsor's, *From Cartier to Frontenac*, London, 1894.



width and the position of Greenland is correct as on the Cantino ¹ and Canerio maps ² of about 1502. On neither of these however has Greenland a name. This first appears on the Kunstmann N^o II ³ and King maps ⁴ of the same date. On the King map our Newfoundland and Labrador stretch northward from *Capo Raso* or cape Race as one coast under the name *Terra Cortereal*. Across an intervening (Davis) strait is Greenland with the name *Terra Laboratoris*. The Kunstmann N^o II map, which is reproduced here ⁵, has the same outline and the inscription *Terra de Corte Reall* on Newfoundland and Labrador and *Terra de Lavorador* on Greenland. Instead however of Greenland having its proper position north and south it is made to lie east and west with cape Farewell pointing towards America. The cause of this, which remained a puzzle to Mr. HARRISSE ⁶, is simply the variation of the compass in that region. At cape Farewell this variation is 52° W. while at lat. 66° on the west

1. An excellent reproduction of this map was published with Mr. HARRISSE's, *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau-Monde*, Paris, 1883. A good reproduction though on a smaller scale is given in his *Discovery of North America*, plate VI, pp. 78-79 and in his *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, planche III, p. 32.

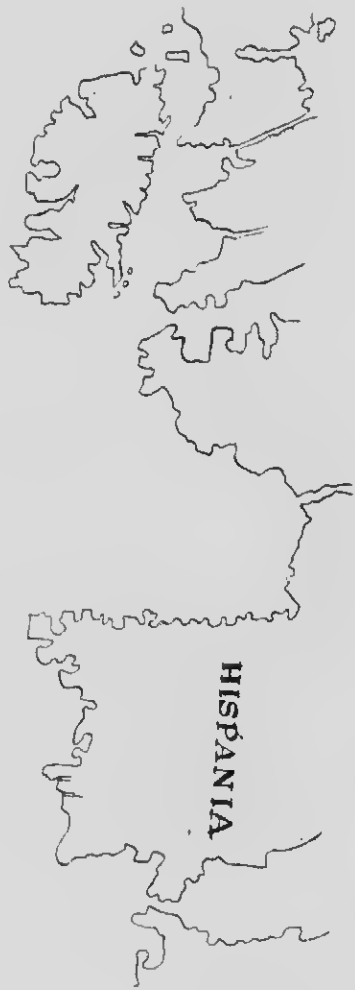
2. L. Gallois, *Le portulan de Nicolas de Canerio*, Lyon, 1890, as an *Extrait du « Bulletin de la Société de Géographie »*. It will also be found in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel VIII, N^o 1 and again in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes & de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique*, etc., carte N^o 3, Paris, 1893, in-fol.

3. *Vid.* map N^o II from F. Kunstmann, *Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas*, Blatt II, München, 1859, in-fol. It is also given in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel VIII, N^o 2.

4. Dr. E.-T. Hamy, *Notice sur une mappemonde portugaise anonyme de 1502*, Paris, 1887 as an *Extrait du « Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive »*, année 1886, N^o 4. It is also given in Marcel, *op. cit.*, N^o 11 and in Nordenskiöld's, *Periplus*, N^o XLV.

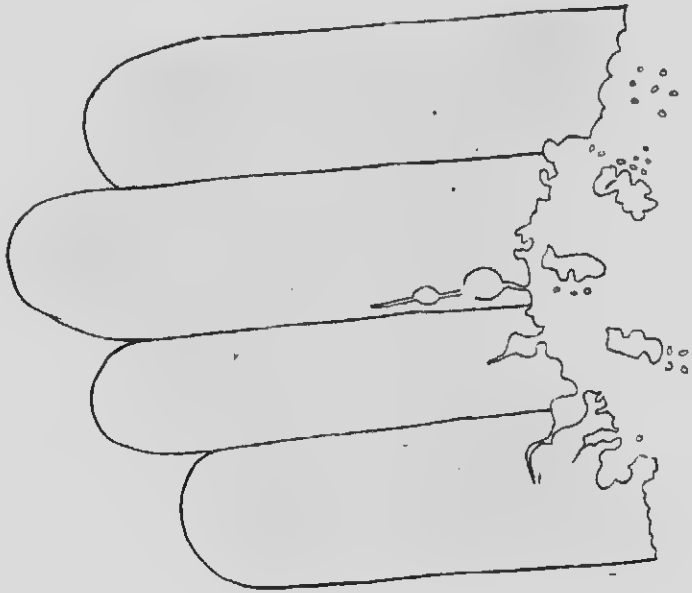
5. *Vid.* map N^o II.

6. HARRISSE, *Découverte*, etc., p. 197 : « Quant à savoir..... d'où..... est venue l'idée de modifier à ce point le caractère géographique du Groënland, on l'ignore. »



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de COSTE
SOUTH

TERRA



SOUTH



II. The Kunstmann No II. Map.





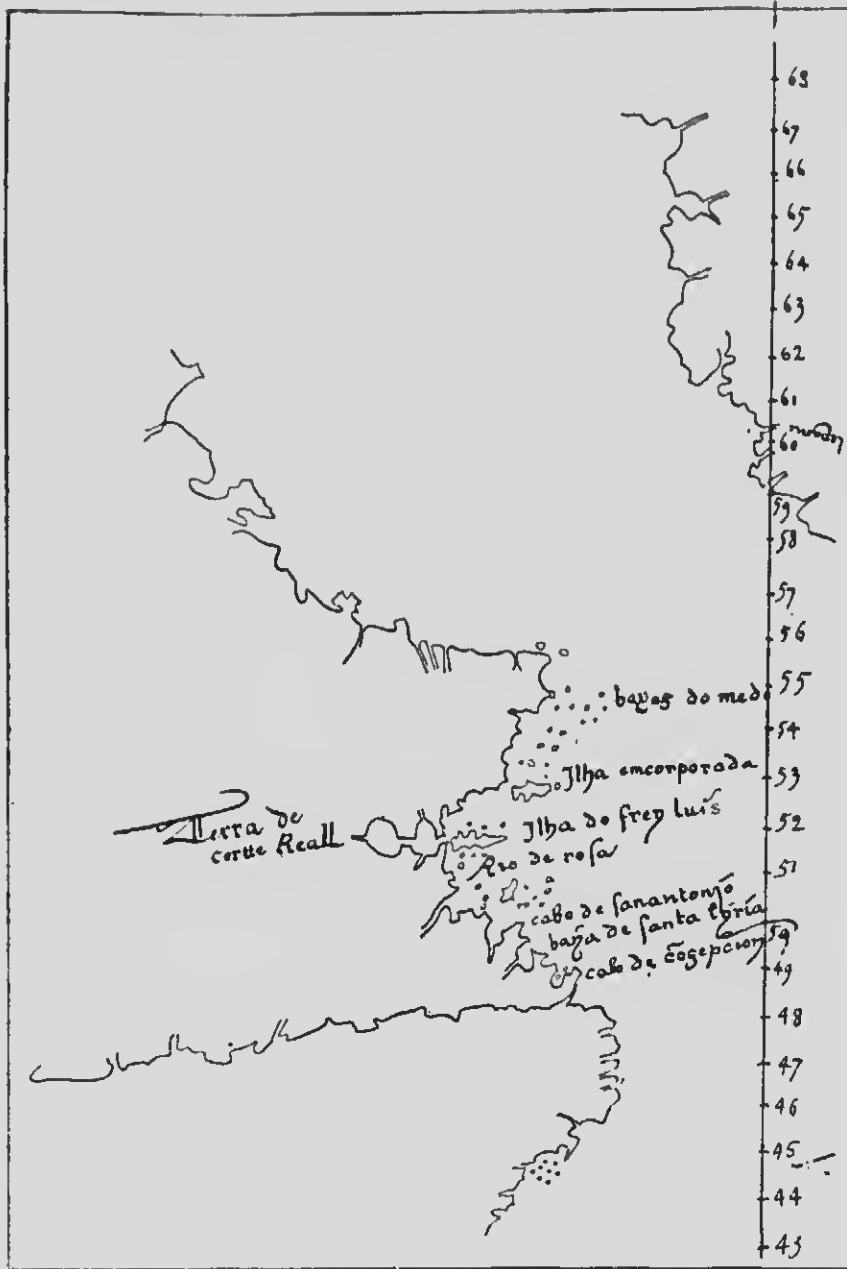
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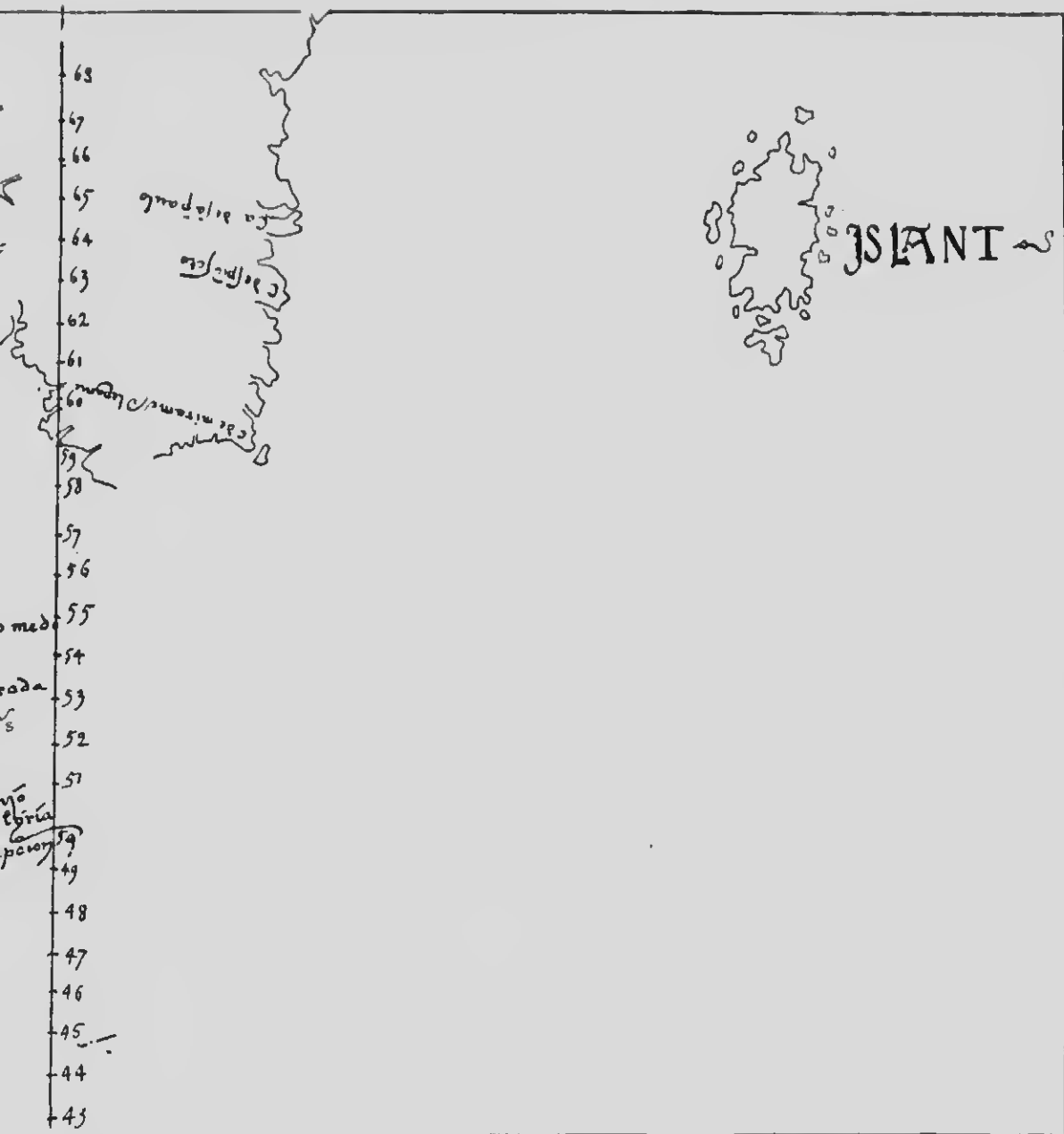
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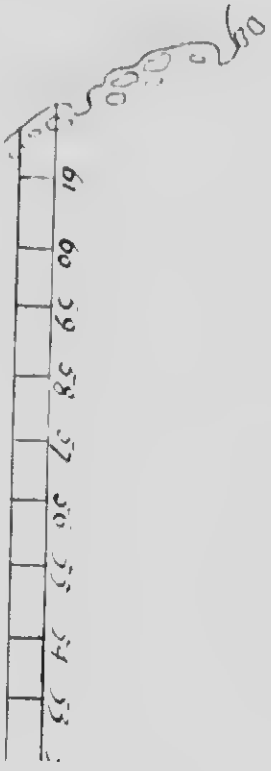
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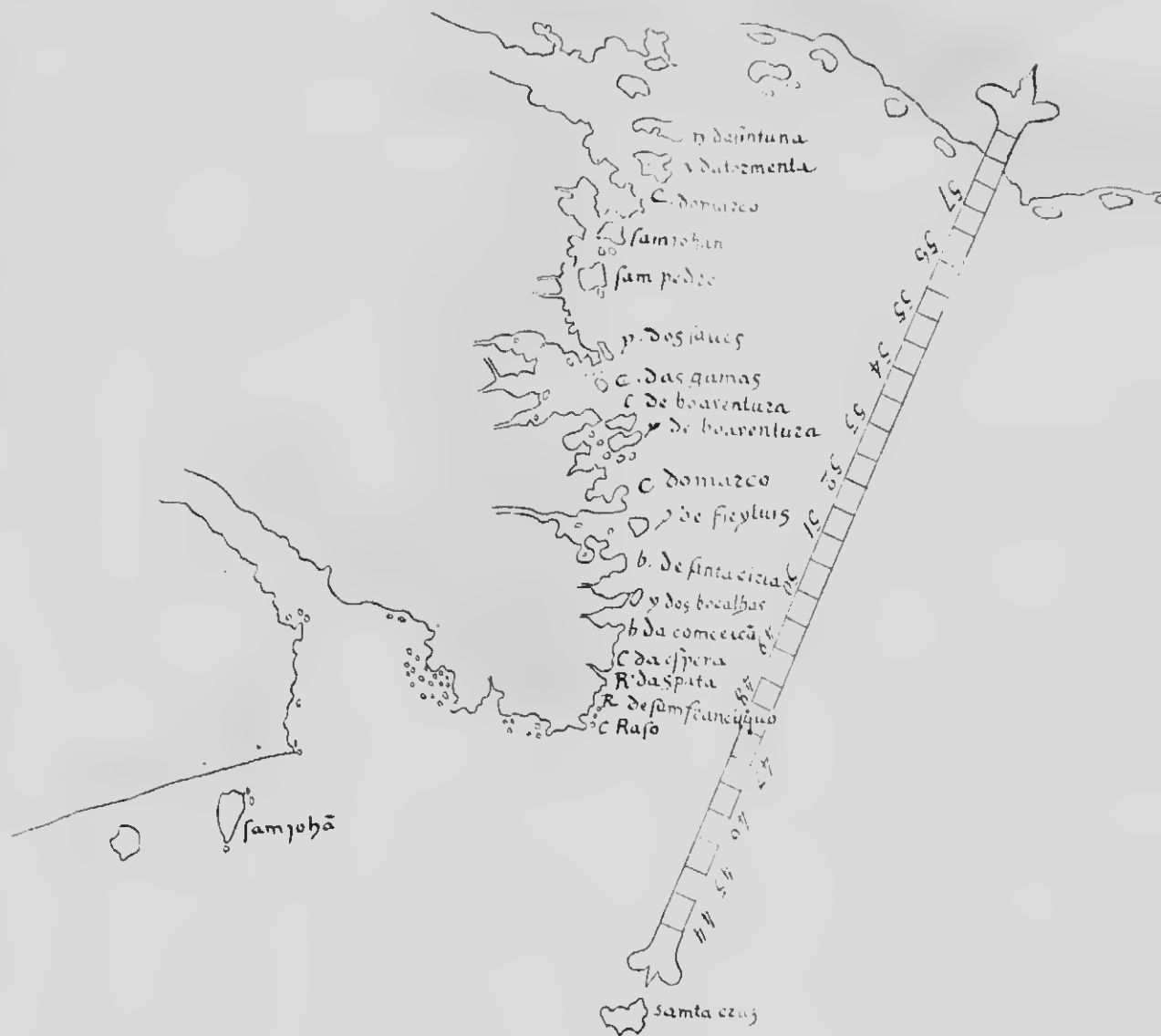


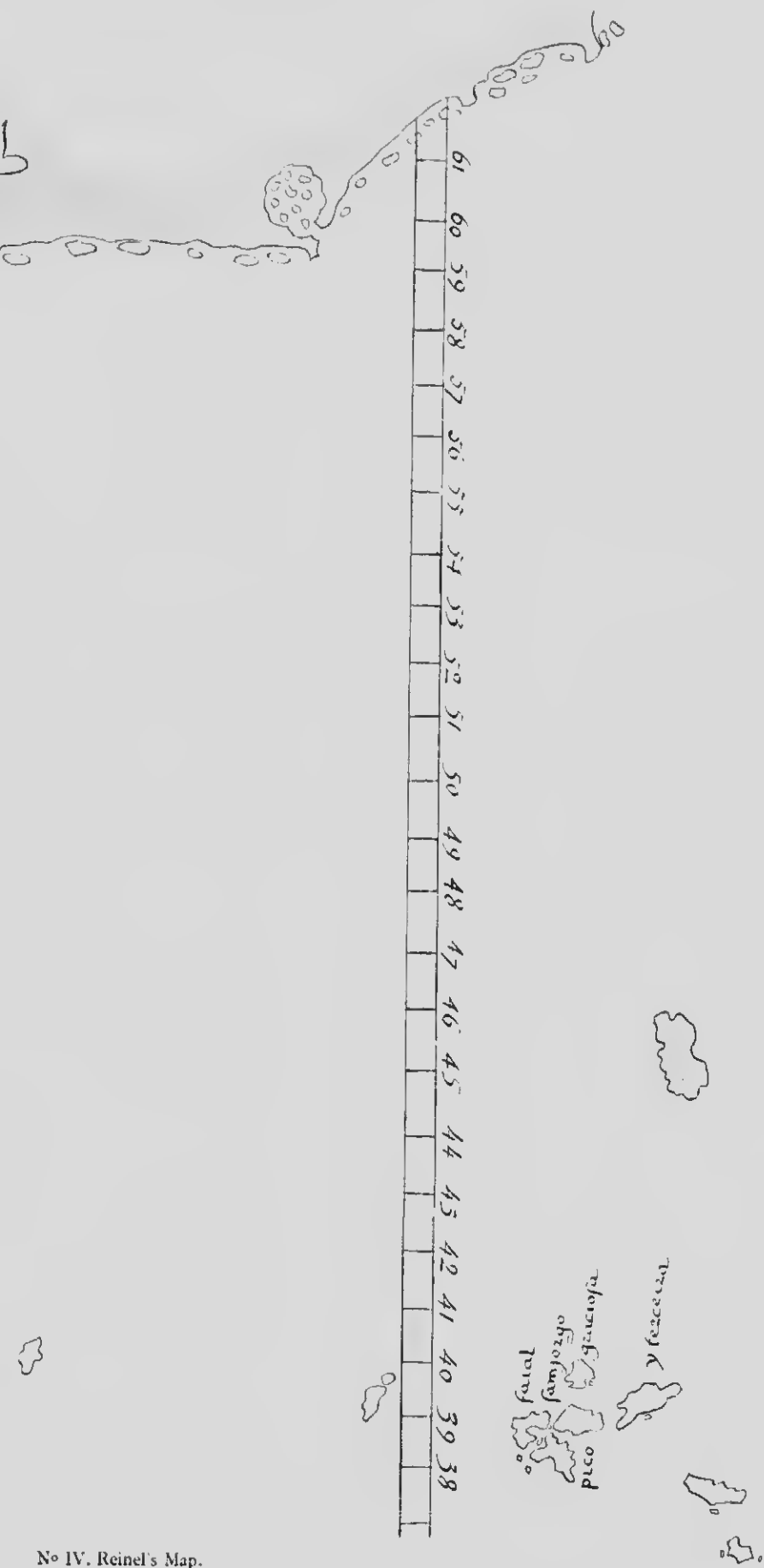
No III. The Salvat de Pilestrina Map.



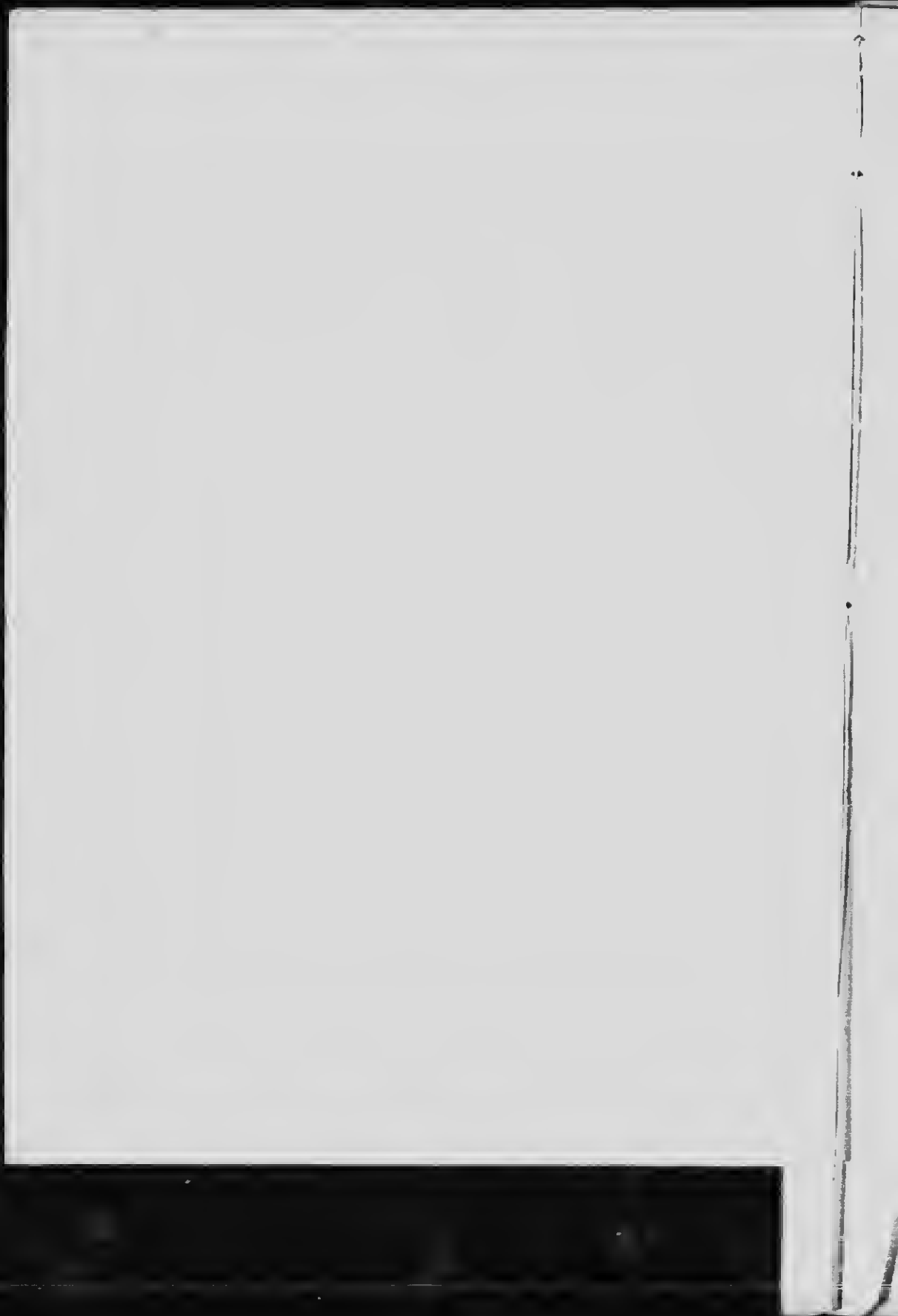


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No IV. Reinel's Map.



coast it increases to 65° W. Otherwise the outline of this region is that of our Greenland.

On the map of Salvat de Pilestrina of the year 1504¹ Greenland has once more received its proper angle as on the Cantino and Canerio maps, but it bears no name. Across Davis strait however we have an excellent reproduction of the coast of our Labrador and Newfoundland, from lat. 62° down to cape Race, with the familiar inscription *Terra de corte Reall* as on the Kunstmann N° II and King maps. On the Reinel map of 1505 Greenland and Labrador have been brought nearer to each other but the strait between them is still clearly indicated². Mr. HARRISSE himself recognised that the land on the north-east side of this strait was Greenland and even admitted that the strait « made one think of Davis strait³ ». It is curious he did not push this statement to its logical conclusion.

Ruysch's map, which was published in the Roman Ptolemy of 1508, is the first printed map that restores the name *Grœnland* to Cabot's *Labrador*⁴. Whether indeed Cabot knew it

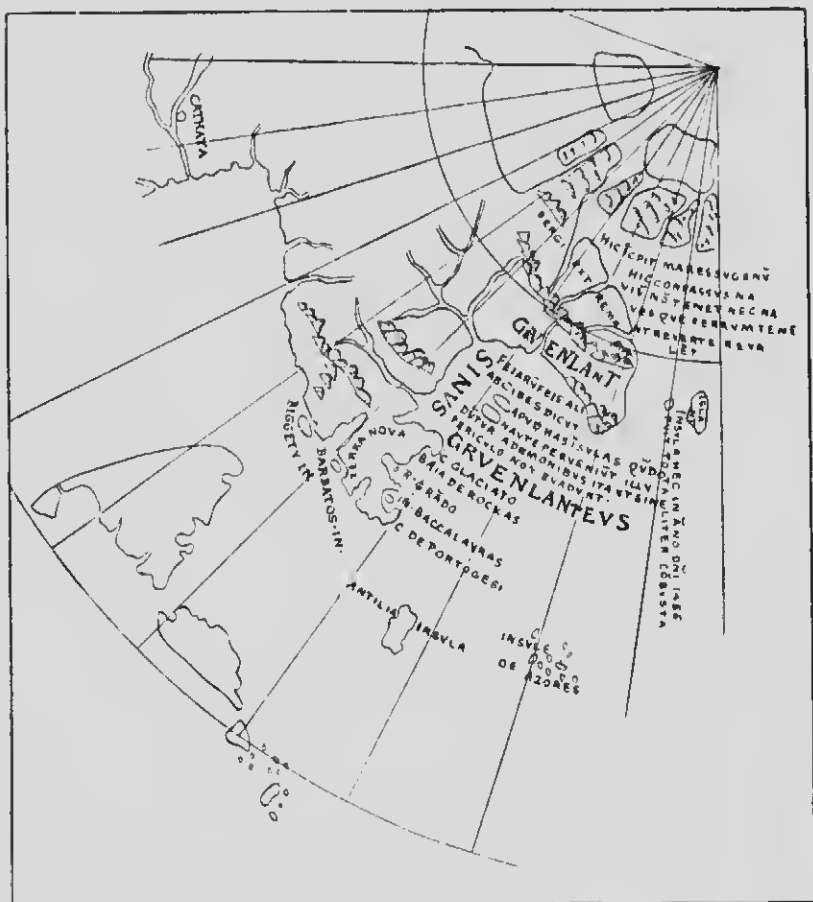
1. *Vid.* map N° III from Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, Blatt III. It is also given in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel IX, N° 1.

2. *Vid.* map N° IV from Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, Blatt I.

3. HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 197: « On note dans Reinel un second progrès (?) important. C'est le prolongement de la côte groënlandaise ou pseudo-labradorienne (*sic*) vers l'Ouest, sans la souder à Terre-Neuve et en traçant au Nord de cette île une large voie maritime. . . . qui fait penser à l'entrée du détroit de Davis ». What Mr. HARRISSE means is not quite clear. If the strait was in his opinion really Davis strait then to narrow it to such an extent was surely a progress in the wrong direction.

4. *In hoc opere hæc continentur . . . Nova & universalior Orbis cogniti tabula Jean. Ruysch Germano elaborata*, Rome, 1508 in-fol. *Vid.* map N° V, p. 226. This map has been well reproduced in Nordenskiöld's, *Facsimile-Atlas*, plate XXXII, and less well in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel IX, N° 3. For early MS. maps with the name Greenland, *Vid.* Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, plate XXX; *Idem*, *Bidrag till Nordens äldsta kartografi*, Nos I-III, Stockholm, 1892, in-fol; *Idem*, *Periplus*, Nos 34 and 35, pp. 85 *et seq.*; and finally Jos. Fischer S. J., *Die Entdeckungen der Normannen in Amerika*, Tafeln I-IV, Freiburg, 1902, or Mr. B. H. Soulsby's English translation, plates I-IV, London, 1903.

was Greenland he was exploring in 1498 it is difficult to say. Ruysch's map however is of great importance from the fact



No V. Ruysch's Map, 1508.

that, as will presently be shown, he probably formed one of Cabot's crew. We find an echo of their expedition in the

inscription high up on the east coast of Greenland to the effect that : « Here the ships' compass does not act ¹ ». Although Nordenskiöld remarked some years ago that this would « seem to indicate an actual experience regarding the uselessness of the compass in the vicinity of the magnetic pole ² », no explanation for this inscription has hitherto been forthcoming. We now see that it was the result of Cabot's voyage along that coast where the variation at the present day is 60° W.

Davis strait has again been given its proper width on this map and is called *Sinus Gruenlanticus*. According to Marco Benevento who has added a description of these new regions, this strait is 40 degrees of longitude in width at its mouth but only 24 at the top of it in 63° of latitude ³. On the western side of it are drawn our Labrador and Newfoundland, with the name which appears here on a map for the first time, of *Terra Nova* ⁴.

1. « Hic compassus navium non tenet », etc.

2. *Facsimile-Atlas*, p. 65.

3. *In hoc opere hanc continentur Nova orbis descriptio ac nova Oceani navigatio qua Lisbona ad Indicum pervenitur pelagus Marco Beneventano monacho celestino adita*, Rome, 1508, cap. vi : « Ab hoc autem subparallelo [60°] incipit nunti sensim nostre habitabili, longitudo usque ad subparallelum qui ferme distat a subequatore graduum 59 qui australiorem partem Gruenlantis terminat. ibique longitudo est subgraduum 330. hinc continens incipit sinum facere quem Gruenlanticum vocabimus : usque distantiam .290. subgraduum ab occasu : in latitudinem .63. subgraduum. constringitur autem usque subparallelum ad distantiam graduum .63. in longitudinem subgraduum .306. a priori parallelo pretenditur ad austrum quasi insensibiliter a dicto submeridiano in .290. subgraduum descripto variando & si qua sit differentia non est nisi ferme subgradus. pretenditur inquam ad austrum usque ad subparallelum cuius distantia est partium .55. a subequatore exclusive. ibi nostra longitudinem habet subgraduum .290. ferme ».
 " longitude is here reckoned round the world from the Canary islands which are roughly 15° west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. *Ibid.*, loc. cit. : « Hinc vero sensim incipit longitudo decrescere usque subparallelum in distantia .51. subgraduum descriptum ibique sinus quidam fit qui peninsulae Terra Nova vocate ad occasum adiacet ». The *sinus* here

The Ptolemy of 1511 is the first printed map on which Greenland is called Labrador, or more correctly *Terra Laboratorum*¹. Greenland has again the same outline as on the Kunstmann No II and King maps, and across Davis strait are our Labrador and Newfoundland under the name *Regalis domus* for Corte-Real.

On Waldseemüller's *Carta marina* of the year 1516, which has only recently been recovered, we have an extraordinarily good outline of Greenland with the important inscription *Terra Laboratoris*². Across Davis strait lie our Labrador and Newfoundland depicted as on the Cantino and Canerio maps and with the name *Terra Corerati*³. Greenland is called *Do Lavrador* on a Portuguese map of about the same date, while what is of more importance to us, Iceland is decorated with an English flag⁴. We have a better echo still of the Cabots' voyage on the Verrazano globe of 1529 where, above the inscription *Terra Laboratoris* on Greenland, we find the cross of St. George⁵. Another copy has

spoken of is our White and Notre-Dame bays at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Petit-Nord. *Vid.* map No XIII, p. 112.

1. *Clavlii Ptholemati Alexandrini liber geographia cum tabulis et universali figura*, etc. Venetiis, 1511, in-fol. The map has been reproduced in Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, No XXXIII, and in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel X, No 1.

2. Profs. Jos. Fischer and Fr. R. von Wieser, *The oldest Map with the Name America of the year 1507 and the Carta Marina of the year 1516* by M. Waldseemüller, plate No 16. Innsbruck, 1903, in-fol.

3. Cf. Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Blario general*, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. J 92, fol. 295: « se afirma de unos dos hermanos portugueses llamados Cortes rreales que fueron á ella con licencia del Rey de Portugal.... y de quien se dixo tambien la tierra de los Corte Reales ó Corteratos, corrubto el vocablo, » etc. Pietro Pasqualigo's letter of October 19th 1501 published in the *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati* of 1507 has also *Corterat*.

4. *Vid.* map No VI from Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, Blatt IV. It is also given in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel XII, No 2, and in Kollit, *History of the Discovery of Maine*, p. 179, No X.

5. Cf. the reproduction in J. C. Brevoort, *Verrazano the Navigator*, New York, 1874 and also in H. C. Murphy, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, New York, 1875.

• ISLANDA •



terram istam portugalen ses bident
clane. nom. intraberunt

DOLAVRBR

BACALMAO



maibus

ratu
gracofa
pascena
pascena
pascena
pascena
pascena
pascena
pascena

scruis

frut

No VI. The Kunstmann No IV Map.

the legend : « This land was discovered by the English ¹. » When we understand that in 1498 the Cabots explored Greenland, the origin of all these inscriptions is clear. Davis strait is given on all these maps as well as on the so-called Ferdinand Columbus map of 1527 ², and the Maggiolo map of the same date ³. On this latter it has its proper width between *Lavoradore* and *Corte Reale*.

Having sufficiently made clear that the strait or gulf to the left of Ribero's Labrador is our Davis strait, it is only necessary to add that according to Santa Cruz the man who first discovered it was John Cabot or as he calls him « Antonio Gaboto ». « The Corte-Reals affirmed, » says Santa Cruz, « that the great continent of the West Indies [North America] was separated from the island of Labrador [Greenland] by a very large wide ocean strait, of which the pilot Antonio Gaboto already mentioned had also knowledge ⁴ ».

Of the east coast of our Labrador, which forms the western side of Davis strait, we are given a fairly detailed account by Oviedo ⁵, but as he simply describes what he found on Ribero's map of 1529, it is unnecessary to repeat his description here. Of this coast from the strait of Belle Isle northward Jean Alfonse merely tells us that it runs north-west for a distance of 70 leagues « to the bounds of the Frozen Sea whence

1. HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 98: « Nomenclature de Verrazano : *Sur le Groënland* : 1. Terra laboratoris. Questa terra fu discoperta da Inghilesi. »

2. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-karten von Amerika*, etc.

3. HARRISSE, *Discovery of North America*, plate X, pp. 216-217.

4. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. J 92, fol. 295 : « Unos dos hermanos portugueses llamados Cortes rreales. . . . aseveraron partirse del gran continente de las Indias occidentales, cuyo extremo parte ellos tenian desta isla del Labrador por una canal muy ancha y grande de mar, de la qual el piloto Antonio Gaboto arriba dicho tambien tuvo notiçia ».

5. Oviedo, *op. cit.*, II, 149.

come the icebergs that reach Newfoundland¹ ». He adds that on account of its reefs the coast was considered dangerous.

Having now corrected, it is hoped satisfactorily, the two errors hitherto committed and shown that the islands seen on the first voyage were not necessarily to starboard but may also have been to port, and further that the old Labrador was our Greenland, which was the region Cabot first explored in 1498, it will be well to attempt to reconstruct in the light of these new data our accounts of the voyages of 1497 and 1498. Before describing the voyage of 1497 however, a word must be said on the subject of John Cabot's early life in Italy.

During the latter half of the Middle Ages the Italian republics were the recognised middlemen for the transport of the silks, spices and groceries of the East to the marts of Western Europe. In this traffic the rôle played by Venice was by no means a minor one. Indeed in the year 1317 that Republic established a regular service of galleys between the Adriatic and the Low Countries². « The track of the Flanders galleys, » says Mr. Rawdon Brown, « seems with little variation to have taken the following course. In the first place they made for Capo d'Istria, then passed on to Corfu, Otranto, Syracuse, Messina, Naples, Majorca, the principal ports of Spain and Morocco, and then Lisbon. On reaching our coasts they generally repaired to Camber before Rye, or the Downs, where they parted company ;

1. *La Cosmographie*, Musset's edition, p. 480 : « De Belle Isle... aux fernes de la mer glacée d'où sortent les glaces qui viennent à la Terre Neufve... y a de l'un à l'autre soixante et dix lieues, et la coste gist nordest et suronest, et est coste dangereuse de rochiers... Ceste mer glacée est donlee la pluspart ; et est entre ceste terre et la terre du Laboureur, et va jusques soubz le polle artique. » M. Musset gives *fernes* but a better reading of the MS. (Biblioth. Nat. Ms. fr. 676, fol. 177) is *fermes* for *fermes* in the sense of « limits » or « boundaries ».

2. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, vol. II, p. 720. Leipzig, 1886.

those destined for England proceeded to Sandwich, Southampton, St. Catherine's Point, or London, creating in our English marts as great a sensation as ever did the arrival of the Indian fleet at Calcutta ¹. » By means of these galleys the ginger of Malabar and the cloves of Ternate, the cinnamon of Ceylon and the nutmegs of Malacca, the camphor of Borneo and the aloes of Socotra, not to mention the china-ware from China, found their way into English homes ². « Even in the earliest days, » continues Mr. Brown, « the Flanders galleys did not exclusively engross the maritime trade with England. Vessels belonging to private Venetian merchants were occasionally to be seen at other ports, as for instance Boston, Sandwich and Margate, and a considerable number of Venetian merchants always resided in London ³ ».

Although at first one or two brawls took place ⁴, yet on the whole matters went smoothly, and in 1414 King Henry V. threatened with imprisonment anyone who did not pay his debts to the Venetians ⁵. In the *Libel of English Policy* of the year 1436 ⁶, one reads how

« The grete galees of Venes and Florence
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,
Alle spicerye and of grocers ware,

1. Rawdon Brown, *op. cit.*, p. LXIV.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. CXXXV-CXXXIX and Heyd, *op. cit.*, II, 563-711. Cf. also *Ibid.*, pp. 725 *et seq.*

3. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. LXXI.

4. *Ibid.*, Nos 18, 19 and 20; and Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. II, ps. II, pp. 68 and 93.

5. Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. IV, ps. II, pp. 92-93. Cf. also *Ibid.*, t. II, ps. II, 131, and ps. III, 40; t. III, ps. I, 9, 137, 169 and 179; ps. III, 23; and t. IV, ps. I, 157 and 179-180; ps. II, 3 and 165; and Brown, *op. cit.*, Nos 33, 39, 40, 96-98, 105, 106, 109, 111-114, 118-121, 123, 126, 130, 134, 138, etc., etc.

6. Thomas Wright, *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, etc., vol. II, p. 172, London, 1861. Cf. also p. 157, note 1.

Wyth swete wyne, alle manere of chaffare ¹
 Apes, and japes, and marmusettes layde ², »

In the summer of 1456 « by reason of the extraordinary insult perpetrated by the citizens of London » whose leaders seem to have been « certain artificers and shopkeepers, » the Italian merchants living in England met together and after consultation determined for their personal safety and the security of their property to leave London. They selected Winchester for their asylum and stipulated among themselves that no one should trade with London or even go there ³. They also insisted on having a judge appointed at Winchester to decide any litigation which might arise ⁴. Although we have no definite account of the cause of these troubles they seem to have been partly brought about by the debts which the London Factory had incurred. On the first of December 1457 the Venetian Senate decreed the payment of all arrears ⁵, whereupon matters seem soon to have resumed the normal tenour of their way.

Among the Italians interested in this Eastern trade was Giovanni Caboto who, though he had been born in Genoa ⁶, applied in the year 1461 for permission to settle in Venice that he might avail himself of the facilities for trade enjoyed throughout the Levant by citizens of that republic ⁷. Venice indeed at one

1. Wares.

2. Tailed monkeys.

3. Brown, *op. cit.*, Nos 331 and 339.

4. *Ibid.*, No 339, p. 85.

5. *Ibid.*, Nos 340, 341 and 343. By a decree of the same body dated September 23rd 1458 it was ordered that all English goods for Alexandria, Dantiscus, Negropont and the Levant generally should first be brought to Venice. This was done that transit duties might be collected on the same and the revenue thereby increased. Cf. *Ibid.*, No 348.

6. *Vid.* HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 13-33.

7. Though the letters of naturalization were accorded to Cabot on March 28th 1476 « per habitationem annorum XV, » it is possible he had come to

time or another had had factories in most of the principal cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Corfu, Athens, Crete, Cyprus, Tyr, Sidon, Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Constantinople, Trebizond, Alexandria and Cairo had seen Venetian warehouses set up in their midst, and even at that date Venice possessed important establishments at the two great *termini* of the routes from China and the East, at Alexandria and at La Tana.

La Tana, which was situated at the point where the river Don enters the sea of Azof, was in close communication via that river and the Volga with Astrakhan on the Caspian sea which was itself the terminus of the caravan route from China through Turkestan. By this route Venice received the glass and china-ware which came from those remote regions. Astrakhan also carried on a large trade with Persia, the silks of which country enjoyed an excellent reputation. Moreover the spices and precious stones of India were also brought to Astrakhan via the Persian Gulf¹. One can easily understand therefore that La Tana was an important centre of trade for Venice.

Venice earlier than 1461 but first made application in that year for naturalization. Cf. V. Bellemo in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. V, vol. II, Roma, 1894, in-fol., p. 163: « Nè la frase « per habitationem annorum XI »... di strettamente parlando, indubbia ragione a que' critici, che, prende sostengono essere egli venuto ad abitare in Venezia proprio. Può esserci venuto anche prima; e si deve intendere, che solo di tempo egli si sia presentato ai provveditori del comune a... intenzione di ottenere il privilegio della cittadinanza veneziana... » pp. 215, 216, appendice N° II and III. Cf. also HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, appendices I and II, pp. 309-312.

1. Cf. Prof. Guglielmo Heyd, *Le colonie commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente nel medio evo*, vol. II, Venezia, 1868, pp. 56-57: « La Tana era luogo favorevolmente situato qual punto di partenza. Approfittando di due fiumi navigabili, il Don ed il Volga, si poteva giungere in pochi giorni da questa città ad Astracàn, posta allo sbocco del Volga nel mar Caspio. Quest' ultima città era appunto per mezzo del mar Caspio in vivo commercio colla Persia: le sete di questo paese, di cui le migliori qualità si rinvenivano alla spiaggia meridionale del Caspio e tutti gli altri suoi prodotti, ma anche le merci dell' India che veni-

The Venetian colony at Alexandria, which was the other terminus of the Eastern trade, is mentioned as early as the ninth century¹. In the latter half of the fifteenth century Venice possessed two factories at Alexandria as well as a church and a public bath especially set aside for the exclusive use of Venetians². The goods handled here were the drugs and spices from the Molucca islands, and the precious stones and gems of India. These goods were brought in native boats to Calicut on the west coast of India whence they were transhipped into Moorish vessels and carried into the Red Sea. A caravan route led thence to the Nile down which they were transported in lighters to Alexandria³.

In the earliest period these spices and drugs were brought to

vano pel golfo persiano, e super l'Eufrate ed il Tigri potevano facilmente esser recate ad Astracan e di là alla Tana. Una via di carovane andava da Astracan lungo la spiaggia del Caspio che volge verso nordest per i territori dei fiumi Gilon, Osso ed Ili, od in altre parole per la Covaresmia, il Turchiestan e la Dsungaria in China »; and Col. Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 51, London, 1871.

1. Heyd, *op. cit.*, II, 168: « Negozianti veneziani furono quelli che nell'anno 827 o 828 portarono con sé da Alessandria le ossa di S. Marco »; and 171-172: « Il Continuatore di Guglielmo di Tiro parla di trentotto bastimenti veneziani, pisani e genovesi che nell'inverno dell'anno 1187 erano ancorati nel porto di Alessandria. »

2. *Ibid.*, 184: « Il possesso dei Veneziani in Alessandria consisteva nei due fondachi...; in una chiesa, dedicata a S. Michele, ed in un bagno per loro esclusivo uso. In forno loro proprio cuocevano il pane », etc.

3. *Ibid.*, 226-227: « Negozianti musulmani comperavano già nell'India le droghe e spedivano navi cariche di esse ai porti dell'Arabia e dell'Egitto. In essi passavano di nuovo nelle mani di altri mercanti musulmani... Finalmente le comperavano gli Europei... non prima che pel Nilo fossero giunte fino ad Alessandria. » Cf. also Belleimo, *op. cit.*, 162: « In fatto noi sappiamo che dalle isole Molucche e della Sonda, come da quella di Cipango e dall'interno di Cataio e di Macin, le spezierie, l'oro... le altre merci preziose erano imbarcate per Zaiton, emporio generale cinese. Di qua partivano annualmente delle carovane di navi cinesi per le scale e gli empori del Malabar, dove i Mori ne caricavano le loro navi per Gidda e per le altre stazioni del mar Rosso. »

Aidab ¹; but in the thirteenth century a change was made, probably on account of the dangerous nature of the navigation of the Red Sea. The goods were henceforth unloaded at Aden. Marco Polo tells us that « this Aden is the port to which many of the ships of India come with their cargoes; and from this haven the merchants carry the goods a distance of seven days further in small vessels. At the end of those seven days they land the goods and load them on camels, and so carry them a land journey of 30 days. This brings them to the river of Alexandria [the Nile], and by it they descend to the latter city. It is by this way through Aden that the Saracens of Alexandria receive all their stores of pepper and other spicery; and there is no other route equally good and convenient ². »

About the year 1421 however on account of the annoyances and impositions to which they were subjected by the Sheik of Aden, the Moors engaged in the Indian trade looked about for a fresh port. After several trials they selected Jiddah, the port of Mecca on the Red Sea, which thenceforward took the place of Aden ³. This step greatly increased the commercial importance

1. Heyd, *op. cit.*, II, 229 *et seq.* This author says Aden was only used from 1359 onward but Marco Polo's account was drawn up before the close of the thirteenth century, the French version being written in 1298.

2. Yule's edition, II, 373-374.

3. Cf. Heyd, *op. cit.*, II, 231-232: « Un ulteriore cambiamento nella via commerciale... fu prodotto da ciò che i capitani delle navi provenienti dall'India, stanchi delle angarie a cui erano esposti in Aden da parte del principe dell' Yemen si cercarono altri porti nel mar Rosso istesso: il che avvenne dal 1421 in avanti. Dopo varie prove fatte si decisero per Gidda, il porto di Mecca. Da un emiro del soldano egiziano Almalich Al-Asceraf Bursbai, che intorno a quel tempo (1424) s'era impadronito di Mecca e Gidda, furono invitati a scegliere quest' ultimo porto, e tanto velocemente si sparse la fama della buona accoglienza a loro fatta da questo signore, che già nel 1426 più di quaranta bastimenti indici e persiani entrarono in questo porto arabo... Aden... perdette quindi gran parte del suo antico commercio ed il principale luogo per lo scambio dei prodotti dell' India e quelli dell' occidente divenne la Mecca od il suo porto Gidda. »

of Mecca so that in addition to being a great shrine for pilgrims, it now became also one of the most important commercial centres of Asia. Caravans made their way thither direct from Cairo and from Damascus and since others came from Persia and Astrakhan as well as from the Persian Gulf, Mecca soon became the great transfer mart for eastern and western goods¹.

As soon as Giovanni Caboto had put down his name as an aspirant to Venetian citizenship he seems to have made use of the right which this enrolment gave him to visit the chief centres of Venetian trade in the Levant². Among these was La Tana. Although he probably visited the Venetian Factory there, he does not seem to have pushed on any further in that direction³. It was otherwise however when on a visit to Alexandria.

1. Cf. J. W. Jones and G. P. Badger, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, London (Hakluyt Society), 1863, p. 36: « At the foot of the said mountain there are two very beautiful reservoirs of water. One is for the caravan from Cairo, and the other for the Caravan from Damascus »; and again, p. 37: « When we entered into the said city we found the caravan from Cairo, which had arrived eight days before us, because they had not travelled by the same route as ourselves ». Varthema was at Mecca in 1503. Cf. also Heyd, *op. cit.*, II, 250: « Damasco si provvedeva per doppia via delle droghe dell' India, al pari di Alessandria e del Cairo. La grande carovana della Mecca, che si raccoglieva in ogni tempo a Damasco riportava da questo mercato importantissimo innumerevoli carichi sopra i camelli. Un' altra parte dei prodotti dell' India veniva ancor sempre per l'antica via, dal golfo persiano per la Mesopotamia, » etc.

2. Cf. Bellemo, *op. cit.*, 163-164: « Il Caboto quindi venne ad abitare in Venezia in un periodo di tempo, in cui era strettamente osservata la modificazione del 1382, se ottenne dopo una dimora di soli quindici anni la cittadinanza *de intus et de extra* nel 1476... E per ottenerlo... il noviziato non importava la personale continua permanenza nel dogado degli aspiranti. Con esso venivano accordati i privilegi e diritti di poter navigare e negoziare come Veneziani originari nelle scale del veneto commercio. »

3. Signor Bellemo would have us believe he did. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 164: « O vogliasse nel corso del periodo di prova, o appena ottenuto nel marzo 1476 il privilegio della cittadinanza... il Caboto ha mandato in esecuzione il suo dis-

Intercourse with Jiddah and Mecca had then become so easy that Cabot soon made up his mind to make the journey to the latter city. In what year this was done we do not know.

Mecca at that time as we have seen was one of the most extensive marts in the East¹. Cabot may have made his way thither in the caravan direct from Cairo or have gone via the Nile, the Red Sea and Jiddah². Varthema who visited Mecca in 1503 tells us that it was « most beautiful and very well inhabited » and contained then about 6,000 families. « The houses are extremely good like our own, and there are houses worth three or four thousand ducats each³ ». He found there in May 1503 « a marveylous number of straungers and peregrynes, or Pylgryms : of the whiche, some came from Syria, some from Persia, and other from both the East Indiaes (that is to say) both India within the ryver of Ganges, and also the other India without the same ryver », by which he means

gno di tentare la via verso l'estremo Oriente, facendo scala alla Tana. » One is scarcely justified however in drawing such a conclusion from the following phrase in Soncino's despatch of December 18th 1497 : « et andando verso el levante ha passato asai el paese del Tanaïs », which seems merely to refer to the region reached by Cabot on his first voyage to the New World. *Vid. Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. I, p. 197. La Tana fell into the hands of the Turks soon after 1475 the year in which they took Caffa.

1. Jones and Badger, *op. cit.*, p. 50 : « I began to say to him, if this was the city of Mecca which was so renowned through all the world, where were the jewels and spices, and where were all the various kinds of merchandize which it was reported were brought there. And when he told me that the king of Portugal was the cause, I pretended to be much grieved », etc.

2. Signor Bellemo would have Cabot only go to Jiddah. Cf. *op. cit.*, 162 : « Non devesi prendere alla lettera l'affermazione di Raimondo Soncino, che il nostro viaggiatore sia stato proprio a Mecca... E si deve intendere, ch' egli sia stato fino a Gidda » Raimondo's despatch however says Mecca. Cf. *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. I, p. 198 : « et dice che altre volte esso è stato a la Meccha », etc.

3. Jones and Badger, *op. cit.*, 35.

our Siam and China. « I never sawe in anye place », he continues, « greater abundaunce and frequentation of people ¹ ». With regard to trade : « From India the greater, which is both within and without the ryver of Ganges, they have pearles, precious stones, and plentie of spyces; and especially from that citie of the greater India which is named Bangella ², they have much gossampyne cloth and silke ³,.... and therefore we must needs confesse that this citie is a famous mart of many ryche thynges, whereof there is great plentie ⁴. » In the lower part of the Temple were to be seen « a marveyulous multitude of men; for there are fyve or sixe thousande men that sell none other thyng then sweete oyntmentes and especially a certayne odoriferous and most sweete powder, wherewith dead bodyes are embalmed. And from hence, all maner of sweete savours are carried in maner into the countreys of all the Mahumetans. It passeth all beleefe to thynke of the exceedyng sweetnesse of these savours, farre surmounting the shoppes of the Apothecaries ⁵ ».

Cabot's experience must have been very similar. What interested him especially however was the region where the spices grew. He had « studied the sphere » as the saying went ⁶,

1. Richard Eden's translation of Varthema published in 1576 and reprinted in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. IV, p. 560, London, 1811, in-10.

2. Bengal.

3. Jones and Badger's edition has (p. 38) : « a very large quantity of stuffs of cotton and of silk. »

4. Eden's translation, *op. cit.*, pp. 560-561.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 561. Cf. also, p. 563 : « and requyred me earnestly to obtayne leave of our Captayne, that under his name he myght leade from Mecha fiftiene Camelles laden with spices, without paying any custome. »

6. Cf. Raimondo de Soncino's despatch in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. III, vol. I, p. 197 : « Zouane Caboto de genile ingenio, peritissimo de la navigazione »; Fabyan's *Chronicle* in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, London, 1850, p. 23 : « a Venetian, whiche made himselfe very expert and cunning in knoweledge of the circuite of the worlde and Ilandes of the same as by a Carde and other demonstrations reasonable hee shewed »; and finally the anonymous Cotto-

and was anxious to locate thereon the country whence these precious articles were brought. He proceeded to question on this point those who were in charge of the spice caravans from the East. They told him that personally they did not know where the spices grew. They themselves were in the habit of receiving them from other caravans that in turn had brought them from a very long distance. These latter had received them again from others coming from still more remote regions¹. This account which to our modern eyes describes the long caravan route from China to Mecca via Turkestan, Astrakhan and Damascus, seems to have set Cabot thinking. It appeared to him clear that since the men in the East affirmed to the men who came to Mecca that the goods were brought to them from still further eastward, the spices must grow on the very north-eastern confines of Asia². Would it not be possible then instead of conveying them thus by land across almost three-quarters of the earth's surface, to bring them direct by sailing-ship from the extreme eastern coast of Asia to the western countries of Europe? The idea at any rate seemed a sound one and of sufficient importance to receive further investigation and reflection.

On his return to Venice and for some years afterwards Cabot seems to have pondered carefully over this matter. Gradually in

nian Chronicle in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series, vol. I, Worcester, 1882, p. 440 : « a stranger venisian, which by a cart made hym self expert in knowyng of the world », etc.

1. Soncino's despatch in the *Raccolta*, pte. III, vol. I, p. 198 : « et dice che altre volte esso è stato a la Meccha, dove per caravane de luntani paesi sono portate le speciarie et domandati quelli chi le portano, dove nascono ditte speciarie, respondeno che non sanno, ma che venghono cum questa mercantia da luntani paesi ad casa sua altre caravane, le quale ancora dicono che ad loro sono portate da altre remote regioni. »

2. *Ibid.*, loc. cit. : « et fa questo argomento, che si li orientali affermano a li Meridionali che queste cose venghono lontano da loro, et così de mano in mano, presupposta la rotundità de la terra, è necessario che li ultimi le tolliano al septentrione verso l'occidente. »

the course of his numerous voyages from Venice to Alexandria and in other parts of the Mediterranean he had acquired considerable skill as a navigator. Would it not be possible then to offer his services at some western port of Europe and find merchants willing to entrust him with a vessel in which to attempt to reach Asia?

How many years Cabot debated these questions we do not know. All that the documents tell us is that on the 28th of March 1476 he was fully naturalized a Venetian citizen¹. Since the Flanders galleys still continued to make their almost yearly voyage to England and as that country lay in the same latitude as the north-eastern corner of Asia, the idea seems to have suggested itself of making his way to England. The facilities were indeed so great that Cabot at length decided to transport himself and his family to London. Once in England he would try and secure a vessel in which to sail to Asia and thereby open a new and more direct route for the introduction of the spices into Europe².

In England or rather in London where John Cabot first took up his residence with his wife and his sons Lewis, Sebas-

1. *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. V, vol. II, pp. 213-216, Nos II and III.

2. Marcantonio Contarini's, *Relazione* in *Ibid.*, pte. III, vol. I, p. 137: « Sebastiano Caboto, figlio di un Veneziano, qual andette in Inghilterra suso le galie venete cum phantasia di cercar paesi, » etc.; and Sebastian Cabot himself in Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. I, Venetia 1550, fol. 302^v: « & mi disse che sendosi partito suo padre da Venetia già molti anni, & andato à stare in Inghilterra à far mercantie lo menò seco nella città di Londra, che egli era assai giovane », etc. One wonders after this how there can ever have been any question about Sebastian's birthplace. Peter Martyr, his own countryman, twice calls him an Italian. Cf. *De orbe novo*, Compluti, 1530, fol. XLVI: « Sebastianus quidan Cabotus genere Venetus, sed a parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus. . . . transportatus pene infans »; and also at fol. CXIII^v: « duce Sebastiano Caboto viro Italo ». *Vid.* also the despatch of the Council of Ten o September 27th 1522 in HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 343: « Sebastian Cabotto, che dice esser di questa città nostra », etc.

tian and Sancio, he found himself by no means among strangers. The Italian colony in England at that time was in fact a considerable one. We have already seen that it was not small in 1456 when the Italians in London removed for a time to Winchester and asked for a judge of their own. Towards the close of the century there had been a fresh influx of Italians. An act passed in the summer of 1484 « touchinge the Merchauntes of Italy » throws so much light on this subject that the preamble is worth quoting here in its entirety :

« To the King oure Sovereaigne Lorde. Praien youre Highnesse your true subgiettes and liege people of youre Realme of Englonde, that where Merchauntes Straungiers of the Nacion of Italie, as Venicians, Janueys ¹, Florentynes, Apuleyns, Cicilians, Lucaners, Cateloyns and other of the same Nacion, in greate Noubre been enhabited and kepe householdes, aswell within your Citee of London as in other Citees and Burghes wt in this youre Realme, and take Warehouses and Cellers, and therin put their Wares and Merchaundises, the whiche they bryng into this youre said Roialme, and theym in their said Warehouses and Cellars deceyvably pak ², medle ³, and kepe unto the tyme the prices therof been greatly enhaunced for their most lucre, and the same Wares and Merchaundises than selle to all maner people aswell within the portes wherunto they bryng their said Wares and Merchaundise, as in other dyvers and many places generali withyn youre said Realme as well by Retaille as otherwise; And also bye in the said portes and other places at their liberte the commoditees of this youre said Realme and sell theym agayne at their pleasure within the same Realme, as generally and frely as any of your said Subgiettes doth, and a greate parte of the money comyng therof employ, not uppon the Commoditees of this your said Realme, but make it over the See by eschynge unto divers other Contreis, to the greate hurt of youre said Highnes in lesyng of your Custume and to the greate empoveryssyng of yor seid Subgiettes of whome they shuld bye the Commoditees of youre said Realme; And the same Merchauntes of Italie and other Merchaunts Straungiers be Ostes and take unto theym people of

1. *The Statutes of the Realm*, vol. II, pp. 489-490, London, 1816, in-fol.

2. Genoese.

3. Arrange fraudulently.

4. Adulterate.

other nacions to sojorne with theym, and dailly bye and sell and make many pryvy and secrete Contractes and Bargaynes with the same people, to their greate encrease and availe¹, and to the Importable hurt of youre said Subgiettes and also contrary to divers statutes in that case provided and ordeigned. Also the said Merchauntes of Italie bye in diverse places within this youre said Realme greate quantities of Woll, wollen Cloth and other merchandises of your subgiettes and part of theym they selle agayne unto your saide Subgiettes and other within youre said Realme to their most advantage, and moche of the saide Wolles they dellyver unto Clothiers therof to make Clothe after their pleasures; Moreover, most drad Sovereigne Lorde, Artifycers and other Straungiers not born under youre obeysaunce dailly resorte and repaire unto youre said Citee of London and other Citees, Burghes and Townes of your said Realme in greate nonmbre, and more than they have used to doo in daies passed, and inhabite theym self within youre said Realme with their Wyfes, Children and Household, and wilnot take upon theym any laborious occupation as Cartying and Plowyng and other like besynes, but use makying of Clothe and other handcraftis and easy occupacions and bryng and convey from the parties of beyonde the See greate substance of Wares and Merchandises unto faires and merkettis and all other places of youre Realme at their pleasure, and there they selle aswell by retaille as otherwise as frely as any of youre said Subgiettes useth for to do, to the greate hurte and empoverysing of youre said subgiettes and in no wise woll suffre nor take any of youre subgiettes to werk with theym, but they onely take in to their service people born in their owne Countreis, wherby your said subgiettes for lacke of Occupation fall to Idelnesse and been Theves, Beggers, Vagabundes and people of vicious lyyng, to the greate trouble of your said Highnesse and of all youre said Realme. »

For these and other reasons it was decreed that each unnaturalized Italian merchant must sell his entire stock of goods by wholesale before the first of May 1485. This law was again repealed however by Henry VII. on his accession in that year². Not content with this, by an act of February 10th 1486, he took the merchants of Venice under his special protection for a pe-

1. Profit.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 507-508.

riod of ten years¹; and two years later certain pondage duties were remitted in their favour².

Cabot thus found in England a state of affairs by no means unfavourable to Venetians. In the matter of a route to Asia by the west he must soon have learned that matters were further advanced than he could have supposed. Attempts had in fact begun to be made to discover the islands which were thought to lie between Ireland and the eastern coast of Asia. Among the principal of these was the island of Brazil which had been placed on medieval maps to the west of Ireland as early as the year 1339³. To find this island two ships, one being of eighty tons' burden, had set sail from Bristol in the middle of July 1480, but after beating about the Atlantic for several months they had been forced to return without having sighted land of any sort⁴.

1. Rev. W. Campbell, *Memorials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII.*, vol. I, p. 287, London, 1873. Cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 221.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 245-247.

3. The origin of the name is uncertain. It may be from the Gaelic *breas* large and *i* an island or be merely another form of the East Indian *verzin* (*Phytolacca Scosandra*) which was imported into Europe in large quantities during the Middle Ages on account of its purple dye. *Vid.* R. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. CXXXVI, and Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, II, p. 587. The name appears on the Dulcert portulan of 1339 as *Insula de Brazil*. The Pizigani map of 1367 has *Braçir* and gives two other islands of the same name further south. The Catalan atlas of 1375 has *Insula de Brazil* while the Soleri map of 1385 gives again *Braçir*. The Meica de Viladestes map of 1413 has *Insola de Brazil* and also gives two of them. Andrea Bianco's map of 1436 and the Fra Mauro map have *Berzil*. *Insulla de Brazil* is the inscription on the Pareto map of 1455. *Vid.* G. Marcel, *Choix de cartes et de mappemondes des XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Paris, 1896; Jomard's *Atlas*, plate X, No 1; and Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel IV, Nos 1, 2, 5, 7 and 8 and Tafel V. Cf. also Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, pp. 215-221, and P. Gaffarel, *Histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, t. I, pp. 224 *et seq.* Paris, 1892. Mr. Miller Christy announced a year or so ago that he had in preparation a treatise on the island of Brazil.

4. Willelmi de Worcester, *Itinerarium*, edited by Jacob Nasmith, Cantab. 1778, pp. 267-268: « 1480 die 15 julii, navis... et ...Jay junioris ponderis 80

Cabot seems to have soon heard of this attempt and to have heartily encouraged fresh ones. Under his direction renewed efforts were made to find not only this island of Brazil but also that of the Seven Cities where according to tradition an archbishop and six bishops had fled for refuge with their flocks at the time of the Arab invasion of Spain¹. Sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes even four vessels were now sent out year after year from Bristol under Cabot's direction to find these islands of Brazil and the Seven Cities which should but form the first stopping-places on the new route to the coast of Asia where grew the spices Cabot had seen at Mecca². Each autumn however the vessels returned with the same tale: no land of any sort had been sighted.

dolorum inceperunt viagium apud portum Bristollie de Kynrode usque ad insulam de Brasyllie in occidentali parte Hibernie... et novae venerunt Bristollie die lune 18 die septembris, quod dictae naves velaverunt maria per circa 9 menses, nec invenerunt insulam ». In HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note 3, only one ship is mentioned. Cf. also his *Discovery of North America*, p. 659 No XIII.

1. Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie*, etc. Venetia, 1571, fol. 21 v^o: « l'Isola delle Sette città, popolata da Portoghesi nel tempo, che al Re Don Roderico la Spagna fu tolta da' Mori, cioè l'anno 714... Nel qual tempo dicono che s'imbarcarono sette Vescovi, & con la lor gente, & navigli andarono a questa Isola, dove ciascun di loro fabricò una città; & accioche i suoi non pensassero più al ritorno di Spagna, abbruciarono i navigli, & tutte le sarte, & le altre cose, al navigar necessarie », etc. Cf. also the Letters patent issued by King João II of Portugal on the 3rd of March and 24th of July 1486 appointing Fernão Dulmo and João Affonso do Estreito governors of this island « das Sete Cidades », in *Alguns Documentos do Archivo nacional da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 58-63, Lisboa, 1892. The island is given on Behaim's globe in Dr. F. W. Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*, Nürnberg, 1853. *Vid.* also P. Gaffarel, *L'île des Sept-Cités* in the *Congreso internacional de Americanistas*, t. I, pp. 198 et seq. Madrid, 1882; and Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.

2. Despatch of Pedro de Ayala of July 25th 1498, in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. V, vol. II, p. 218, No VIII: « los de Bristol, ha siete años que cada año, an armado dos, tres, quatro caravelas para ir á buscar la isla del Brasil y las Siete ciudades con la fantasia deste Ginovés. » Cf. also p. 43, note 1.

Suddenly in the summer of 1493 news was brought to England that another son of Genoa, Christopher Columbus, had made his way in the same direction with three Spanish ships and had finally discovered the islands and mainland of Asia¹. The excitement everywhere was intense. At the English Court the discovery of this new route to the spice-land by the west was declared to be a thing more divine than human². Cabot and his English merchant friends at Bristol were also greatly impressed. They had now tangible proof that their own efforts had at any rate been in the right direction. Although they had already spent considerable sums of money to no purpose, it is possible that on receipt of this news a fresh expedition was sent out in the summer of 1494 or 1495. This met however with no better success than the previous ones³. The ardour of the merchants now began to flag. Though Columbus had found land in the region of the equator there seemed no reason to think it necessarily extended northward.

Cabot himself on the contrary seems never to have lost courage, and since local aid could no longer be counted upon, he turned to the king. It happened that in the winter of 1495 and 1496 King Henry VII. paid a visit to Bristol with his court⁴. Cabot doubtless

1. Columbus reached Lisbon on the 4th of March 1493 and leaving again on the 13th arrived at Palos at noon on the 15th.

2. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, fol. 402 v^o : « In quel tempo ... venne nova che'l signor don Christophoro Colombo Genovese havea scoperta la costa dell'Indie, & se ne parlava grandemente per tutta la corte del Re Henrico VII, che allhora regnava, dicendosi che era stata cosa piu tosto divina che humana l'haver trovata quella via mai piu saputa, d'andare in Oriente, dove nascono la spetic. »

3. *Ibid.*, p. 41, note 2, *supra*.

4. Robert Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, edit. by L. T. Smith for the Camden Society, 1872, p. 48 : « This yere [Sept. 15th 1495 to Sept. 14th 1496] the King and Qwene came to Bristowe with dyvers lordes spiritual and temporall. »

seized this occasion to set forth his plans to that monarch in some detail¹. The result was that on the fifth of March 1496 Letters patent were issued whereby King Henry VII. granted to his « welbeloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian and Santius, sonnes of the said John.... full and free authority, leave and power to saile to all parts, countries and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensignes, with five ships of what burthen... soever they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the sayd ships, upon theyr owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discover, and finde whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels... in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have beene unknowen to all Christians ». They were to set up the king's « banners and ensignes in every village, towne, castle, isle or maine land of them newly found ». « Of all the fruits, profits, gaines and commodities growing of such navigati^on », they were bound « as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristoll, at the which port they shall be... holden only to arrive », the necessary expenses first deducted, « to pay unto us in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten ». All the goods thus brought were to be allowed to pass the customs at Bristol free of duty; and no one might visit the regions newly discovered, « without the licence of the foresayd John and his sonnes² ». Although the king had given no direct pecuniary aid he had invested Cabot with the absolute monopoly of trade to the new regions and since the latter were supposed to be the home of the

1. Gomara, *op. cit.*, fol. XX v : « Enrique setimo ...desseava contratar en la especieria, como hazia el rey de Portugal... Y que [Seb. Cabot] prometio al rey Enrique de yr por el norte al Catayo, y traer de alla especias en menos tiempo, que portogueses por el sur, » etc.

2. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, pp. 509-511, London, 1589. The Latin text will also be found in Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. V, ps. IV, p. 89.

spices, the profits that would be reaped therefrom would be immense. Had not Columbus indeed already returned to Spain a second time with gold and tropical merchandise ¹?

Cabot at once set to work to prepare for a fresh expedition under his new powers. Whether however it was the protest of the Spanish ambassador ², or the war with Scotland ³ that delayed him we do not know, but in any case he was not able to set sail until the spring of 1497. On Tuesday the second day of May of that year John Cabot finally left Bristol on board a vessel called the *Mathew* with a crew of only eighteen men among whom were probably included one or two of his sons ⁴.

1. Columbus reached Cadiz on the 11th of June 1496.

2. Ferdinand and Isabella's letter to De Puebla of March 28th 1496 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. V, vol. II, p. 217, No VI: « mirad que procureis que en esto ny en lo semejante no resciba engaño el rey de Ynglaterra... y estas cosas semejantes son cosas muy ynçiertas y tales que para agora no conviene entender en ellas », etc.

3. R. Holinshed, *The Laste Volume of the Chronicles of England*, etc. London 1577, p. 143: « And shortly after, having this Perkin [Warbeck] with him in company, he [James IV.] entred into England with a puissant army, &... began the war in most cruel maner, wth slughter of men, brenning of Townes, spoiling of houses, and committing of all other detestable enormities, so that all the Countrey of Northumberlande, was by them in manner wasted, and destroyed ».

4. Maurice Toby, *A Brief Chronicle, conteyninge the accompte of the Reignes of all the Kings in the Realme of Englande... and wherein is also conteyned the names of all the Mayors, Stewards, Bayliffes, and Sberiffes of the laudable town of Bristowe... from the first yeere of King Henry 7th 3rd, A. D. 1217, untill the present yeere, 1565*. This MS. was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1860 but extracts had been made from it of any notices of events not recorded in other Bristol chronicles. Among these was the following of which the best text will be found in *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, XI, p. 301: « This year [September 29th 1496 to September 28th 1497]... the land of America was found by the Merchants of Bristowe in a shippe of Bristowe, called the *Mathew*; the which said ship departed from the port of Bristowe, the second day of May, » etc. Mr. HARRISSE, in publishing the above text, sought to call in doubt its authenticity. His reasons however are exceedingly weak. The above extract was in all

Rounding Ireland they first of all bore north and then west. After several weeks of variable winds they must finally have reached the region of fogs. This naturally cast a damper over their spirits as it does to-day over those of anyone who stands on the foredeck of a steamer and peers out over the dark waters which surround one on every side. They must indeed have felt that their small craft was but "a nutshell on the wide waste of waters". They courageously kept on however, and were finally rewarded with the glad cry of "land ahead" at five o'clock on Saturday morning, June 24th. After being fifty-two

probability taken from a contemporaneous chronicle but altered to suit the state of knowledge which obtained in 1565. *Ibid.*, *Notes and Queries*, *loc. cit.*, and XII, 49-51, 129-132, 189-191 and 208-210. Cf. also Soncino's despatch of December 18th 1497 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. III, vol. I, p. 197: "cum uno piccolo navilio et XVIII. persone se pose a la fortuna; et partiti da Bristo, porto occidentale de questo regno...li compagni... sono quasi tutti inglesi et da Bristo", etc.; and also Pasqualigo's letter of August 23rd 1497 in *Ibid.*, pt. III, vol. II, p. 109: "nostro Veneziano che andò con uno navilio di Bristo", etc.

1. Soncino's despatch, *loc. cit.*: "et passato Ibernia più occidentale, et poi alzatosi verso el septentrione, comencio ad navigare a le parte orientale, lassandosi (fra qualche giorni) la tramontana ad mano drita: et havendo asi errato", etc.

2. Cf. J. B. Jukes, *Excursions in and about Newfoundland*, vol. I, London, 1842, pp. 97-98, where he describes their departure from St. Pierre on August 9th 1839: "I experienced a peculiar feeling of loneliness to-day, in looking out from the deck of our little vessel into the heavy fog resting on the dark boiling waves, as we slowly toiled over their crests, or sunk into their hollows... We passed so many hours and traversed so many miles without change of any sort, in the same damp fog, over the same dreary water, that the fancy became affected with a kind of awe... We seemed so utterly shut out from all the world, so hidden by the dense curtain about us, and our vessel to be such a mere nut-shell on the wide waste of waters", etc. I have slightly changed the order of the sentences.

3. *An extract taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams*, etc., in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, 511: "Joannes Cabotus venetus, & Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt perviam, quam nullus prius adire ausus fuisset, die

days at sea they had reached the most westerly point of our Cape Breton island. The royal banner was unfurled, and when the ship's boat grounded her keel on the beach, perhaps of Mira bay, John Cabot stepped ashore, and in solemn form took possession of the land in the name of King Henry VII¹. They saw no inhabitants but found certain snares set for game and a needle for making nets. They also noticed that the trees thereabout were notched so judged that the country was inhabited². The soil they found to be excellent and the climate a temperate one. They were therefore fully convinced they had reached that part of the extreme eastern coast of Asia whence came the Brazil wood and the silks Cabot had seen at Mecca³. To our present cape Breton they gave the name « cape Discovery »⁴, and on it, as was then the custom,

24 Junii, circiter horam quintam bene mané », etc.; and Toby's *Chronicle in Notes and Queries*, *loc. cit.* : « This year on St. John the Baptist's Day, the land of America was found », etc.

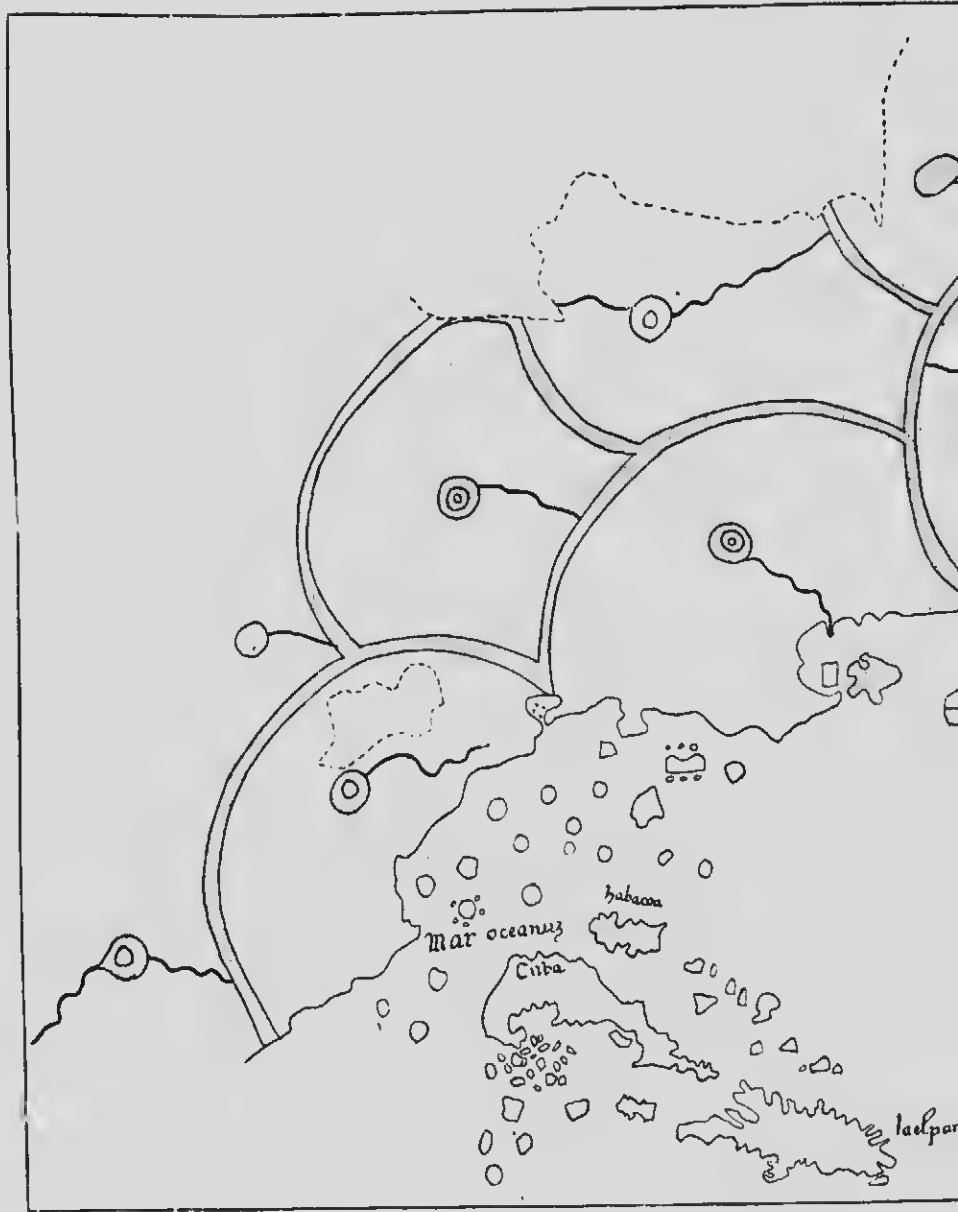
1. Soncino's despatch in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, *loc. cit.* : « in fine capitoe a terra ferma, dove posto la bandera regia, et tolto la possessione per questa alteza », etc.

2. Pasqualigo's letter of August 23rd 1497 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, *pte. III*, vol. II, p. 109 : « ed è desmontato e non à visto persona alguna, ma à portato qui al re certi lazi ch'era tesi per prender salvadexine e uno ago da far rede, e à trovato certi albori talati, sicché, per questo, judicha che zè persone ».

3. Soncino's despatch of December 18th 1497 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, *loc. cit.* : « Et dicono che la è terra optima et temperata, et estimanno che vi nasca el brasilio et le sete », etc.

4. *Cavo descubierta*, on Juan de la Cosa's map given here (N^o VII) from Nordenskiöld's, *Periplus*, N^o XLIII. It will also be found in Jomard's *Atlas*, N^o XVI, 1 and 2; and in J. B. Thacher, *The Continent of America, its Discovery and its Baptism*, p. 195, New York, 1896, in-4^o. The Cabot map of 1544 has here the inscription, *Prima tierra vista*. This map is given as the frontispiece to Harrisse's *Jean et Sébastien Cabot* and will also be found in Jomard, *op. cit.* XX, 1; in Kohl, *op. cit.*, p. 358, N^o XX; Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, Tafel XVI; Harrisse, *John Cabot*, p. 94 and his *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, p. 206, planche XIV. Cf. also Dr. S. E. Dawson's papers in the

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they set up a large cross with both the arms of England and also those of Venice, Cabot's own country ¹. As the day was the feast of St. John the Baptist our Scatari island which lies off cape Breton was called « St. John's island » ².

How long Cabot spent there we do not know. No doubt a good supply of wood and of fresh water was taken on board before any new move was made. During this operation the rise and fall of the tide on that coast was noticed to be very slight ³.

Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1st series, XII, sect. II, pp. 51-112; 2nd series, II, sect. II, 3-30; and finally III, sect. II, 139-268, where both the La Cosa and Cabot maps are reproduced.

1. Pasqualigo's letter of August 23rd 1497 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, loc. cit. : « sto inventor de queste coste à impiantato suli terreni à trovato, una gran croce con una bandiera de Ingeltera e una di san Marcho, per esser lui veneziano », etc.

2. *An extract taken out of the mappe of S. Cabot*, etc. in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, 511 : « Nam que ex adverso sita est insula, eam appellavit insulam D. Joannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer D. Joanni Baptistæ ». The Spanish text given in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. II, p. 397 has : « una isla grande, que está par de la dicha tierra ». Scatari island which is 5 miles long and 2 miles wide and forms the most easterly point of Cape Breton island is called St. John's island in Alfonse's *Cosmographie*, Musset's edition, p. 502 : « Je dictz que le cap de Ratz et le cap des Bretons, le plus dehors de la mer Occéane, qui est une isle appellée... saint Jehan », etc. Although Alfonse also calls St. Paul island, the island of St. John (*Ibid.*, p. 499), the Cabot map has *Prima terra vista* opposite cape Breton; and Scatari island is again called *San Jehan* on the Reinel (N^o IV), Maggiolo, P. Cardiana, Wolfenbüttel B and Gutierrez maps. Cf. HARRISSE, *Découverte de Terre-Neuve*, etc., pp. 74, 108, 124 and 129. It seems highly probable also that the *Biggetta* in. of the Ruysch map (N^o V, p. 22), which Mr. HARRISSE found « complètement incompréhensible » (*Ibid.*, 59), is Scatari island under the name *Biggetta insula* for « Woody island » since *biga* was sometimes used as a late Latin term for wood. Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, etc., t. II, p. 657 s. v. *Biga* N^o 2. Niort, 1883.

3. Pasqualigo's letter in the *Raccolta Colombiana* pte. III, vol. II, p. 109 : « e dize che le aque è stanche, e non hano corso come qui ». According to Rear-Admiral H. W. Bayfield (*The St. Lawrence Pilot*, vol. I, 6th edit. p. 349, Lon-

They seem next to have set sail north along Cape Breton island and on catching sight of our cape Ray, which is most conspicuous¹, to have named it « cape St. George »². They doubtless took Cabot strait simply for a deep bay as it long continued to be represented³.

Since their provisions were none too plentiful should the return voyage take as long as the one coming out, they determined to forego further discovery and to return home as quickly as possible. Coasting along the southern shore of Newfoundland they gave names to various capes and notable points that struck the eye. Our St. Pierre and Miquelon which then formed with Langley three separate islands⁴, were named « The

don, 1894) the spring tides at St. Paul island only rise 5 feet and the neaps, 3 feet. Cf. Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 64-65 : « The tides on the coast of Newfoundland are generally so small, the water never rising or falling more than six feet. . . that they are practically disregarded, the only difference between high and low water being, that a few feet more or less of perpendicular rock are covered with water ».

1. Jukes, *op. cit.* I, 178 : « Cape Ray is a very conspicuous object at a distance ».

2. *Co de S. Jorge* on the La Cosa map (N° VII).

3. *Vid.* the Reinel map (N° IV), the anonymous Portuguese map (N° VI), the anonymous map given in Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, Blatt VII; the Maggiolo map in HARRISSE, *Discovery*, etc., pp. 216-217; the Miller N° I map and the Mantuan planisphere in his *Découverte de Terre-Neuve*, etc., pp. 84 and 90; the Ferdinand Columbus map in Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten*, etc.; the Ribero map (N° I); the Viegas map in Kohl, *Discovery of Maine*, p. 348, N° XVIII^a and in Marcel, *Reproduction de cartes*, etc., N° 4; and finally the Verrazano globe, the Wolfenbüttel B map, the Riccardiana and Catalan atlases, and the Freire and Gutierrez maps in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 108, 129, 130, 238 and 240.

4. Cf. Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 94 : « The two islands of Great and Little Miquelon [or Langley]. . . . not more than sixty or seventy years ago, were quite distinct, and are marked so on all old charts; a considerable channel of two fathoms' depth running between them. This, however, is now [1839] entirely filled up, and a long narrow line of sand-hills with a beach on each side occupies its place. Instances have been known, even of late years, of vessels in stress of weather making for this channel, and being wrecked on the sands ».

Trinity » group, but they did not land as time was precious ¹. Somewhere about here they came upon immense schools of cod-fish, which were so crowded together that to catch them the sailors had merely to lower baskets overboard with a stone in each and haul them up again full of fish ². Our present cape St. Mary, off which they evidently arrived on Saturday the first of July, they christened « cape St. John » ³, as that day was the octave of John the Baptist's festival, and also of the saint after whom Cabot himself was named. Cape Race, which was the last land seen as they set sail for home, they named most appropriately « England's cape ⁴ ».

The return voyage was performed without difficulty since the prevailing winds in the North Atlantic are from the west,

1. *Isla de la Trenidat* on La Cosa's map (N^o VII). Cf. also Pasqualigo's letter of August 23rd 1497 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. II, p. 109 : « E al tornar aldreto à visto do ixole, ma non ha voluto desender per non perder tempo, ché la vituaria li manchava ». It is possible that the hitherto unintelligible *Barbatos in.* of the Ruysch map (p. 22) is merely *Barbata insula* or the « Shrub islands » and is meant for the St. Pierre group. *Barba foxis* was used for a shrub. Cf. also Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 93 : « There is not a tree in the island [of St. Pierre] six feet high, a few scrubby fir-bushes alone contriving to exist ».

2. Soncino's despatch of December 18th 1497 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. I, p. 197 : « et affirmanno che quello mare è coperto de' pessi, li quali se prendenno non solo cum la rete, ma cum le ciste, essendoli alligato uno saxo ad ciò che la cista se impozi in l'aqua, et questo io l'ho oldito narrare al ditto messer Zoanne ». Cf. Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 231 : « One calm July evening I was in a boat just outside St. John's harbour, when the sea was pretty still. . . . For several miles around us the calm sea was alive with fish. They were sporting on the surface of the water, flirting their tails occasionally into the air, and as far as could be seen the water was rippled and broken by their movements. Looking down into its clear depths, cod-fish under cod-fish, of all sizes, appeared swimming about as if in sport ».

3. *Cavo de S. Johan*, on the La Cosa map (N^o VII). The Weimar copy of Ribero's map (N^o 1) has *C. de Santiago*. This name would be given on Monday July 3rd, the festival of the first abbot of St. Jacut.

4. *Cavo de Ynglaterra* on the La Cosa map (N^o VII).

and on Sunday the sixth of August the *Mathew* dropped anchor once more in the harbour of Bristol ¹. John Cabot hastened to Court, and on the following Thursday, August 10th, received a grant of £ 10 from King Henry VII. as a reward for having « founde the new Isle ² ». According to Cabot's report he had discovered 700 leagues from England the eastern coast of Asia or the country of the Great Khan ³. Although silk and brazil wood were to be found at that spot, it was his intention on his next voyage to proceed on down that coast until he came opposite Cipango or Japan, then placed in the equatorial regions, which in his opinion was the country whence came all the spices and precious stones he had seen at Mecca ⁴. Once he had opened commercial intercourse with those people, he would be able to make London a greater centre for the spice-trade than was then Alexandria itself ⁵.

King Henry VII. was delighted and promised to give Cabot in the following spring a fleet of ten ships in which to make his way to the spice region ⁶. Meanwhile Cabot received a pension

1. *Toby's Chronicle* in *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, XI, p. 501: « the which said ship . . . came home again the 6th of August next following ».

2. S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 113, London, 1831.

3. Pasqualigo's letter of August 23rd in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. II, p. 109: « e dice haver trovato lige .700. lontam di qui terra ferma, ch'è el paexe del Gram Cam »; and Soncino's despatch in *Ibid.*, pte. III, vol. I, p. 197: « questa maestà ha guadagnato una parte de Asia senza colpo de spada », etc.

4. Soncino's despatch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 197-198: « pensa da quello loco occupato andarsene sempre a riva riva più verso el levante, tanto che'l sia al opposito de una isola da lui chiamata Cipango, posta in la regione equinoctiale, dove crede che nascano tutte le speciarie del mundo et anche le gioie ».

5. *Ibid.*, p. 198: « sperano de fare in Londres maggior fondaco de speciarie che non sia in Alexandria ».

6. Pasqualigo's letter in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. II, p. 109: « sto re ne habuto grande a piacer . . . el re li ha promesso, a tempo novo, navili .x. armati come lui vorà ed alli dato tutti i presonieri da traditori in fuora, che vadano con lui come lui a rechiesto »; and Soncino's despatch in *Ibid.*, pte.

of twenty pounds a year which for those days was a large sum ¹.

On the third of February 1498 the king issued fresh Letters patent whereby his « wel beloved John Kabotto » was given authority to « take at his pleasure VI englisse shippes in any porte or portes within this our realme of England... and theym convey and lede to the londe and Iles of late founde by the seid John ». He was likewise empowered to « receyve into the seid shippes all suche Maisters, maryners, pages and our subjects as of theyr owen free wille woll goo and passe with hym in the same shippes to the seid londe or Iles ² ». So interested indeed did Henry VII. now become in this new expedition that although he was by nature rather parsimonious, he proceeded to advance large sums to persons going in the fleet. Thus on the 22nd of March he lent forty pounds to Lancelot Thirkill « going towards the new Ilande ³ », and a week later he advanced thirty pounds more to this man and Thomas Bradley ⁴. At the same date he gave two pounds as a reward to a certain John Carter also « going to the new Ile ⁵ ». These sums represent of course almost eight or ten times those amounts in money of the present day. When then we see a cautious man like Henry VII. advancing such large sums, we may form some idea of the brilliant prospects which must have been entertained by the general public as to the success of this undertaking.

III, vol. I, p. 198 : « questa maestà li presta qualche fede et a tempo novo se dice che la maestà prefata armarà alcuni navillii et ultra li darà tutti li materiali et andarano in quello paese ad fare una colonia ».

1. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, III, p. 56. For a removal of a hitch in the payment *vid.* the order of February 22nd 1498 in HARRISSE, *John Cabot*, etc., p. 394, No XII.

2. Biddle, *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, 2nd edit., pp. 76-77, London, 1832.

3. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 116.

4. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

In the meanwhile, to secure skilled seamen and map-makers and probably also in order to hear news of what Columbus had done, John Cabot made a voyage to Lisbon and Seville¹. Intercourse indeed was then frequent between Bristol and Lisbon². In that port Cabot seems to have met a certain João Fernandes « llavrador », who, with another fellow-countryman, had, about the year 1492, gone on a voyage of exploration to the north. They seem indeed to have made more than one expedition, since the period occupied therein was three years³. In the course of these explorations they appear to have reached the coast of Greenland⁴. When then Cabot told this man of his recent discovery of the coast of Asia, Fernandes, in his turn, informed him of the land he himself had seen to the west of Iceland. Cabot's curiosity was aroused. Here was perhaps a better way of returning to Asia than by venturing again across the deep and dreaded western ocean. By hugging the land in the north all the way over, half the danger of shipwreck and disaster would be avoided.

1. Ayala's despatch of July 23th 1498 in the *Racolta Colombiana*, pt. V, vol. II, p. 218 : « el inventor, que es otro Genovès como Colón. . . . ha estado en Sevilla y en Lisboa procurando haver quien le ayudasse á esta invencion ».

2. James Gairdner, *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, pp. 195-196 and 199 London, 1858.

3. Cf. Ernesto do Canto, *Quem deu o nome ao Labrador* in the *Arquivo dos Açores*, vol. XII, p. 67 : « ouve hum mandado delrey nosso senhor para hir a descobrir eu e hum João Fernandes llavrador no qual descobrimento andamos bons tres anos e cando tornei a dita ilha. . . . achei em posse dellas [terras] hús filhos de João Valladam », etc., and also, p. 363 : « as cartas de Pedro de Barcellos teem as datas de 19 de outubro de 1490, e 14 d'abril de 1495. A carta de sesmaria de João Valladam e filhos foi passada pelos almoxarifes d'Angra e da Praia aos 30 dias de janeiro de 1495. . . . Logo, descontando trez annos da indicada data, (abril de 1495), não se pôde deixar de admittir, que elle [Pedro de Barcellos] e o seu companheiro partiram para a viagem de descoberta nos primeiros mezes de 1492 ».

4. Cf. p. 13, note 2.

On his return to Bristol with Fernandes, Cabot proceeded to discuss this new route with those who were interested in the enterprise. Iceland was well-known to the merchants of Bristol. It is just possible that they had also some vague notion of the existence of Greenland. To make this clear a digression will be necessary. Only a brief historical sketch of the relations between Greenland, Iceland and England in the fifteenth century can give the reader an idea of the extent of the knowledge of Greenland which was extant in Europe in the spring of 1498.

Of the discovery of Iceland by the Celts in the eighth century, of its colonization by the Northmen a little later and finally of how Greenland was discovered from Iceland by Eric the Red in 985, it is unnecessary here to speak. The history of these colonies during the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is also well-known. Little attention however has hitherto been paid to the intercourse that was kept up between these countries and Europe during the fifteenth century.

In the Icelandic Annals under the date of 1406, one reads : « that year they fared to Greenland, Thorstein Helming's son, Snorri Torfi's son, and Thorgrim Sölvi's son in one ship. They put out from Norway and meant to go to Iceland. They were there (in Greenland) three winters¹ ». In the following year « a man nigh Kolgrim was burnt in Greenland, for that sake, that he lay with a man's wife hight Steinun..... Thorgrim Sölvi's son then had her to wife² ». Finally in 1410 « they sailed away from Greenland, Thorstein Helming's son, and Thorgrim Sölvi's son and Snorri Torfi's son and others of their shipmates to Norway³ ». Certain « Svauskir » men however were left behind.

1. *Icelandic Annals, 1392-1430 in Icelandic Saga: relating to the British Isles*, vol. IV, translated by Sir. G. W. Dasent, Appendix B, p. 427, London, 1894.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 427-428.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 429.

We also learn that « Snorri Doverson her husband who had been four years in Greeland » was still alive in 14 to 1.

Two years later, i. e. in 1412, « a ship came from England... Men rowed out to them, and they were fishermen... That same autumn five of the English men... came on shore... and said they wished to buy food... Those five English men were here in the land that winter; for the boat was gone when they came back 2 ». The next year « a merchant ship came from England to Iceland. He was hight Richard who was captain, and he had the king of Norway's letters to the effect that he might sail with his wares into his realm without toll... Many bought wares of him... Those five English men sailed away with him who had been there that winter 3 ». In the same year « fishermen came from England... That summer there sailed hither from England thirty fish-doggers 4 or more 5 ».

In 1414 « five English ships came to Iceland... Then came... a letter sent by the king of England... that trading might be allowed to his men 6 ». In the same year unfortunately arrived « king Eric's letters that he forbade all trade with outlandish men with whom it was not usual to trade 7 ». The cod-fishing seems however to have gone on as usual, for the next year, 1415, « six ships lay in Hafnarfirth from England. Vigfus the freeman, Ivar's son, fared away in one of them to England, and had with him no less than fifty lasts of stockfish 8 ».

Owing to representations made by the king of Denmark, king Henry V. issued an order on the 28th of November 1415, that

1. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

2. *Ibid.*, p. 430.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 431.

4. A fishing-vessel with one or two masts.

5. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

7. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 433-434.

none of his subjects during a period of one year should go to Iceland to fish « except in the old-established manner »¹. That this order had little or no effect on the numbers engaged in the fishing-trade is clear from the fact that four years later twenty-five English ships were wrecked in a bad gale which came up suddenly on Thursday morning, April 15th². Fishing vessels are also reported in the following year³. The trade was in fact so well established that in 1427 the bishop of Holar came to Iceland « with the English »⁴.

Although the last mention of Greenland in the Icelandic Annals dates from the year 1417, knowledge of that country was still extant not only in Iceland, whose Annals unfortunately cease in 1434, but also in Europe. We possess indeed a map of these northern regions made in the year 1427 on which Greenland figures under its own name. It is possible then that the English fishermen and merchants who at that time traded to Iceland may also have heard of Greenland which lies only 150 miles farther to the west. In any case intercourse both with Greenland and with Iceland was kept up throughout the whole of the fifteenth century.

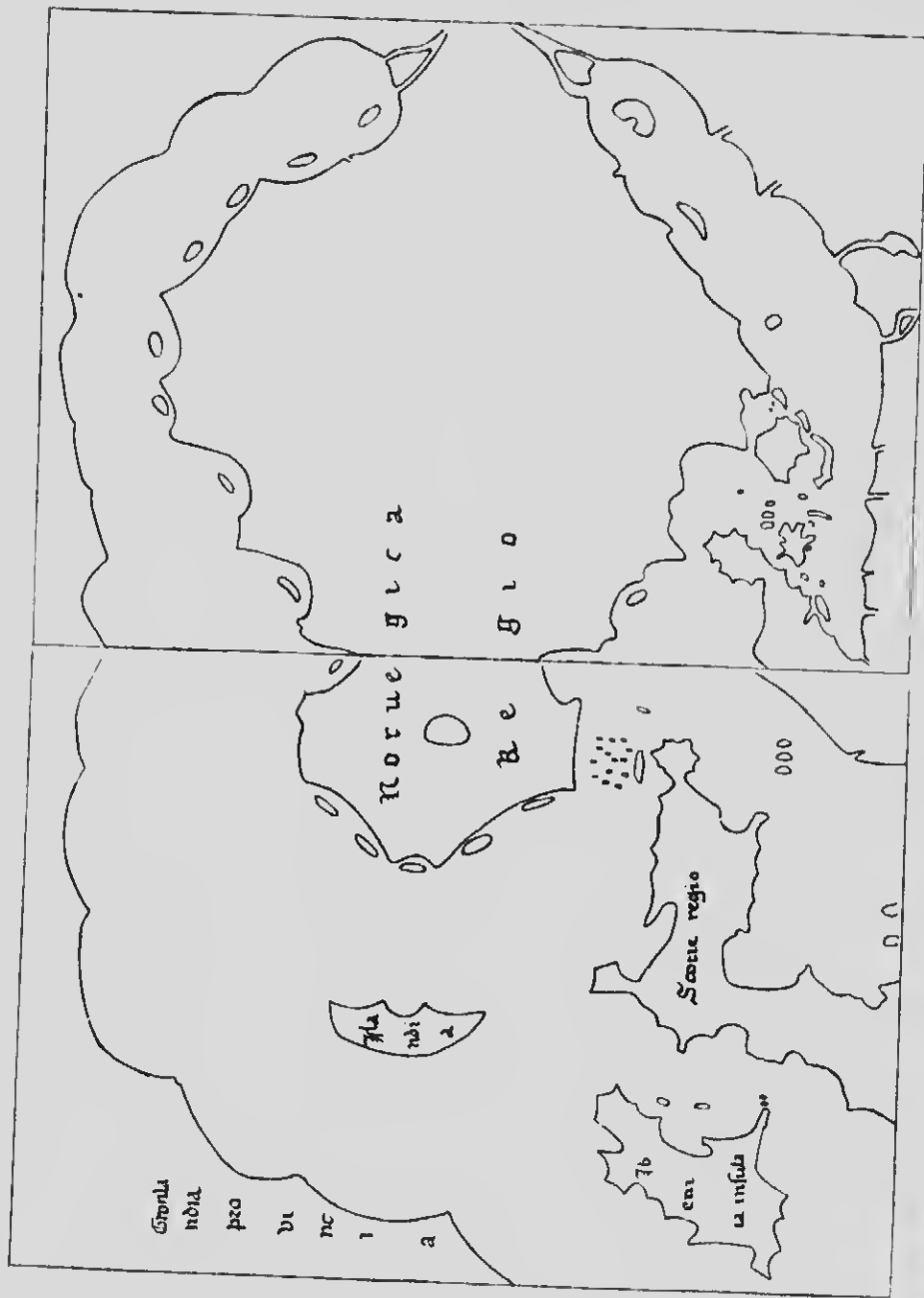
1. Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. IV, ps. II, p. 150 : « Quod nulli Christianorum, nec usque ad Finem unius Anni, proximè jam venturi, ad partes Insularum Danicorum Dacie & Norwegie, & presertim ad Insulam de Islandia, abire liceat, nisi seu aliis Causis, in præjudicium Regis Regnorum prædictorum, ad eadem loca, nisi mat aliter quàm antiquitùs fieri consuevit », etc.

2. *Icelandic Annals*, etc., pp. 434-435 : « Then there came on Thursday such a hard gale with snow, that far and wide all round the land English ships had been wrecked, no fewer than twenty-five. . . . The gale came on a little before breakfast, and lasted not quite to noon ».

3. *Ibid.*, p. 433 : « Thorleif Arni's son sailed hence and fought with the English on the sea ».

4. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

5. *Vid.* map No VIII, p. 56. I beg to express my thanks to M. Favier the Librarian at Nancy for the photograph from which this reproduction has been made.



No VIII. The Nancy Map, 1427.

By an order issued on the 13th of May 1429, King Henry VI. gave notice to the merchants of Bristol trading in the territories of the king of Denmark, to whom Iceland also belonged, that since the staple for foreign traders had been fixed at Norbarn, voyages for trade to other parts of that king's dominions were forbidden ¹. Though bartering could now be carried on in Iceland only by special licence ², yet the regular fishing-trade in the territorial waters of that island seems to have gone on as before. Thus in the *Libel of English Policy* of the year 1436 ³ one reads how

« Of Yseland to wryte is lyttille nede,
Save of stokfische; yit for sothe in dede
Out of Bristow, and costis many one,
Men have practised by nedle and by stone
Thider—wardes wythine a lytel whylle,
Wytaine XII. yere ⁴, and wythoute perille,
Gone and comen, as men were wonte of olde ⁵

1. Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. IV, ps. IV, pp. 143-144 : « Quòd omnes & singuli Anglici, Ligei nostri, volentes ad Partes illas accedere, pro Exercitio aliquarum Mercandisarum, sive pro Piscibus optinendis, applicent & veniam ad Villam de Norbarn, & nullatenus apud Fynnmark, nec alibi infra Regnum, Territoria, Dominia, & Jurisdictiones sua predicta, nisi ad dictam Villam de Norbarn », etc.

2. *Ibid.*, t. V, ps. I, p. 31 : « Velimis, . . . sibi licentiam quòd ipse Johanne May, Magistrum cujusdam Nar is vocata la Karryne de Londonnia . . . versus partes Islandia, cum Navi predicta . . . transmittere possit, annuere gratiosè », etc. Cf. also *loc. cit.*, pp. 45 and 75.

3. Cf. Thomas Wright, *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, etc., vol. II, p. 157, note r.

4. One MS. has « In yeres few ». Bristol is first mentioned indeed in the order of 1429.

5. « *Quam antiquitus fieri consuevit* », as the order of November 28th 1415 has it. Cf. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 1589, p. 249 : « From the haven of Linne in Norfolk to Island . . . hath bene of many yeeres a very common and usual trade : which further appeareth by the privileges granted to the Fishermen of the towne of Blacknie in the said countie of Norfolk, by King Edward the third, . . . in respect of their trade to Island ».

Of Scarborough unto that costes colde;
 And now so fele shippes thys yere there were,
 That moche losse for unfraught they bare ' ».

On the 12th May 1444 however Henry VI. issued a fresh order to the merchants of Bristol and others trading to the king of Denmark's territories that under colour of no previous licence were they to trade with Iceland ².

Although the Icelandic Annals unfortunately cease altogether in the year 1430 and no mention of Greenland can be looked for in that quarter, yet this extreme point of European geography figures on a map made in 1447 under the name *Grinlandia* ³. Again on the 20th of September 1448 Pope Nicholas V. issued a brief to the bishops of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland wherein he enjoined them to enquire into the condition of those inhabitants of Greenland who had been able to make their way home again from the countries to which they had been carried off some thirty years previously by a hostile expedition and to see that they were aided in their efforts to restore religion to its former state among them ⁴. If, as has been sug-

1. Wright, *op. cit.*, II, p. 191.

2. Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. V, ps. I, p. 132 : « Nè quis Ligeorum nostrorum colore alicujus Licentie nostre, eis perante concessæ . . . Naves seu alia Vasa sua versus Partes Islandiæ . . . Transmittat seu Transferat », etc.

3. J. Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen âge, Epilogue*, p. 168, Bruxelles, 1857.

4. J. C. Heywood, *Documenta selecta e tabulario ap. sed. Vaticano*, etc. Rome 1893, fols. 9-11 with facsimiles: « Nicolans, etc. venerabilibus fratribus Schaol-tensi et Olensi episcopis salutem, etc. . . . Hanc pro parte dilectorum filiorum indigenarum et universitatis habitatorum insule Grenolandie, que in ultimis finibus Oceani ad septentrionalem plagam regni Norwegie in provincia Nidrosiensi [Trondhjem] dicitur situa, lacrimabilis querela nostrum turbavit auditum, amaricavit et mentem. quod in ipsam insulam . . . ex finitimis lictoribus paganorum ante annos triginta classe navali barbari insurgentes, cunctum habitatorum ibidem populum crudeli invasione aggressi et ipsam patriam edesque sacras igne et gladio devastantes solis [in] insula novem relictis ecclesiis

gested, this hostile fleet was an English one¹, knowledge of Greenland must have been well extant in that country. It is in any case worthy of note that in 1445 the Bishop of Skalholt made his way to his diocese in Iceland viâ England².

During the latter half of the 15th century also not only was

parrochialibus, . . . miserandos utriusque sexus indigenas, . . . ad propria vexerunt captivos. Verum quia, sicut eadem querela subiungebat, post temporis successum quamplurimi ex captivitate predicta redeuntes ad propria et refectis hinc inde locorum ruinis, divinum cultum passetenus ad instar dispositionis pristinae ampliare et instaurare desiderant, . . . Nos igitur, . . . fraternitati vestre, . . . per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatinus vos vel alter vestrum diligenti examine auditis et intellectis premisis, si ea veritate fulciri compereritis ipsunq[ue] populum et indigenas numero et facultatibus adeo sufficienter esse resumptos, quod id pro nunc expedire videbitis, quod ipsi affectare videntur, de sacerdotibus ydoneis et exemplari vita preditis ordinandi et providendi plebanos et rectores instituendi, qui parrochias et ecclesias resarcitas gubernent, sacramenta ministrent, etc. Dat. Rome, . . . anno millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo octavo duodecimo kalendas octobris ». Cf. also A. White, *A Collection of Documents on Spitzbergen & Greenland*, p. 188, London (Hakluyt Society), 1855.

1. Capt. W. A. Graah, *op. cit.*, p. 7: « It seems to have been customary in England, whenever that country was ravaged by the pestilence called *the black death*, to carry off the inhabitants of those countries of the North that it had spread. Complaints against this procedure are known to have been made repeatedly in the reigns of Margaret and her successor; and in the year 1433, a treaty was concluded between Denmark and England, wherein it was expressly stipulated, that « with regard to all those persons who have been carried away forcibly from Finland, Finmark, Helgeland, and other places, and are still detained in his dominions, his Majesty of England shall take measures to the end that they may be set at liberty, receive payment for their services, and return to their homes, whereof proclamation shall be made throughout all England within a year and a day from the date of this instrument ». Now, as the above letter of Pope Nicholas to the Icelandic bishops states that many of the individuals carried away from Greenland into captivity, had actually returned, it is a very natural inference that this may have happened in consequence of the very treaty here referred to, in which case the hostile fleet spoken of must have been an English one ».

2. *Pinner, op. cit.*, t. V, ps. I, p. 151.

knowledge of Greenland still extant in Europe but the fishing-trade between Iceland and England went steadily on as before. Even a certain amount of bartering was done as well, to judge from the licences granted¹. Among these was one to William Canynges of Bristol for a period of two years². In 1456 an island which formerly lay half-way between Greenland and Iceland was totally consumed, doubtless through volcanic influences³.

In a treaty of peace signed between England and Denmark in 1465 King Edward IV. stipulated that none of his subjects should trade to Iceland without a special licence⁴. That the fishermen still continued to resort there however is clear from the fact that

1. Rymer, *op. cit.* t. V, ps. II, pp. 26-27. Cf. also p. 24: « Item, Mercatores Anglicani, stante illo Termino [April 9th 1450 to Sept. 29th 1451] non debeant versus Islandiam . . . Navigare, seu quovis quaesito colore, illuc Declinare, sine Serenissimi Regis Norwegie, aut ejus Officialis, seu Officialium, ad hoc specialiter deputati, seu deputatorum, Licentia speciali », etc.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 28: « De Gratia nostra speciali Concessimus . . . eidem Willielmo quòd Ipse, pro Termino Duorum Annorum proximo jam futurorum, duas Naves, cujuscumque Portagii existant . . . usque dictas Partes de Islandia & Fynmarchia, pro Piscibus & aliis Mercandis ibidem perquirendis, Transmittere . . . possit licite & impune », etc.

3. Cf. the inscription on Ruysch's map (p. 22): « *Insula hec in anno domini 1456 fuit totaliter combusta* »; and A. White, *op. cit.*, p. 209: « Halfway between Greenland and Iceland is Gundebyrne Skeer », according to an old Icelandic Chronicle entitled *Road and Passage from Norway to Greenland*. Cf. also A. M. Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, pp. 30 and 90 (London, 1890) where mention is made of the discovery of these Gunnbiorn's-skerries; and also E. Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, t. XV, Paris, 1890, p. 100: « On a émis l'opinion que les îles mentionnées par les sagas comme ayant existé entre l'Islande et le Groenland auraient été . . . des volcans emportés depuis . . . par une explosion semblable à celle de Krakatau ».

4. Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. V, ps. II, p. 135: « Item, Serenissimus Rex Angliæ provideat ne Subditi sui ad Terram seu in Terra Islandiæ, absque speciali Licentiâ Domini Regis Norwegiæ petita & obtentâ, ullatenus Navigent », etc.

a riot occurred between them and some Icelanders in 1467¹. The stipulation as to special permits for trade was also repeated in the treaty of May 1st 1473². Although this treaty was renewed in 1476³ and again in 1478⁴, Columbus who visited Iceland in February 1477, tells us that the merchants of Bristol then did a considerable trade with that island⁵. This was perhaps carried on by means of special licences similar to those issued in October 1478⁶ and in April 1483⁷. In January 1490 however a treaty was at length concluded between Henry VII. and John, king of Denmark, by which the whole commerce with Iceland was once more thrown open to English merchants⁸.

1. *Islanitic Annals*, etc., vol. IV, p. 416: « Year 1467. This forenamed Bjorn the mighty was smitten to death... by Englishmen on account of a riot which happened between him and them »; and (*loc. cit.*) « In revenge for it she [i.e. Lady Olof, his wife] let all the English be slain the summer after, » etc.

2. Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. V, ps. III, p. 29: « Hoc specialiter licet quòd Incole Regni nostri Angliæ, sine speciali licentia atque Salvo Conductu a Cris- tierno Rege sæpefato specialiter obtinendâ, per hujusmodi Biennium, Terram suam Island nullatenus visitabunt, aut inibi suas Mercantias exercebunt », etc.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.

5. Ferdinand Columbus, *op. cit.*, fol. 9: « Io navigai l'anno mccccxxvii nel mese di Febraio oltra Tile isola cento leghe... Et a quest' isola... vanno gl'Inglesi con le loro mercantie, specialmente quelli di Bristol ».

6. Rymer, *op. cit.*, t. V, ps. III, p. 96.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

8. *Ibid.*, t. V, ps. IV, p. 6: « Item, Ordinatum est per Nos quod Mercatores, & Homines Legii, Piscatores, & quicumque alii Regis Angliæ & Franciæ Subditi liberè possint, temporis futuri imperpetuum, ad Insulam Tile (id est, Islandiæ) cum eorum Navibus, Bonis, & Mercandisiis, Virtualibus & aliis Rebus quibuscumque, Emendi, Vendendi, Piscandi, sive Mercandizandi causâ, Navigare, Accedere, & Inire, ibique Morari & more Mercatorio Conersari, & ab eadem Redire & liberè Revenire, totiens quotiens eis placuerit, absque Prohibitione », etc., etc.

During the latter half of the fifteenth century intercourse was also kept up with Greenland, which is mentioned in 1460 as being under the archbishop of Trondjhem ¹. An extremely good map of *Gronlandia* was made in 1467 ², and nine years later that country was visited from Norway by a certain John Scolvo or Szkolny ³. In 1484 « there were still in the town of Bergen in Norway more than forty sailors who went every year into Greenland, bringing back costly merchandise ⁴ ». Finally Pope Innocent VIII., shortly before his death in July 1492, appointed one Matthias, a Benedictine monk, to the bishopric of that country ⁵.

1. J. J. J. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte*, Band II, Regensburg, 1863, p. 293 : « In regno Norwegiæ : Archiepiscopus Nidrosiensis hos habet Suffraganeos... Greveldiensem », etc.

2. A. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, No XXX. *Vid.* also the Laon globe in *Ibid.*, p. 73, No 41.

3. The inscription on Greenland on the L'Ecuy globe in the Bibliothèque Nationale : « Qvii popvli ad quos Joanes Scovvs Danvs pervenit ann. 1476. » *Vid.* also Lok's map in Kohl, *Discovery of Maine*, p. 290, No XIII and Cf. Harris, *Discovery of North America*, pp. 637-638.

4. A White, *op. cit.*, 210-211 : « M. Vormius assures me, that he read in an old Danish manuscript, that about the year of grace 1484, in the reign of king John, there still were in the town of Bergen », etc.

5. Heywood, *op. cit.*, fols. 12-13 : « Cum, ut accepimus, ecclesia Gadensis in fine mundi sita in terra Gronlandie... propter rarisimas navigationes ad dictam terram ~~trans~~ intentissimis aquarum congelationibus fieri solitas navis aliqua ab ottuaginta annis non creditur applicuisse... hiis igitur et aliis consideratis considerandis, felicis recordationis Innocentius papa VIII., predecessor noster, volens dicte ecclesie tunc pastoris solatio destitute de utile, de ydoneo pastore providere, de fratrum suorum consilio, de quorum numero tunc eramus, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Mathiam, electum Gadensum, ordinis sancti Benedicti de observantia professum, ad nostram instantiam, dum adhuc in minoribus constituti eramus, proclamatum ad dictam ecclesiam summopere ac magno devotionis fervore accensum... eidem episcopum prefecit et pastorem », etc. This *motu proprio* of Alexander VI. has no date but was evidently issued in 1492 or 1493. Innocent VIII. died on July 23rd 1492.

It is just possible therefore that when in the spring of 1498 John Cabot was advised by João Fernandes « llavrador » to take the route viâ Iceland, the existence of Greenland was vaguely known in England. In any case yearly intercourse was still kept up with Iceland for Cabot's crew had informed people on their return in the previous summer, that the region they had just discovered would supply so much fish that England would have no more need of Iceland, « from which country », we are told, « there is brought every year an exceedingly large quantity of the fish called stockfish ¹ ».

Early in May 1498 the Cabots were at length able to set sail ². They had two ships provisioned for one year and some three hundred men ³. As it was well known that they were going to take the route viâ Iceland, in their company « sayled also out of Bristowe three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and

1. Soncino's despatch in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. III, vol. I, p. 197 : « Et ditti Inglesi suoi compagni dicono che portaranno tanti pessi che questo regno non haverà più bisogno de Islanda, del quale paese vene una grandissima mercantia de pessi che si chiamanno stockfissi. »

2. The extract from Fabyan's *Chronicle* in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. 23 : « and so departed from Bristowe in the beginning of May ». Cf. also Sebastian Cabot in Ramusio, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 402 v^o : « & fu, salvo il vero, del 1496 [sic pro 1498] nel principio della state »; and the anonymous *Cronicon regum Angliæ* in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series, vol. I, p. 440 : « whiche departed from the west Cautrey in the begynnyng of Somer. »

3. Ramusio, *loc. cit.* : « & mi armò due caravelle di tutto ciò che era di bisogno »; Peter Martyr, *op. cit.*, fol. XLVI : « Duo is sibi navigia propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit & . . . cum hominibus trecentum, » etc.; Gomara, *op. cit.*, fol. XX v^o : « El qual armò dos navios en Inglaterra. . . a costa del rey Enrique setimo. . . Llevo trezientos ombres »; and finally Ayala's despatch of July 25th 1498 in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pte. V, vol. II, p. 218 : « del armada que hizo, que fueron cinco naos, fueron avitallados por un año », wherein the three merchant vessels are also included.

grosse merchandizes, as course cloth, Caps, Laces, points¹ and other trifles² » which « dyvers merchautes as well of Londone as Bristow aventurede³ ».

On leaving the Irish sea they set their course north-west for Iceland⁴, « not expecting », adds Sebastian Cabot, « to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn towards India⁵ ». Soon they encountered bad weather which so disabled one of the merchant ships that she had to seek refuge in Ireland⁶. The rest of the fleet proceeded on its way⁷. On reaching the parallel of 58° they headed west and continued to follow it for some time in that direction⁸. This is still the route taken by vessels bound for Greenland⁹.

1. « An ornamental tag affixed to the end of a ribbon used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for tying an article of dress upon the person ». Worcester's *Dictionary* s. v.

2. Fabyan's *Chronicle*, in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

3. *Cronicon regum Anglia* in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, *loc. cit.*

4. Gomara, *op. cit.*, fol. xx vº : « camino la buelta de Islandia »; and Peter Martyr, *loc. cit.* : « & primo tendens... ad Septentrionem, » etc.

5. Ramusio, *op. cit.* I, fol. 402 vº : « & cominciai à navigar verso maestro, pensando di non trovar terra se non quella dove è il Cataio, & di li poi voltar verso le Indie ».

6. Ayala's despatch in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. V, vol. II, p. 218 : « ha venida nueva, la una... aportó en Irlanda con gran tormento, roto el navio ».

7. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* : « El Ginovés tiro su camino ».

8. Gomara, *loc. cit.* : « E hasta se poner en cinquenta y ocho grados ». Ruysch, who was evidently on one of the vessels, seems to have said the same. *In hoc opere haec continentur... Nova orbis descriptio... Marco Beneventano monacho caelestino aslita*, cap. III : « Joannes vero Ruschius Germanus Geographorum meo iudicio permississimus... dixit : se navigasse ab albionis australi parte : & tam diu quo ad subparallelum ab subaequatore ad boream subgr. 53 [sic pro 58] pervenit : & in eo paralelo navigavit ad ortus littora per angulum noctis ». The expression *angulus noctis* of which Mr. HARRISSE could make nothing (*Découverte*, etc., p. 57, note 2) clearly means the arctic circle.

9. R. C. Allen, *Remarks on Baffin Bay*, London, 1853, p. 3 : « The passage

Frobisher, who made Greenland from the Orkneys in 1577 describes his voyage thus : « keeping our course West Northwest by the space of two dayes, the winde shifted upon us so that we lay in traverse 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 unto our friends in England. We traversed these Seas by the space of 26 days without sight of any land and met with much drift wood, and whole bodies of trees. 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 favoured us with more prosperous windes, and after wee had sayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of July the *Michaell* being formost a head shot off a peece of Ordinance, and stroke all her sayles, supposing that they descryed land, which by reason of the thicke mistes they could not make perfit; howbeit, as well our account as also the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and smooth, did plainely declare we were not farre off the coast. Our Generall sent his Master aboard the *Michaell* 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 twelve leagues from the shore, for about tenne of the clocke at night... the weather being more cleare, we made the land perfect... And the heighth being taken here, we found our selves to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Southermost part of this land. This [Greenland] sheweth a ragged and high lande, having the mountaines almost covered over with snow alongst the coast full

across the Atlantic, from the Orkneys to Cape Farwel, is usually made on or about the parallel of 58° ».

of drift yce, and seemeth almost inaccessible... It extendeth... to the Northward very farre as seemed to us¹ ».

The experience of the Cabots in 1498 must have been very similar. Although they had headed along the fifty-eighth parallel, they were carried day by day by the Gulf Stream further north. Finally they came upon the east coast of Greenland a little above cape Farewell². Since the man who had first told them of this land was João Fernandes named the « Labrador », they called the land the « Labrador's Land »³. Finding the coast to run north and south they were at first greatly displeased but decided to follow it northward in the hope of finding a passage to the East⁴. As they made their way north the cold greatly increased

1. *A true report of such things as happened in the second voyage of capitaine Fro-bisher, etc.*, in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, vol. III, pp. 61-62.

2. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 4 : « Sebastian Gabotto nostro Vinitiano... mi diceva, come essendo egli andato lungamente alla volta di ponente & quarta di Maestro, » etc.; and Gomara, *loc. cit.* : « camino la buelta de Islandia sobre cabo del Labrador ». The southern extremity of Greenland is called *cavo Larbatoro* on the Oliveriana map of about 1503-4 and *C. de Labrador* in the Bologna and Joan Martines atlases of later date. *Vid.* the reproductions in HARRISSE, *Découverte*, etc., pl. IV, p. 34 and maps Nos 88 and 90 at pp. 254 and 258.

3. Cf. The inscription on the Wolfenbüttel map in HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 186 : « Tierra del Labrador. La qual fue descubierta por los Yngleses de la vila de bristol e por q̄ el q̄ dio el aviso della era labrador de las illas de los aceres [*sic pro Açores*] le quido este nombre ». On the Vaz Dourado map of these regions in KUNSTMANN, *op. cit.*, Blatt XI, the inscription *Tera del lavrador* is written along a fiord or river a little way north of cape Farewell. The Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes have *C. d'Esperança* and *C. d'Espérance* at about the same point. This would therefore seem to have been the spot where the landfall was made. The latitude is 59°30' on the Vaz Dourado map but as the south coast of Greenland is placed in 57°, the real latitude would be about 61°30' or 62°.

4. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 402^{vo} : « in capo d'alquanti giorni la discopersi che correva verso tramontana, che mi fu d'infinito dispiacere, & pur andando dietro la costa per vedere s'io poteva trovar qualche golfo, che voltasse », etc.

on account of the numerous large icebergs met with ¹. These as is well known are brought down the east coast of Greenland by a current from the polar seas ². Frobisher thought it « a marvellous thing to behold of what great bignesse and depth some llands of yce be here, some seventie, some eightie fadome under water, besides that which is above, seeming llands 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 driven alongst the coastes ³ ».

Cabot and his men were struck by the length of the day in these high latitudes as well as by the clearness of the nights, « so that », says Peter Martyr, « they had in a manner continual daylight ⁴ ». Now and then they noticed spots along the coast

1. Peter Martyr, *loc. cit.* : « vastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes. »

2. Cf. Vice-Admiral J. P. Maclear, *Sailing Directions for Færoe Islands, Iceland, Greenland Sea, Spitzbergen, and the East Coast of Greenland*, London, 1901, p. 8 : « Part of the Polar current continues its course towards Iceland. By far the greater part flows along the coast of Greenland, through Denmark strait and thence on to the southern extremity of Greenland, where it passes into Davis strait »; and also pp. 224-225. Its rate here is 4 miles a day. For the icebergs *vid.* F. Nansen, *The First Crossing of Greenland*, vol. I, pp. 222 *et seq.* London, 1890.

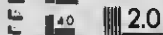
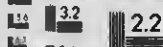
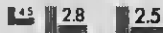
3. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, p. 62. Cf. also Nansen, *op. cit.*, I, 384 : « As we advanced we met more and more huge icebergs. »

4. Peter Martyr, *loc. cit.* : « repererit . . . lucem fere perpetuam »; and Gomara, *loc. cit.* : « Y que los dias eran grandissimos. Y quasi sin noche. Y las noches muy claras ». Cf. Nansen, *op. cit.*, I, 146-148 : « It is a glorious northern night. The sun has sunk into the sea; in the west and north the day has laid herself dreamily to rest in her sunlit bath. Above are the coloured heavens; below, the sea, calm as a mirror and rocked to sleep in melancholy thought, while it reflects in still softer, gentler tones the mellow radiance of the sky. . . Among all things that are beautiful in life are not such nights most beautiful? In these regions the heavens count for more than elsewhere; they give colour and character, while the landscape, simple and unvarying, has no power to draw the eye ».



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which were free from ice and snow¹. Greenland in fact is almost completely covered with a great sheet of ice and snow called the « Inland ice ». Only the highest peaks and here and there a spot along the shore are free from this all-invading ice-blanket².

Throughout the early part of the month of June they continued to make their way northward along this desolate coast. Gradually however the cold became more intense and the icebergs so numerous and so large that further progress seemed impossible³. They were indeed in the very track of the largest ice-floes from the arctic seas⁴. They noticed that they had also a strong current against them⁵. As a result of these obstacles,

1. Peter Martyr, *loc. cit.* : « tellure tamen libera gelu liquefacto ». On the Vaz Dourado map in Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, Blatt XI, between *Rio Escuro* or *Gloomy* river and *Rio de Neves* or *Snow* river one finds *Ilhas verdes* or the *Green* islands. A little further north is *Rio Allegre* or *Cheerful* river.

2. Cf. E. Reclus, *op. cit.*, p. 100 : « L'île entière [i.e. Greenland] paraît être couverte d'un manteau continu de glaces, frangé de fleuves cristallins », etc.; and Nansen, *op. cit.*, I, 243 : « There... the land rose high, abrupt, and wild out of the sea, the calm surface of the « Inland ice » hidden behind a glorious range of Titanic peaks... whose summits the all-levelling ice-mantle has never been able to envelop... Here, on the contrary, the land is low, the ice-sheet has brought its limitless white expanse down to the very shore ». *Vid.* also the frontispiece map to that volume, the photograph at p. 415 of the same; and more particularly Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, *Ergänzungsband XXIII*, Heft No 105, Tael IV, Gotha, 1893.

3. Gomara, *loc. cit.* : « contando como avia... tanto frio, y pedaços de yelo que no oso passar mas adelante ».

4. Maclear, *op. cit.*, p. 4 : « Immense quantities of field and hummocky ice pass down each year between... Greenland and Iceland, these waters being almost always covered with ice, amongst which navigation is difficult, if not entirely blocked ». This explains the *Tierra de Caramello* or « Land of Ice » on the Roselli B map and the *cap de Caramello* on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes. Mr. Harrisse (*Découverte*, etc., p. 360, note 6) always referred these names « à la partie septentrionale de Terre-Neuve ».

5. Peter Martyr, *op. cit.*, fol. XLVI : « Is ea littora percurrens quæ Bacallâos

on the 11th of June in latitude 67°30', the crews became mutinous and refused to proceed ¹. The cold was so intense, the icebergs so thick, the navigation so difficult, and the region so wild and desolate that further progress in that direction seemed madness ². Instead of coming upon a passage or a strait, they found the land to be bending more and more towards the East ³. Thus notwithstanding that the sea still lay open before them, they turned and headed back along the same coast ⁴.

appellavit, eosdem se reperisse aquarum sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani Meridionales suas regiones adnavigantes inveniunt ». This may refer to the Labrador current.

1. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 4: « Signor Sebastian Gaboto, . . . mi diceva, come essendi egli andato . . . lungo la detta terra fino à gradi sessantasette & mezzo sotto il nostro polo, a' XI di Giugno, . . . pensava fermamente per quella via di poter passare alla volta del Cataio Orientale, & l'havrebbe fatto, se la malignità del padrone & de marinari sollevati non l'havessero fatto tornare à dietro »; etc.: and fol. 417: « Sebastian Gaboto. . . scorse tutta la detta costa fino à gradi 67, ma per il freddo fu forzato a tornare a dietro »; and also Sir Humfrey Gilbert in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 1589, p. 602: « Furthermore, Sebastian Caboto. . . was sent to make this discoverie by king Henrie the seventh. . . affirming, that he sayled. . . on the Northside of *Terra de Labrador*, the eleventh of June, untill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 & a halfe degrees. . . and would have gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene ». This master was very probably Sir Thomas Pert or Spert « whose faynt heart » according to Richard Eden, « was the cause that that viage toke none effect ». *Vid. A treatyse of the newe India*, etc., aa III, London, 1553, and Cf. Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, pp. 29-30.

2. Gomara, *loc. cit.*: « Viendo pues Gaboto la frialdad, y estrañeza de la tierra, dio la buelta hazia poniente ».

3. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, I, 402^v: « vedendo che quivi la costa voltava verso levante, disperato di trovarlo [qualche golfo, che voltasse] me ne tornai à dietro ».

4. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 4: « trovandosi il mare aperto, & senza impedimento alcuno », etc. Frobisher turned back at the end of four days « finding the coast » he says « subiect to such bitter colde and continuall mistes. » Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, III, 62. The Riccardiana atlas has *costa perdidã* at this point, but the Vaz Dourado map gives the coast of Greenland up as high as *e. Branco* or White cape in 71° 30'.

Although this desolate Labrador's Land was clearly not Cathay, yet by following the coast steadily to the south, they were bound in time to come to the region explored in the previous summer. Further south still they would probably reach Cipango and the spice region.

On returning to the point where they had made their landfall, they took up again their examination of the coast ¹. The present Lindenow fiord, a very large bay in 60°30', is given on several of the old maps as the « Round bay » ². Prince Christian sound, a little to the south of it, was taken for a river. Since it is over thirty miles long and only two in width at its broadest part, this mistake was not an unnatural one ³. This sound, which separates all the islands between it and cape Farewell on the island of Umanarsuak from the mainland ⁴, is called on Cabot's map the « river of Melted Snow » ⁵. The coast between Lindenow fiord and Prince Christian sound was named the « Straight coast » ⁶,

1. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 402v: « me ne tornai à dietro à ricognoscere anchora la detta costa dalla parte verso l'equinottiale, sempre con intentione di trovar passaggio alle Indie », etc.

2. *B. Redonda* in the Riccardiana atlas and *B. Ronde* on the Desceliers planisphere. It is well given but without its name on the Reinel (N° IV) and Gutierrez maps. *Vid.* HARRISSE, *Découverte*, etc., planches V, VI, and XV and map N° 67, p. 198.

3. Cf. Graah, *op. cit.*, 47: « The sound itself I named after his royal highness Prince Christian Frederick. It is from thirty-two to thirty-six miles long, by two in width, where widest, though at many places it is not more than half so broad, and at some not more than from 200 to 300 fathoms ».

4. Maclear, *op. cit.*, 223: « The southern point of Greenland terminates in a group of islands, separated from the mainland by Prince Christian sound. Cape Farewell is the southern point of Umanarsuak island, and is estimated to be 2,150 feet high ». *Vid.* also Graah, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 and 60.

5. *Rio Nevado*. This is doubtless the *Rio Nevada* or Misty river of the Riccardiana atlas. *Vid.* HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, planches VI and XIV.

6. *Costa Direita* in the Riccardiana atlas and *Coste Droicte* on the Desceliers planisphere. The *Costa Dastran* on the Cabot map as well as the other erroneous readings which will be pointed out further on, prove conclusively that this is not the original copy of that map.

while the extreme eastern point of the present Christian IV.'s island, on the south side of Prince Christian sound, was taken for the southern limit of this land, and christened the « Mainland cape »¹.

Here at length then was the opening which would allow them to proceed on towards Cathay and the region explored in the previous summer. In sailing along the southern coast of Greenland they apparently examined it enough in detail to discover that behind the islands with which it is fringed, the coast of the mainland is cut up into deep fiords². The bay leading up to Julianshaab, which is full of shoals³, is called on Cabot's map the « bay of Reefs »⁴. Ikersoak fiord which is extremely indented was named the « river of Deep Holes »⁵. To the south-western point of the mainland, opposite our modern cape Deso-

1. *C. da Terra Firme* in the Riccardiana atlas and in various similar forms on the Desliens map (N° XI), the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes, the Desceliers planisphere, a Portuguese map of about 1550 and the Vaz Dourado atlas of later date. *Vid.* HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, planches VI, XI, XII, XIII, XV and XVI and KUNSTMANN, *op. cit.*, Blatt XI.

2. The best reproduction of this coast is that on the map of Diego Gutierrez in the archives of the Dépôt du Service hydrographique Paris. It has been reproduced by HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 198, N° 67. Cf. also REINEL (N° IV), the KUNSTMANN N° II and N° IV maps (N°s II and VI), the Mantuan planisphere, the Verrazano globe, the Ferdinand Columbus and Ribero (N° I) maps, the Riccardiana atlas, the Desliens map (N° XI), the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes, etc., etc.

3. Cf. GRAAB, *op. cit.*, 27 : « South of Itilheitsvak lies the large island of Nunarsoit, separated from the mainland by the sound of Torsukatek... From Nunarsoit the mainland trends due east to a distance of from fifty to sixty miles, and then inclines again to S. S. E. and S. E. towards Cape Farewell, forming a large bay, sown... with innumerable rocks and islands. There is no doubt that a ship might find a passage among most of them : but there is no lack of shoals... rendering any attempt to thread this labyrinth a dangerous experiment. »

4. *Golfo baxo*. It may also mean Deep gulf.

5. *Rio de los Baches*.

lation on Nunarsoit island, was given the name, « cape of Shoals »¹, on account of the Torstein ledges and rocks which lie off it.

The Cabots had now reached a point where the coast they had been following again began to run north. How far they followed the west coast of Greenland it is difficult to say. One writer states that they sailed on from the cape of Shoals towards the west², and indeed on the so-called Cabot map all the names on the west coast of Greenland are bad copies of Portuguese inscriptions, such as are given in the Riccardiana atlas³. We also know that John Cabot's main objective was the equatorial region⁴. He had therefore little incentive, now that the sea lay open before him to the west and to the south, to sail again into the north.

On the other hand, nearly all the early Spanish maps, which were probably drawn up from data supplied by Sebastian Cabot in his position as head of the hydrographical department, give the west coast of Greenland (though without any names) up as far as the 63rd degree of latitude⁵. It is possible therefore they they now made their way along the west coast of Greenland as far as the modern Lichtenfels in 63°. On meeting here with the icebergs brought down to that point from the Polar

1. *C. de los Baxos*. It is also given on the Riccardiana, Desliens (N° XI), Desceliers and Vaz Dourado maps.

2. *Libro primo della historia de l'Indie occidentali*, Vinegia, 1534, fol. 65: «Et per cagione di detto ghiaccio gli fu forza tornasene adietro, & torre il camino per la costa, laqual scorre prima per un spatio verso mezzo di, poi si dirizza verso ponente, & perche in detta parte trovo una moltitudine di pesci grandissimi», etc.

3. Cf. *Terra de rius prauus* on the Cabot map with the *Terra dos Usos Brancos* of the Riccardiana atlas.

4. Cf. p. 50 *supra*.

5. Cf. the so-called Ferdinand Columbus map, the Ribero map (N° I), the Garcia de Torenio map of 1534 and finally Oviedo's description.

seas, they once more came about and headed towards the west. This agrees indeed with the information imparted by Sebastian Cabot to Peter Martyr ¹.

During their progress across Davis strait, the crashing of the ice-floes in a storm led them to believe they were passing near two islands ² full of demons ³. For many a year an island of this name figured on the maps in the very middle of the mouth of Davis strait ⁴.

They at length caught sight of the coast of our present Labrador in about 57° 30', which is the latitude of Nanuktut, a remarkable headland, that can be distinguished from a very great distance ⁵. Of the nature of the region to the north of this point

1. Peter Martyr, *loc. cit.* : « Donec etiam Julio mense vastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes. . . Quare coactus fuit uti ait vela vertere & Occidentem sequi »; and Gomara, *loc. cit.* : « contando como avia por el mes de Julio tanto frio, y pedaços de velo que no oso passar mas adelante ».

2. Cf. Nansen, *op. cit.*, I, 214 : « On our way south we pass several enormous icebergs. . . When one first sees these monsters at a distance they look like tracts of land, and several times we thought we saw islands lying right ahead, though when we came nearer we found them to be nothing but ice ». On the many imaginary islands seen by mariners, Cf. F. W. Lucas, *The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, etc.*, pp. 125 *et seq.*, London, 1898.

3. Cf. the inscription on Ruysch's map (p. 22) : « Apud has insulas quando naute perveniunt illuduntur a demonibus ita ut sine periculo non evadunt ».

4. *Vid.* the Riccardiana atlas, the Desceliers planisphere, the Cabot, Lafreri, Zaltieri, Battista Agnese, Vaz Dourado, Ortelius and Mercator maps and the Louvain Ptolemy of 1597. Cf. also Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 117 : « All' incontro di questa costa verso mezo di vi è una Isola grande detta dalli demonii », etc.

5. Cf. Staff Commander W. F. Maxwell, *The Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot*, 3rd edit., London, 1897, pp. 680-681 : « Nanuktut (White Bear island). . . is the most remarkable and unmistakable land on the Labrador coast; its eastern side. . . is surmounted by a number of apparently inaccessible peaks, the three highest of which. . . are probably not less than 1,500 feet high. . . To the westward of Nanuktut the coast is very high, terminating abruptly to the southward in a remarkable hill, 2,000 feet high, named the Table », etc.

and north of Lichtenfels in Greenland, they were of course wholly ignorant. For this reason the coast-line beyond these points was left undefined on Ribero's map as Oviedo tells us ¹.

Sailing on down the coast of our present Labrador, which they took to be the mainland of Asia, they seem to have done some bartering with the Indians about here ²; for those brought from this region to Portugal by the Corte-Reals three years later were found in possession of a broken gilded sword and a pair of earrings, which to all appearance had been made in Venice ³. Our strait of Belle Isle, as was most natural, was merely taken for an inlet along the coast of this mainland ⁴, and it is so given on Ruysch's map ⁵.

1. *Vid.* p. 19 *supra*. Cf. also Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Hakluyt's, *Principall Navigations*, 1589, p. 602: « Sebastian Cabota, by his personal experience and travell hath set foorth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queenes Maiesties privie Gallerie at Whitehall, who... entred the same fret », etc. By that time the name Labrador had been transferred to the region at present so designated. Gilbert therefore understood Davis strait. Cabot himself meant Denmark strait between Greenland and Iceland. Davis strait is given a name for the first time on Gutierrez's map of 1550 where it is called *La gran baia*. *Vid.* HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 and 240, Nos 67, and 80.

2. Cf. Peter Martyr, *op. cit.*, fol. XLV^r: « Earum regionum homines pelibus tantum coopertos reperiebat: rationis haud quaquam expertes... Orichalcum in plarisque locis se vidisse apud incolas pradicant. »

3. Pietro Pasqualigo's letter of October 19th 1501 in *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, Vicentia, 1507, libro sexto, cap. CXXVI: « Et quilli anchora 'omo porta de la uno pezo de spada rotta dorata: laqual certo par facta in Italia: uno putto de questi haveva ale orecchie dui tondini de arzeno: che senza dubio pareno sta facti a Venetia ». »

4. The Portuguese called the strait of Belle Isle the « bay of Roses », and the French the « bay of Castles » or the « Grand bay ». *Vid.* p. 101, *infra*, and Cf. Michelant et Ramé, *Relation originale du voyage de Jacques Cartier*, pp. 5 and 49, Paris, 1867; Jean Alfonse's, *The Course from Belle Isle, Carpent, and the Grand Bay*, etc., in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, p. 237; and finally the Harleian mappemonde.

5. *Vid.* map No V, p. 22.

The projection of Newfoundland towards the east in latitude 50° is well indicated on Ruysch's map¹, and a cape which was evidently our cape Freels, was called the « Frozen cape »², doubtless on account of the icebergs met with in its vicinity³. Our present Bonavista bay, which lies just to the south of it, was called « Rocky bay »⁴, on account of the shoals and rocks on the north side of the entrance to it⁵. Trinity bay is given on Ruysch's map as the « Great river »⁶. Since it is fifty miles deep, the name was not inappropriate.

Sailing down this coast, they were struck again, as they had been on their first voyage, by the immense shoals of cod-fish met with. According to Sebastian Cabot, they were in such numbers that they « sumtymes stayed his shippes »⁷. To this region they therefore gave the name of *Baccallaos*, or the Cod-

1. Cf. Marco Benevento, *op. cit.*, cap. vi : « Hinc [55° lat. N.] vero sensim incipit longitudo decrescere usque subparallelum in distantia .51. subgraduum descriptum & usque distantiam subgraduum longitudinis .285. ibique sinus quidam fit qui peninsulæ Terra Nova vocatæ ad occasum adiacet. Inde vero pretenditur habitabilis : tum ad ortum : tum ad Boream ; ad ortum quidem in distantia subgraduum .300. ferme ab occasu : ad Boream vero subgraduum ferme .52. cum dimidio in promontorio glaciato ». The longitude of White bay at the foot of the peninsula of Petit-Nord in latitude 50° is $56^{\circ} 25'$ while that of cape Freels in $49^{\circ} 15'$ is only $53^{\circ} 25'$. The coast therefore runs east here for 3° of longitude. *Vid.* map No XIII, p. 112.

2. *C. Glaciato* on the Ruysch map (No V, p. 22).

3. *Vid.* Maxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 *et seq.* and Cf. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, p. 2 : « Èt pour le grant nombre de glasses qui estoit le long d'icelle terre, nous convint entrer en ung havre », etc.

4. *Baia de Rockas* (No V).

5. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 341 : « The dangers about cape Freels cover a triangular area, having for its base 13 miles of the coast. . . . : the whole of this space is encumbered with shoals, interspersed with low rocky islets which make it dangerous of approach ».

6. *R. Grando (sic)* (No V). Trinity bay is 15 miles wide and 50 miles deep.

7. Eden, *op. cit.*, fol. 119. Cf. p. 49, note 2.

fish land, by which it continued to be known throughout the sixteenth century ¹. It was on this occasion that Baccalieu island, as it is now called, received its name. It figures on Ruysch's map in its proper place, opposite the peninsula separating Trinity and Conception bays, under the name of *In. Baccalauras* ².

Bears, as is well known, were formerly very numerous on the east coast of Newfoundland ³. The Cabots also noticed the « greate plentie of beares in those regions, which use to eate fysshe. For plungeinge theym selves into the water where they perceve a multitude of these fysshes to lye, they fasten theyr clawes in theyr scales, and so drawe them to lande and eate them ⁴ ». This was the reason, according to Sebastian Cabot, why these bears were not « noysom » or harmful to men ⁵.

1. Peter Martyr, *loc. cit.* : « Baccallios Cabottus ipse terras illas appellavit : eo quod in earum pelago tantam repperit magnorum quorundam piscium, tymnos emulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, ut etiam illi navigia interdum detarderent ». This origin of the word *bacalao* can hardly be correct. It is more likely that the Spanish and Portuguese sailors gave the name. M. Foulché-Delbosc has been good enough to find out for me however that the word does not figure in the Spanish dictionary issued in 1492.

2. *Vil.* N° V. p. 22. The island is also given on the Reinel (N° IV), Miller N° I, Maggiolo, Ribero (N° I) and Riccardiana maps as well as on the Verrazano globe and the Catalan atlas. Cf. also Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 378 : « Baccalieu island, off the termination of the peninsula separating Trinity and Conception bays, is 3 miles in length, about three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and almost inaccessible ». Another smaller Bacalhao island lies just west of Fogo island in Notre-Dame bay. *Vid. Ibid.*, p. 319.

3. Cf. Anthony Parkhurst in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III 133 : « and plentie of Beares every where, » etc; and also Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5 : « Et néantmoins que ladite isle soyt à quatorze lieues de terre, les ours y passent à no de la grant terre pour mangier desdits ouaiseaulx, desquelx noz gens en trouvérent ung, grant comme une vache, aussi blanc comme une signe, qui saulta en la mer davent eux », etc.

4. Eden, *loc. cit.*

5. *Ibid.* Cf. also Parkhurst in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, p. 134 : « the Beares... will not spare at midday to take your fish before your face, and I beleeve assurably would not hurt any bodie unlesse they be forced ».

Proceeding on down that coast they at length reached cape Race which when on their way home on their previous voyage they had named « England's cape ». They had thus completed the whole circuit of the northern regions, with Bristol and cape Race as the base points of the semicircle. That those regions contained nothing of utility, they were now quite certain. Since the spice country lay near the equator, they had merely to follow this Asiatic coast-line steadily towards the south, and in time they were bound to come to Cipango and the islands discovered by Columbus.

Sailing along the south coast of Newfoundland, which they had been unable to explore in detail on their former voyage, they seem to have entered the deep bay of Placentia as it is clearly indicated on Ruysch's map, but without a name¹. St. Pierre, Miquelon and Langley, which had been called the Trinity group on the first voyage, when time had been too precious to stop and examine them, were now explored in detail. It was noticed that although the main coast opposite contained lofty trees, nothing but low shrubs grew on the islands. They were thereupon dubbed the « Shrub islands »².

Coasting on along the southern shore of Newfoundland, still in their opinion the mainland of Asia, they arrived once more at cape Ray, which on their former voyage they had named St. George's cape. They now rounded it, and proceeded to follow the west coast of Newfoundland northward for a short distance³.

1. Cf. Marco Benvenuto, *op. cit.*, cap. VI: « Hinc incipit longitudo diminui parum partibus nostræ habitabilis australioribus extentibus usque ad submeridianum in distantia ab occidente subgraduum .289. cum dimidio in subparallelo ad boream subgraduum .42. & semis ferme : quæ portio terminat ad ortem sinum quendam quem Barbatontem licebit appellare ob quam insulam istius nominis in eius ore sitam. »

2. *Barbatos in.* on Ruysch's map (No V) for *Barbata insula*. *Vid.* p. 49, *supra*, note 1.

3. This southern entrance to the gulf of St. Lawrence and a considerable

Discovering here no signs of cities nor of spices, they once more came about and headed towards the south. The north coast of Cape Breton island, on which on their former voyage they had made their landfall, was re-visited and as on that occasion a fresh supply of wood seems to have been taken on board at Scatari island. We know that they refitted along this coast¹ and Scatari island on Ruysch's map seems to be called « Wood island »².

Proceeding on down the coast of the present Nova Scotia which is drawn on La Cosa's map between the third and fourth flags³ and with the peculiar bend at Mahone bay well indicated⁴, they seem no longer to have examined each opening

portion of the west coast of Newfoundland are clearly given on Ruysch's map (N^o V). Cf. also Marco Benevento, *loc. cit.* : « Porigitur nostra ex orientali oceano a meridie ad septentrionem brachiolum quoddam subgraduum ferme novem faciens quandam cum priori sinu magno [White bay] peninsulam quam Terram Novam vocat Joannes, maiorem longe satis Peloponesso ». That is to say the southern portion of Newfoundland from White bay all the way round to some point on the west coast was considered to be a peninsula attached to the mainland by Petit-Nord and the north-western corner of the island.

1. Gomara, *loc. cit.* : « Y relaziendose en los Bacallaos. »

2. *Biggetti*, *in*, for *Biggetti insula*, Cf. p. 47. note 2.

3. La Cosa's map (N^o VII) gives the nomenclature of only the first voyage but the outline of the coast explored as well on the second voyage. High in the north is the east coast of Greenland with a decided tilt to the east on account of the 60° W. variation of the compass in that region. Davis strait is indicated as a sort of river. Then follows the coast of North America, which they took to be Asia, from about 39° down to 38°. The coast first runs south-east down to Spotted island in 53° 50' when it turns south to cape Race which is called *cavo de Ynglaterra*. The intervening coast is made to run in the form of a semi-circle as in fact it does. From *Cavo de Ynglaterra* to Sandy Hook, the coast has not its proper elevation north and south on account of the needle steadily rising as they went along it. The variation at cape Race is now 30° 35' W. while at Sandy Hook it is only 9° W. This difference in variation accounts for the form given to this coast not only on La Cosa's map but also on that of Ruysch (N^o V), on the *Globe doré*, on Finé's and Munster's maps, and on others derived from this common source.

4. Cape Canso lies in long. 60° 55' W. and Mahone bay in long. 64° 10' W.

as they had hitherto done¹; doubtless because their provisions were now beginning to get low and they wished to press on to the spice region near the equator. For this reason there is no trace of the bay of Fundy on La Cosa's map. When following the coast of New England they seem to have been standing so close in shore that they were caught in the hook of cape Cod, for that peculiar feature of this coast figures on that map most prominently.

Passing outside Long island they sailed up towards Sandy Hook bay where they probably anchored, since it is given on La Cosa's map. They were much impressed by the distance westward they had now come. The east coast of Greenland lies in fact in 43° of longitude while Sandy Hook is in 74°. Since the eastern end of Cuba lies less than one degree further to the west, Sebastian Cabot could well say he had « sayle² in this tracte so farre toward the weste, that he had the Han³ of Cuba on his lefte hande in maner in the same degre² of longitude² ».

An examination of their provisions at Sandy Hook forced them to the unwelcome conclusion that they must either soon reach a region where fresh stores could be procured or else come about and head home again for England¹. They determined however to follow this coast for some days longer

In this distance the latitude only drops 45', Mahone bay being in 44° 23' and cape Causo in 43° 18'. Between Mahone bay and cape Sable however the coast drops one degree of latitude in one degree of longitude, thus making a very considerable angle at Mahone bay.

1. Antonio Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World*, etc. London (Hakluyt Society), 1862, p. 88: « descubriendo toda a baya, rio, enseada, p'ra ver se passava da outra banda », etc., and the edition published at Lisbon in 1731, p. 32.

2. Eden, *loc. cit.* Peter Martyr's Latin reads (*op. cit., loc. cit.*): « ad Occidentemque profectus tantum est, ut Cubam insulam a leva longitudine graduum pene parem habuerit ».

3. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, I, 402v: « & mancandomi già la vettovaglia, presi partito di ritornarmene in Inghilterra. »

in the hope that they would yet come upon vestiges of civilization or at any rate upon signs that they were nearing the region of spices. They therefore coasted the shores of New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland down as far down as the 38th degree of latitude¹. They had now been « broughte so farre into the southe by reason of the lande bendynge so muche southward », that they were « almoste equall in latitude with the sea cauled *Fretum Herculeum*² » or the strait of Gibraltar, and yet no sign of spices had been seen. In view of this, of the low state of their stores and also of the late season of the year, it was deemed best to bring their exploration to an end at that point. On a subsequent voyage the intervening space to the equator could be explored. Then certainly the centre of the spice region would be reached and the magnificent results obtained upon which they had counted for this voyage.

Once the decision to return had been arrived at, they quitted the American coast at a point somewhere between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays and headed home for England³. What course they steered we do not know. They reached Bristol in safety some time in November⁴.

1. Gomara, *loc. cit.* : « corrio la costa hasta treinta y ocho grados »; and Galvano, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89 : « & foram assi diminuindo naltura ate trinta & oyto graos ».

2. Eden, *loc. cit.* Peter Martyr (*loc. cit.*) has : « tetenditque tamen ad Meridiem litore sese incurvante, ut herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus æquarit ». The *fere* is worth noticing since the strait of Gibraltar lies in 36°. The reference to Florida is clearly of later date. Cf. Ramusio, *op. cit.*, I, 402^v : « & venni sino à quella parte che chiamono al presente la Florida »; and also Galvano, *op. cit.*, p. 89 : « Outros querem dizer que chegasse à ponta da Florida que estaa em vinte cinco graos ».

3. Gomara *loc. cit.* : « corrio la costa hasta treinta y ocho grados. Y torno se de allí a Inglaterra »; and Galvano, *loc. cit.* : « ate trinta & oyto graos, donde se tornaram a Inglaterra ».

4. Fabyan's *Chronicle* in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. 23 : « of whom [Cabot] in this Maiors [Purchas's] time returned no tidings ». Purchas went out of

Of the reception accorded the Cabots on their arrival in England we know little, but it is not difficult to understand that it was not over-enthusiastic. They had set off promising to bring home heavy cargoes of spices and oriental gems. Here they were at last with their ships completely empty of everything. The faces of the shareholders, from the king down, must have fallen considerably. Nor had the Cabots anything of interest to relate. They could merely tell how they had visited a region covered with ice and snow in the north and in the south of bleak, rock-bound coasts like those of Labrador, Newfoundland and New England. Even in a region as pleasant as New Jersey or Maryland no signs had been seen of eastern civilization. Such an account must have dampened considerably the ardour of all who had hitherto been interested in the undertaking. The result was that no fresh expedition was sent out until the year 1501 and that one was not in charge of the Cabots.

Sebastian Cabot, when interviewed some thirty years later, threw the responsibility for this complete cessation of exploration upon the political state of the country on their arrival. According to him they found in England on their return « great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland; by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage ». This statement was in part true. The Cornish rebels after their defeat at Blackheath in June 1497 had call-

office on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude. October 28th, 1498. *Vid. The Chronicle of Fabian*, vol. II, pp. 165, 195, 322, 340 and 375, London, 1559; and E. Scott and A. E. Hudd, *The Customs Roll of the Port of Bristol*, Bristol, 1897.

1. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* 1589, p. 512. Ramusio's Italian reads (*op. cit.*, I, 402^v): « dove giunto trovai grandissimi tumulti di popoli sollevati, et della guerra in Scotia: ne piu era in consideratione alcuna il navigare à queste parti ». This is just such a description as one would probably give of those years 1497 and 1498 when speaking of them in 1550. Mr. Harris (*John Cabot*, p. 120) has referred all these events to 1497.

ed Perkin Warbeck out of Scotland to their aid. Landing in Cornwall in September Warbeck had at once proclaimed himself Richard IV. and had laid siege to Exeter. When however troops were sent against him he hastily fled to Beaulieu in Hampshire where he was captured. After a full confession before the king at Taunton, he was on the 28th of November brought up to London and lodged in the Tower. In June 1498 he had attempted to escape but was again caught and after being exposed for five hours in the stocks was sent back to the Tower. With this man and the Earl of Warwick prisoners there however Henry VII. can by no means have felt at ease. In fact to remove all cause of disturbance he had them both beheaded in the following year¹. Cabot was thus correct in alluding to the unsettled state of the country on their return. It is also true that in the autumn of 1498 war almost broke out between England and Scotland.

Holinshed recounts how « in this yere the warre had like to have bene renewed betwixte the Realmes of Englande and Scotland » as follows. It appears that « certaine yong men of the Scottes came armed before Norham Castell, and beheld it wonderous circumspectly, as though they would fain have beene of counsaile to know what was done therein. The keepers not perceyving any damage attempted,... determined not to.... styrre out ». When however the Scots « came againe the nexte daye... the keepers... demaunded... what their intent was?... The Scottes answered them roughly with disdainfull wordes, so farre forth that the Englishmen fell to and replied with strokes, and after many blowes gyven and receyved, diverse Scots were wounded, and some slaine ». According to Holinshed James IV. « was highly displeased, and in all hast signified to king Henrie... in what sort his people to the breache of the truce were

1. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XVII, pp. 104-105 and vol. LIX, pp. 291-294.

used and handled », and although Henry VII. « excused the matter... requyring the king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for any thing done without his consent ...this answeere though it was more than reasonable, could not pacifie the king of Scots ¹ ». Contemporary sources on the other hand tell us that James IV. not only prevented his men from retaliating ² but even « wrote a letter to Henry, full of compliments and courtesy, as through he had been a son writing to his father ³ ». But all the « wishes and envoys sent so often on this account » to his « very dear brother the King of England », were « by his Highness sent back without satisfaction ⁴ ».

Although towards the end of August the Spanish ambassador had been able to report that « the peace with Scotland was not yet broken and even seemed to improve ⁵ », on September 19th Sencino wrote home to Milan that King Henry VII. had « nothing at heart but the Scotch war ⁶ ».

Finally however « the Bishop of Durham that was owner of the Castell of Norham, and sore lamented that by such as hee appoynted keepers there, the warre should be renned, with sundrie letters written to the Scottish king, at length asswaged his displeasure ». On the bishop's « comming into Scotland, he was curteously receyved of the king himselfe at the Abbey of Melrose. And there after the king had for a countenance complayned muche of the uniuste slaughter of his men lately committed

1. Holinshed, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1431-1432.

2. G. A. Bergenroth, *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. I, London, 1862, N^o 221, Desp^o h of De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella on August 23th, 1498, p. 190 : « Two or three months ago the English killed a great number of Scots, but King James would not permit the Scots to kill an equal number of English ».

3. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

4. R. Brown, *op. cit.*, I, N^o 769, p. 269.

5. Bergenroth, *loc. cit.*

6. Brown, *op. cit.*, N^o 771, p. 271.

at Norham, upon the Bishops gentle answeres thereunto, hee forgave the same » and ended by asking « if the king of Englande would vouchsafe to give to him in matrimonie his first begotten daughter the Lady Margaret ¹ », which offer of marriage was accepted. The pacification was completed by a writ issued at the end of November to the sheriff of Northumberland ordering him to summon those borderers who had been guilty of the « breach of the peace with Scotland ² ».

Although Sebastian Cabot was thus correct in attributing the non-continuation of their discoveries partly to the unsettled state of the country and partly also to the threatened outbreak of war with Scotland, yet the principal cause must after all be ascribed to the return of the ships completely empty. This was doubtless the more resented by reason of the high expectations of success entertained by every one on their departure.

In the meanwhile João Fernandes has returned to Portugal where he probably arrived sometime during the winter of 1498-1499. His account of the results of their exploration must have been similar to that given by the Cabots : tractless, icy wastes in the north and in the south bare, rockbound coasts. Further south to be sure they had come upon a more agreeable region but this fell outside the sphere of Portuguese influence. Portugal indeed by a treaty concluded with Spain on June 7th 1494 had agreed to limit her discoveries to that portion of the ocean lying eastward of a line which should pass from the north pole to the south at a point 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. Should Portuguese ships discover land to the west of that

1. Holinshed, *op. cit.*, p. 1432.

2. James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*, vol. II, p. 377, London, 1863.

line, the same was to become notwithstanding this the property of the king and queen of Spain ¹.

Though the English had not come upon the spice region nor indeed seen any trace of it, yet further exploration seemed certain to lead to its discovery. Perhaps one of the openings they had passed in the north would suddenly bring them like an « Open Sesame » into the midst of the rich spice Eldorado of the East. As the field was thus open and the first arrivals would have the whole trade to themselves, no time should be lost. On the 28th of October 1499 therefore Fernandes obtained Letters patent from king Manoel wherein the latter granted him the captaincy of any island or islands he might discover within the ocean limits assigned to Portugal ². This was practically equivalent to the king's permission to continue his investigations towards the north-west.

As has already been mentioned Fernandes's home was on the island of Terceira in the Azores ³. On that island a Portuguese nobleman named Gaspar Corte-Real possessed considerable estates ⁴. Since this man was also greatly interested in the discoveries that were taking place, and had even made one or two expeditions himself ⁵, it is probable he was soon in communication

1. Cf. Dr. J. M. Toner, *Colonies of North America*, etc. in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895*, pp. 524-534, Washington, 1896, where the whole treaty of Tordesillas is given. *Vid.* also HARRISSE, *The Diplomatic History of America*, p. 78, London, 1897.

2. *Arquivo dos Açores*, vol. IV, Ponta Delgado, 1883, p. 149: « como de feito daremos a capitania da qualquer Ilha ou Ilhas asy povoadas como despovoadas que elle descobrill e achar novamente, » etc. These letters patent are also given in HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, p. 44, note 1.

3. « Morador em a nossa Ilha Terceira » as the above Letters patent run.

4. HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, pp. 37-38.

5. E. A. de Bettencourt, *Descobrimentos, guerras e conquistas dos Portuguezes em terras do ultramar nos seculos XV e XVI*, Lisboa, 1881-1882, pp. 137-138: « por quanto gaspar corte-reall . . . os dias passados se traballou per sy e a sua custa com navyos e homes de buscar e descubrir e achar com muyto seu tra-

with Fernandes. It was indeed just this region towards the north-west in which Corte-Real thought the best results were henceforth to be obtained¹.

As a result of Fernandes's communication Gaspar Corte-Real himself applied in turn for Letters patent. These were issued at Cintra near Lisbon on the 12th of the following May. By them Gaspar Corte-Real was given the captaincy of any islands he might discover with all the feudal rights then enjoyed by Portuguese governors². Whether or not Fernandes now retired and left the field open to this nobleman who was warmly supported by the king, we do not know. It seems likely however that he did so; for no further mention is made of Fernandes in Portugal. Some of the Portuguese sailors who had accompanied the Cabots however doubtless now offered their services to Corte-Real.

An expedition was accordingly prepared for a fresh voyage of exploration towards the north-west. One or perhaps two vessels were made ready. In these Gaspar Corte-Real set sail from Lisbon early in the summer of 1500³. He seems to have touched at

balhou e despesa de sua fazenda e perigo de sua pessoa algumas ilhas e terra firme », etc.

1. Damian de Goes, *Chronica do felicissimo Rei dom Emanuel*, Lisboa, 1566, part. I, fol. 65 : « Guaspar corte Real. . . propos de ir descobrir terras perá banda do Norte, porque perá do Sul tinhão ja outros descobertas muitas, » etc., and Hieronymi Osorii, *De rebus Emmanelis*, etc. Colonie, 1574, fol. 69 : « Et quia videbit, omnia fermé littora, quæ ad Austrum spectabant, esse iam nostrorum navigationibus exploratè cognita, » etc.

2. These letters patent will be found in De Bettencourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-141 and in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, appendice XII, pp. 196-199.

3. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.*, : « & assi de sua fazenda, quomo de merçes q̄ lhe elRei fez. . . armou hua nao com ha qual bem esquipada de gente, & de todo ho mais necessario, partio do porto de Lisboa no começo do verão do anno de mil, & quinhêtos »; and Osirii, *op. cit.*, fol. 69 : « Itaque suis sumptibus navem instruxit, & commentu, & armis, & nautis, & militibus egregiè munitam, Anno autem M. D. Olysippone profectus ».

Terceira ¹ and then to have headed north ². On the 8th of June they reached the east coast of Greenland ³ in about the latitude of Iceland, to which island they may perhaps first of all have made their way. They seem to have coasted north along the east coast of Greenland until the 29th of June when the ice-floes and icebergs which fill Denmark strait forced them to turn and head back towards the south ⁴.

The Riccardiana and Vaz Dourado atlases give a considerable nomenclature along the east coast of Greenland but it is mere guess-work to try and identify these with the modern names. Cape Dan however is perhaps their « Hope cape ⁵ » while at the « Islander's bay » they probably caught sight of an Eskimo ⁶. « Refit bay ⁷ » explains itself as does also the « Un-explored river ⁸ ». The bay called the « Grove of Trees bay » is interesting in view of the mention of these by Damian de Goes ⁹.

1. Galvano, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97 : « Neste . . . anno de 1500. . . pedio Gaspar corte real licença a el Rey dom Manoel pera yr descobrir a terra Nova. Partio da ilha terceira com dous navios armados á sua custa. »

2. Osorii, *loc. cit.* : « cursum in Septentrionalem plagam direxit. »

3. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.* : « Nesta viagem descobrio, perâ quella banda do Norte, hũa terra que por ser muito fresca, & de grâdes arvoredes. . . . The pos nome terra verde ». This was Damian de Goes's explanation of the name Greenland. As a matter of fact Corte-Real doubtless knew it was Greenland or as it is called on map No II, *Terra de Lavrador*. The date is given on that same map where we see a *C. de Sco. Spirito* halfway up the east coast. In Kretschmer's *Atlas*, Tafel VIII, No 2, this cape is called *C. de Sco. Anto*, which would make the date June 13th, the festival of St. Anthony of Padua.

4. This date is given us by the *C. de Sa. Paulo*, the last point indicated on the east coast of Greenland on map No II.

5. *C. da Espera* in the Riccardiana atlas.

6. *Baia do Ilheo* and further south *baia dos Ilheos* on the Vaz Dourado map.

7. *Baia do Reparo* in the Riccardiana atlas.

8. *R. não Descuberto* on the Vaz Dourado map.

9. *B. dos Arvoredes* in the Riccardiana atlas. Cf. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.* : « hũa terra que por ser muito fresca, & de grâdes arvoredes. . . . The pos nome terra verde. » João de Maio, after whom one of the islands was called, was perhaps an officer.

To our modern cape Farewell they gave the significant name « Get-sight-of-me-and-Leave-me », which is exactly what should be done ¹. Tassemiut fiord behind the high Semersut island was called « Fair View river » ², while Sermersut island itself seems to have been christened « the island of Shreiks ³ ». After passing several fiords called respectively the « Little Pig's bay ⁴ », the « river of Goblets ⁵ » and the « Dark bay ⁶ », they named the coast to the east of Nunarsuit island « João Vaz's coast ⁷ » after Gaspar Corte-Real's father, João Vaz Corte-Real.

Rounding cape Desolation which as before mentioned had been called by the Cabots the « cape of Shoals », they named Arsus fiord « Manuel Pinheiro's river » doubtless after one of the crew ⁸. Sermelik fiord just north of it in 60°50' was called

1. *C. de Mirame et Lexarte* on the Salvat de Pilestrina map, No III. Cf. *Remarks on Davy's strait, Baffin bay, Smith sound, etc.*, compiled from various authorities, London (Hydrographic office), 1875, p. 4: « Cape Farewell should not be approached within 100 miles, and after rounding it, the coast of Greenland should be kept at that distance until the parallel of 61° is attained ».

2. *R. de Boa Vista* in the Riccardiana atlas. The Desceliers planisphere has *r. de Bonneviste* and the Vaz Dourado map a corruption of the Portuguese name. Mercator's map has *r. de bona Venta*.

3. *I. dos Berreiros* in the Riccardiana atlas and also on the Desceliers planisphere. The Vaz Dourado and Mercator maps have the same name corrupted. This island is 4500 ft. high.

4. *G. do Praçel* in the Riccardiana atlas. The Desliens map (No XI) has *b. du Prasell* and the Desceliers planisphere *G. du Pracel*. The Vaz Dourado map has *b. de Pracell* and the Mercator map *baia dus Pracel*.

5. *Rio dos Picheis* in the Riccardiana atlas. The Desliens map (No XI) has *R. de Peche* and Mercator's map *Rio dus Picheis*.

6. *B. Escura* in the Riccardiana atlas and on the Desceliers planisphere. The Mercator map has *G° Escura*.

7. *Terra de Jã Vaz* on the Riccardiana, Desliens (No XI), Desceliers 1550, Mercator and Vaz Dourado maps.

8. *R. d. Manuel Pinbro* in the Riccardiana atlas. The Vaz Dourado atlas gives the full name *b. de Manoell Pinheiro*. The name also appears in a corrupted form on the Desliens (No XI), Cabot, Desceliers 1550 and Mercator maps.

« João Vaz's bay » in memory again of Gaspar Corte-Real's father ¹. Koane fiord at the mouth of which is the modern Fredrikshaab was christened the « Mountainous bay » on account of the mountains in rear of it ². Lichtenfels in 63° appears on the early maps as « All Saints' bay ³ ».

Just north of Lichtenfels they seem to have fallen in with some white bears for a number of the old maps have here the inscription : « Region of the White Bears ⁴ ». On this coast they also come in contact with the Eskimos whom Gaspar Corte-Real described as « very wild and barbarous, almost to the extent of the natives of Brazil except that these are white. By exposure to the cold however they lose this whiteness with age and become more or less brown. They are of medium height, very active and great archers. For javelins they make use of bits of wood burned at the ends which they throw as well as if they were tipped with fine steel. These natives clothe themselves in the skins of animals which are plentiful in that region. They live in rocky caves and in thatched cottages, have no laws and are great believers in augury. They maintain the order of marriage and are extremely jealous of their wives. In all these things they resemble the Laplanders who live likewise in the north between the 70th and 75th degrees of latitude, and are subject to the kings of Norway and Sweden ⁵ ».

1. *B. de Jã Vaz* in the Riccardiana atlas. The Desliens (N^o XI), Desceliers 1550, Mercator and Vaz Dourado maps also give it.

2. *B. da Serra* in the Riccardiana atlas. The name also appears on the Desliens (N^o XI), Cabot, Desceliers, Mercator and Vaz Dourado maps.

3. *B. dos Santos* in the Riccardiana atlas. The name also appears on the Desliens (N^o XI), Cabot, Desceliers and Mercator maps and usually in the form given above. Cf. *G. de tous les Saints* on the Desceliers mappemonde.

4. *Terra dos Usos brancos* in the Riccardiana atlas. The same inscription is given in corrupted forms on the Desliens (N^o XI), Cabot, Desceliers 1550 and Vaz Dourado maps.

5. Damian de Goes, *op. cit.*, fol. 63 : « Ha gente da qual he muito barbara,

Godthaab fiord to the north of Lichtensfels in 64° seems to have been called « Torch bay »¹. The limit of their exploration on this west coast was probably Sukkertoppen in 65°20' which is called « the bay of the Landmarks »². It is indeed one of the most remarkable features on the west coast of Greenland³. Beyond this point they do not seem to have penetrated; most probably on account of the icebergs which are brought down this coast by the polar current. Up as far as Sukkertoppen they had been helped by the current from the east coast which sweeps

& agreste, quasi do modo dos da terra de sancta Cruz, se não q̄ sam alvos, & ta cortidos do frio, q̄ ha alvura se lhes perde cō ha idade, & ficã quomo baços. Sam de corpo meãos, muito ligeiros, & grandes frecheiros, servem se de paos tostados em lugar de azagais, cō que ferem de arremesso quomo se fossem forrados de aço fino: vestẽ se de pelles de alimarias, de q̄ na terra há muitas. Vivem em cavernas de rochas, & choupanas, nam tem lei, crem muito em agouros: guarda matrimonio, & sam muito çiosos de suas molheres, nas quaes cousas se parecem com hos Lapos, que tambem vivẽ debaixo do Norte, de lxx atte lxxxv graos sujeitos ahos Reis de Noroega, & Sueçia, ahos quaes pagam tributo, » etc., and Osorii, *op. cit.*, fol. 69^v: « Homines, ut ipse postea referbat, sunt barbari & inculti, colore candido: qui tamen color ætate propter magnitudinem frigoris infuscatur. Valent plurimum celeritate, sunt iaculandi peritissimi: iaculis utuntur in summo perustis, quibus coniectis hostes ita traiciunt, atque si ferro armata fuissent. Pellibus animantium vestiuntur, antra colunt, aut humiles casis stramentis tectas excitant, in quibus habitent. Nulla religione astricti sunt: auguria tamen sequuntur. Uxores legitimo sibi matrimonio copulant. De fide & pudicitia uxorum valde solliciti sunt, cum sint natura suspiciosi ». Cf. F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, London, 1894, *passim*.

1. *B. do Brãlĩ* on the Riccardiana map. It is also given on the Desliens (No XI), Cabot, Desceliers 1550, Mercator and Vaz Dourado maps. These also give another *Baia do Praçel* just south of Godthaab.

2. *B. de Maluas* on the Riccardiana, Cabot, Desceliers 1550, Mercator and Vaz Dourado maps. The original inscription was probably *B. dos Malhões* where *malhão* has the sense of boundary or limit. *Malva* in Portuguese is a mallow.

3. *Remarks on Davis strait*, etc., p. 45: « The Sukkertop or Sugar loaf (lat. 65° 20' N., long. 53° W.), a noted landmark, is a wild isolated peak rising 3,000 feet above the sea ».

around Farewell. Beyond Sukkertoppen one reads on the early maps « Icy island », « Icebergs »¹, etc.

Heading once more to the south and passing in sight of cape Farewell they again set their course home for Portugal. They reached Lisbon in safety some time in the autumn of 1500². Corte-Real and his men reported that the region they had explored, which was called Greenland³, was so inhospitable that they had hardly been able to land at all. It was covered in fact with lofty mountains whose summits and sides were wrapped in ice and snow⁴. They were of opinion however that this was the coast of Asia and that further explorations would produce results of importance. For this reason they wished to return and continue their explorations in the following summer⁵.

1. *Ilha do Caravelo* and *Ilhas congeladas* on the Ricciardiana map.

2. Galvano, *op. cit.*, p. 97 : « tornou a salvamento á cidade de Lisboa »; Damian de Goes, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 63^v : « Gaspar corte Real, depois que descobrio esta terra, & costeou hua boa parte della se tornou aho Regno; » and Osorii, *op. cit.*, fol. 69^v : « Corteregalis in Portugalliam reversus », etc.

3. Cf. Damian de Goes, *op. cit.*, fol. 63 : « hua terra que por ser muito fresca . . . lhe pos nome terra verde; » and Osorii, *op. cit.*, fol. 69^v : « Ad terramque tandem pervenit, quam propter singularem amenitatem, viridem appellavit ». This is simply these authors' explanations of the word Greenland. James Gibbs, in his translation of Osorius published in 1752, renders *terra viridis* by Greenland.

4. The inscription on Greenland on the Cantino map, given in HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, p. 93 : « Esta terra he descober (sic) per mandado do muy excellentissimo pncepe dom manuel Rey de portugall aquall se cree ser esta a ponta dasia. E os que a descobriam nam chegaro a terra mais vironla & nam viram senam serras muyto espessas polla quall segum a opinyom dos cosmofreos se cree ser a ponto dasia. » Cf. also the inscription on Greenland on map No VI, p. 25 : « Terram istam portugaleses viderunt atamen non intraverunt. »

5. Damian de Goes, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 63^v : « desejoso de descobrir mais desta provincia, & conhecer millhor ho modo, & tratto della; » Osorii, *loc. cit.* : « cum ad spem multo plura cognoscendi raperetur, rursus anno M. D. I. se in eandem regionem contulit, ut latius littora illius omnia pervageretur, & gentis mores & instituta perdisceret »; and Cantino's letter of October 17th 1501 in

A fresh expedition was accordingly prepared in the spring of 1501. Part of the cost of fitting out the three vessels of which it was composed was again borne by Gaspar Corte-Real's brother Miguel who had also contributed to the expenses of the first voyage ¹. From the island of Terceira came a certain João Martins who seems to have been an illegitimate son of Gaspar's father, João Vaiz Corte-Real ². On the 15th of April Gaspar Corte-Real handed over ten *moios* of wheat to the director of the naval ovens at Lisbon and six days later these were returned to him in the form of seventy-two hundredweight and a half of ship's-biscuits for the voyage ³.

On the 15th of May the three vessels left Lisbon and once more set their course for Greenland ⁴. During the space of four weeks

Harrisse, *op. cit.*, p. 204 : « *solum per cerchare se possibil fusse, che a quella parte vi si possesse ritrovare terre on insule alcune* ». I have collated this letter and that of Pasqualigo with the originals at Modena and Venice.

1. The Letters patent of January 15th 1502 in Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, note 120, p. 94 : « que ho dito seu irmão pera ella amou por a primeira vez que a dita terra achou e assy desta segunda vez que ora foy como com elle, » etc. Cf. also Harrisse, *op. cit.*, appendice XX, p. 214.

2. Harrisse, *op. cit.*, appendice XIII, p. 200 : « sabede que esguardando nos ao muito serviço que de Gaspar Corte Reall, temos recebido no descobrimento da terra annunciada e ao deante esperamos receber pelo qual he merecedor de por ello lhe fazermos toda mercee e acrecentamento e asy aquelles que no dito descobrimento ho ajudaram e despenderam, temos por bem e nos praz de tomarmos ora novamente por noso vasallo a Joam Martins escudeiro, creado de Joham Vaaz Corte Reall, ssey pay e juiz dos oisfaãos na villa d'Amgra da Ilha Terceira, » etc.

3. Harrisse, *op. cit.*, postscriptum, pp. 6-7 : « Nos el Rey mandamos a vos nosso almoxarife dos fornos do bizcoito da porta da cruz. . . que dees a gaspar cortereal. . . tanto bizcoyto, quanto ffizerem dez moyos de trigo do campo. . . ffeito em lisboa a xb dias dabril. . . de mil e bc e hũu »; and p. 7 : « he verdade que regeby do almoxarife jacome diaz setenta e dous quintaes e meio por dez moyos de trigo do campo que de mym regebeo, feito a xxi dias dabrill de 1501. »

4. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.* : « partio de Lisboa ahos xv dias do mes de

they did not once catch sight of land ¹. In the fifth week they fell in with some very large icebergs and as they were in great need of fresh-water a supply was obtained from these ². In the hope that they would shortly get sight of Greenland the same course was held for a day or so longer but instead of land they fell in with an immense pack of drift-ice ³. All idea of reaching Greenland on this voyage had therefore to be given up ⁴. They resolved however to steer as near the direction in which Greenland lay as possible in order to discover what

Maio «; and the Letters patent of January 13th 1502 in Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 93 : « avia dias que partira desta cidade com tres navyos a de cobrir terra nova da qual ja tinha achada parte della ». Galvano (*loc. cit.*) mentions only two vessels as do also Cantino and Pasqualigo who place the departure in January. Cf. HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 209 and 211.

1. Cantino's letter of October 17th 1501, in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 203 : « In prima raccontano che partiti che furon del porto di Lisbona, quatro mesi continui, sempre per quello vento [alle parte de Tramontana] et à quel polo caminarno, ne mai in tutto questo spacio hiberno vista de cosa alcuna ». The length of the voyage out is manifestly overstated. Since they left on May 13th and were back on October 9th, the whole period they were away was not quite six months. This is the length of time Cantino ascribes to the voyage out alone. Since the return voyage only took a month, the voyage out can hardly have taken more than two months.

2. *Ibid.* : « Et intracti nel quinto mese, volendo nure inanti seguire, dicono che ritrovarno masse grandissime de concreta neve andare, mosse da l'onde sopra il mare à galla . . . onde che havendo già le nave bisogno de acqua, con li battelli a quelle se acostarno. Et per quanto fu à lor necessario ne prenderno ».

3. *Ibid.* : « deliberarano, come meglio potesseno, andare anchora alcun giorno inanti, et poveronsi al viaggio, nel secondo giorno delquale ritrovarno el Mar gelato et constrecti ha abandonar la impresa ».

4. Pasqualigo's letter of October 18th 1501, in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210 : « Credeno questi di la caravella, la soprascrita terra esser terra ferma, et congiungerse con altra terra, laqual l'anno passato soto la tramontana fu scoperta da l'altre caravele de questa majestà. *Litet* non potesseno arivar a quella, per esser el mar li aglazato con grandissima quantita di neve, in modo che monti qual terra »; and that of October 19th, in *Parsi nuovamente ritrovati*, *loc. cit.* : « credeno che sia terra ferma : laqual continue in una altra terra che

might lie to the west of it. They hoped either to come upon the continuation of that coast or else to discover fresh islands ¹.

Accordingly for several weeks they kept a north-west course ². On their passage across what we now know as Davis strait, they had for the most part good weather ³. When traversing however the polar current which brings down the icebergs from the north, they appear to have encountered a storm. During the progress of this they mistook two large icebergs for two islands. These imaginary « Storm » and « Tempest » islands, as they named them, continued to figure on the old maps here for many a year ⁴.

After sailing steadily north-west for several weeks, they to

lanno passato : fo discoperta sotto la tramontana : le qual Caravelle non possono arivar fu la : per esser el Mare agliazato & infinita copia de neve. » Cf. Maclear, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224 : « The heavy drift ice often forms a belt round cape Farewell, reaching from 120 to 160 miles out to sea, and frequently extends along the S. W. coast of Greenland, or the district of Julianeshaab, making it necessary for ships bound thither to seek a more northerly port and there await its breaking up. Sometimes, however, the sea along this coast is perfectly open, so that vessels are able to run direct from sea into port. It is said that cape Farewell is usually free from ice, or nearly so, from October to January ».

1. Cf. Cantino's letter in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 204 : « per cerchare se possibil fusse, che a quella parte vi si possesse ritrovare terre on insule alcune ».

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205 : « cominciaro a circondare verso maestro et ponente, ove tre mesi... a quella volta continuarno. »

3. *Ibid.* : « sempre con bon tempo. »

4. *Y. da Fortuna* and *y. da Tormenta* on the Reinel (N^o IV), Kunstmann N^o VII, Maggiolo, Ferdinand Columbus, Ribero (N^o I), and Desliens (N^o XI) maps, the Portuguese Portulan 217, the Portuguese Dépôt, Freire, Gutierrez, Homem and Vaz Dourado maps as well as on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes. Cf. also Santa Cruz's *Islario*, in HARRISSE, *Découverte*, etc., p. 118 : « Hallanse a la parte oriental de esta tierra [de los Bacalaos] muchas yslas y con nombres las siguientes : La primera se llama *Ysla de la Fortuna* laqual esta en el braço de mar o estrecho que passa entre esta tierra de los Bacalaos y la ysla del Labrador [Greenland]. Llamose de la Fortuna por que junto a ella huvo un gran fortuna de mar una armada de Portugal que alli fue quando fueron los Cortes Reales. » *Ibid.* maps Nos 77, 78, 79 and 80, in *Ibid.* pp. 232-241.

their great joy at length sighted land ¹. This was our modern Labrador in 58° of latitude. The coast at this point is 3000 feet high and could therefore be perceived from a very long distance out to sea ². Since towards the north nothing was seen but a high, barren shore they determined to follow the coast southward ³. No doubt they entertained the hope that in this direction they might reach the land of spices. To mark the limit of their explorations in the north, they gave to Table Hill, which is 2000 feet high and one of the most remarkable spots on the whole coast of Labrador, the name of « cape Boundary ⁴ ».

1. Cantino's letter, in HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, p. 205 : « Et nel primo giorno del quarto mese heberno vista, fra questi dui venti, d'un grandissimo paese ». The phrase « fra questi dui venti » would seem to indicate that they had been having head-winds and indeed westerly winds are the most usual in that latitude.

2. This conclusion results clearly from the Cantino, Canerio and Reinel (N° IV) maps, which latter gives even the latitude. On all these the peculiar formation of the coast at Table Hill is well indicated. The two former maps also give Nanuktut. The Maggiolo map has *Corte-Real* twice at this point. On the Salvat de Pilestrina map (N° III), we have the same coast with the variation of the compass taken into account. This variation is 50° W. at Table Hill and only 40° W. at Spotted island, 4° 30' further south. When this variation of 10° in 4° 30' of latitude was not taken into account the coast was naturally made to run north and south as on the Cantino, Canerio and Reinel maps. Although Mr. HARRISSE admitted that the Cantino map begins at 59° N. (*Les Corte-Real*, p. 136), he strangely placed the landfall of Gaspar Corte-Real on Newfoundland. Cf. *Découverte*, etc., p. 45 : « Au Nord de la baie Notre-Dame, au contraire, le sol est aride et la végétation rabougrie. Ce fait, rapproché des détails précités, tend encore à confirmer l'atterrage de Corte-Real en 1501, au Sud de la péninsule du Petit-Nord; entre 48° 30' et 49° 30' de latitude ».

3. The Salvat de Pilestrina map (N° III) gives the coast from Table Hill as far north as Saglek bay in 58° 30'. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 680.

4. *C. do Marco* on the Reinel (N° IV), Miller N° I, Maggiolo, Ferdinand Columbus, Riccardiana, Freire and Gutierrez maps. The Miller N° I map is reproduced in HARRISSE, *Découverte*, etc., planche VII, p. 84, and the Maggiolo map in his *Discovery of North America*, pp. 216-217. The others will be found in his *Découverte*, pp. 108, 238 and 240.

Following the coast of Labrador southward they seem, probably on the 12th of July, to have named Newark island which is 2733 feet high, « St. John's island ¹ ». The large island just below it was on the following day named « St. Peter's island », since it was the quinzaine of that saint's festival ². Gull island in 55°30' is given on the old maps as « Bird island ³ ». Near one of the islands to the south of it they came upon a school of shad whereupon that island was named « Shad island ⁴ ». Cape Harrison which is 1065 feet high and conspicuous from all directions on account of its steep, reddish cliffs was not inappropriately christened the « Beautiful Cape ⁵ ».

Immediately south of Cape Harrison the explorers came upon the numerous small islands and rocks which lie off the mouth of Hamilton inlet. These are dangerous to navigate even at the present day and are therefore indicated on the Salvat de Pilestrina map as « shoals to avoid ⁶ ». Passing through these they entered

1. *San Johan* on the Reinel (N^o IV), Miller N^o I, Freire and Homem maps, and *S. Jua* on the Ribero (N^o I) and Gutierrez maps.

2. *San Pedro* on the Reinel (N^o IV), Miller N^o I, Freire and Homem maps, *S. Piero* on the Kunstmann N^o VII, and *S. Po* on the Ribero (N^o I) map. Cf. also Santa Cruz in Harrisse, *Découverte*, etc., p. 118 : « Y otra [isla] *Sanct Joan* a la boca de un gran río. Otra de *Sanct Pedro*. Fueron les puestos estos nombres por se haver descubiertas en días de estos bien aventurados apóstoles. Son desiertas y al rrededor dellas se pescan muchos pescados. »

3. *Y. dos Sazes* on the Reinel (N^o IV), Miller N^o I, and Freire maps. The Maggiolo map of 1527 has, *Y^a de Ocelis* and the Verrazano globe, *illa dos Aves*.

4. *Y^a de los Savalos* on the Mantuan planisphere, the Ferdinand Columbus and Ribero (N^o I) maps. The Maggiolo maps of 1511 and 1527 have *terra de Pescaria* on this coast.

5. *C. Fremoso* on the Miller N^o I map; *C. Formoso* on the Maggiolo map, and *C. Hermoso* on the Ferdinand Columbus and Ribero (N^o I) maps. The Verrazano globe has *C.* and *R. Formoso*. The Riccardiana atlas has a *b. Fremosa* further north and seems to call False cape, 900 feet high, which lies just south of Cape Harrison, *c. Branco*.

6. *Baxos de Melo*.

Hamilton inlet which they explored as far as the Narrows, 35 miles up, where the breadth is only one third of a mile. On account of the reindeer seen here this inlet was called the « bay of Does ¹ ». For a similar reason Sandwich bay to the south of it was named « White Bears' bay ² ». An inlet of St. Michael bay, the next opening on the coast, is still called « White Bear arm ». Off Sandwich bay lie the Gannet and Bird islands which are given on the old maps as the « islands of Birds ³ ». Between the Gannet and Bird islands lies an island 217 feet high and nearly white. This they not inappropriately named « Fire island ⁴ ».

Placed with what they had seen in Hamilton inlet and Sandwich bay, for up these inlets the aspect of the country greatly improves ⁵, they appear to have named cape North on the south

1. *B. das Gamas* on the Reinel (N^o IV) and Miller N^o I maps. The Ribero (N^o I) and Ferdinand Columbus maps have *b. de las Gamas*. The Freducci map has *rio das Gramas* and the Maggiolo map and the Riccardiana atlas give respectively a *p. da Gama* and *p. da Guama* a little further north. According to H. Y. Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula*, vol. II, p. 111 (London, 1863), reindeer formerly « covered the country ». Cf. also George Cartwright, *A Journal of Transactions and Events during a Residence of sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador*, vol. I, pp. 27, 28, 31, 32, 36, 39, etc., etc. Newark, 1792 and especially, vol. III, Appendix, p. 2.

2. *B. dos Usos Brancos* in the Riccardiana atlas.

3. *Ilhos das Aves* on the Miller N^o I map and *yshtos de las Aves* on the Ferdinand Columbus map. *Ys de Aves* is the inscription on Ribero's map (N^o I). Cf. Santa Cruz in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, 119 : « Mas al medio dia estan otras dos o tres islas altas llamadas de Aves porque al principio dieron en ellas muchas aves », etc.

4. *Y. do Fogo* on the Miller N^o I map and *Y. del Fuego* on the Mantuan planisphere, and on the Freducci, Ferdinand Columbus and Ribero (N^o I) maps. The Verrazano globe has *illa do Fuoco*.

5. Cf. Cartwright, *op. cit.*, III, 222-223 : « Although, in sailing along this coast, the astonished mariner is insensibly drawn into a conclusion, that this country was the last which God made, and that he had no other view than to throw together there, the refuse of his materials, . . . yet, he no sooner penetrates a few miles into a bay, than the great change, both of the climate

side of Sandwich bay « Good Luck cape » and Wolf island, which lies some distance out from the coast a little further to the south, « Good Luck island ¹ ».

Continuing their exploration southward they seem to have taken on board a supply of fresh water at Rocky bay in $53^{\circ}30'$ since it is given on the old maps as « Watering-Place bay ² ». Rounding Spotted island where the coast turns due south they named Hawke bay in $53^{\circ}5'$ the « Grand river ³ ». It is navigable indeed for some fifteen miles. Below it are Gilbert and Alexis rivers the former being 18 and the latter 25 miles in length. These the Corte-Reals seem also to have explored. At the mouth of Alexis river they set up a stone pillar similar to that erected by all Portuguese explorers on the new coasts visited ⁴. To St. Lewis inlet in $52^{\circ}20'$, which is 15 miles long and into which flows St. Lewis river, they gave, probably on August 16th, the name of the « river of St. Francis ⁵ ». From the size of these rivers and from the extent of coast already explored the travellers now concluded that this must be a mainland ⁶.

and prospects, alter his opinion. The air then becomes soft and warm; . . . the land is thick clothed with timber, which reaches down almost to high-water mark, and is generally edged with grass », etc.

1. *C. de Boa Ventura* and *y. de Boa Ventura* on the Reinel map (N^o IV). The Miller N^o I map has simply *Boa Ventura* and Gutierrez's map *Buen Aventura*.

2. *B. d'Agoada* in the Riccardiana atlas.

3. *R. Grande* in *Ibid.* Between these is the inscription *Terra dos Corte Reões*.

4. *P. do Padra* in *Ibid.* Cf. HARRISSE, *Découverte*, etc., p. 110, note 4.

5. *San Francisco* in the Riccardiana atlas.

6. Pasqualigo's letter of October 18th in HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, pp. 209-210: « Credeno questi di la caravella, la soprascrita terra esser terra ferma El creder questo se moveno, prima, perché, havendo corsa la costa de ditta terra per spazio de 600 et più miglia non hanno trovato fin alguno; poi, perché dicono haver trovate molte fumare grosissime, che li meteno in mare »; and that of October 19th in *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati*, *loc. cit.*: « per la costa de laqual scorseno forsi miglia. de. in. dcc. ne mai trovoreno fin per el che credeno

On penetrating up one of these inlets which was perhaps St. Lewis sound, the explorers were struck by the profusion and size of the pine-trees lining the shores. These were so high, they declared, that they would be too big for masts for even the largest ships then built ¹. Cartwright, who paid great attention to this subject, has remarked that the spruce and firs increase in size here the further one penetrates inland ². This is particularly noticeable at St. Lewis inlet the trees of which are used even to-day for ship-building ³.

Going on shore up this inlet the scenery of which is described as beautiful ⁴, the explorers found a variety of luscious and varied fruits ⁵. These must have consisted of the « currants, raspberries, partridge-berries, baked-apples, baked-pears, whortle-berries, cranberries and a small berry... the plant of which resembles that of the strawberry, each producing but a single fruit, which... has a delicious flavour » that are to be met with in

che sia terra ferma. . . . Questo in stesso li fa credere la moltitudine de fiumare grossissime : che anno trovate la : che certo de una Insula nonne haria mai tante & cosi grosse ».

1. Cantino's letter, in Harrisse, *op. cit.*, p. 203 : « per uno de epsi [fiumi], forsi una legha fra terra intramo ; et in quella . . . trovarno . . . albori et pini de si smisurata alteza & grosseza, che serebbero troppo per arboro de la piu gran nave che vad. in mare ».

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 223 : « Few stout trees are to be met with, until you have advanced a considerable distance and have shut the sea out; for the sea air most certainly has a very pernicious effect upon the growth of timber. . . The best timber is generally found near the head of the tide, and by the sides of brooks, . . . Whether it be owing to the climate, or to the soil . . . nature is disposed to clothe the ground with spruces and firs. »

3. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 544 : « The shores on either side being thickly wooded with spruce and birch, supply timber of sufficient size for building schooners and boats . . . The trees increase in number and size from the entrance to the head of the inlet. »

4. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

5. Cantino's letter in Harrisse, *op. cit.*, p. 203 : « in quella dismantati trovarno copia de suavissimi et diversi fructi ».

that region ¹. Up one inlet a traveller even found strawberries ². The further up these inlets in fact one penetrates the warmer the climate becomes ³.

Up one of these openings the travellers came upon a band of Nasquapee Indians who still inhabit Labrador ⁴. The African slave-trade, which was carried on principally from Lisbon, had taught the Portuguese to look upon all natives as fair spoil ⁵. Accordingly they now seized some sixty of these Indians and stowed them away under the hatches ⁶. Being in appearance a hardy, active race, it was thought they would make excellent slaves. Since their country produced no wheat, they lived solely by the chase. Game however was plentiful and salmon, herring and cod as well as caribou, foxes, sables, otters, wolves and even « tigers » could be caught without difficulty. The explorers also declared that falcons were as numerous in that region as sparrows at home in Portugal ⁷.

1. Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 227 : « At l'Ance a Loup, . . . I saw tolerable plenty of scarlet strawberries, which were the only ones I ever observed in that country ».

3. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 344 : « At the head of the inlet [St. Levis inlet], with westerly winds, the weather is frequently inconveniently warm ».

4. Cf. Hind, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 107-108 : « There exists . . . a curious letter from Pietro Pas-quilligi (*sic*) . . . in which reference is made to the voyage of Cortereal to the coast of Labrador, and a description of the inhabitants given. This description does not apply to the Esquimaux ; but in some points it is a rude picture of the Nasquapees, especially in that feature which relates to tattooing the face with a row of marks. . . His reference to the inhabitants of Labrador is clearly to the Indians and not to Esquimaux ».

5. Cf. Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guine*, Paris 1841, *passim*.

6. Cantino's letter in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 205 : « De gli homini et de le donne de questo locho ne pigliarno circha da cinquanta per forza ; et hannoli portati al Re » ; and Pasqualigo's letter of October 19th in *Paesi novamente retrovati*, *loc. cit.* : « Hanno conducti qui VII. tra homini & femene & putti de quelli : & cum l'altra Caravella . . . ne vien altri cinquanta. »

7. Cantino's letter in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 205 : « Ivi non nasce biada d'al-

Following the coast still southward they named Great Caribou island at the mouth of St. Lewis sound the « Connected island ¹ », since it is only separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. Cape St. Charles just beside it which forms the eastern limit of Labrador received the name of « cape Boundary ² ». It also marks indeed the commencement of a bend in the coast-line towards the west. The granitic hills behind Château bay on the north shore of the strait of Belle Isle which rise to a height of nearly a thousand feet are given on some maps as the « Corn mountains ³ ».

Our strait of Belle Isle was merely taken to be an ordinary inlet as indeed it was always considered until after Cartier's exploration of it in 1534. It appears to have been named the « bay of Roses » which were doubtless found along the low south shore of this strait ⁴. Belle Isle in the middle of the Atlantic entrance to the strait received, perhaps on August 25th, the name of « Monk Lewis's island ⁵ ». This man may have been one

cuna sorte; ma gli homini di quel paese dicono non vivere se non di pescasone et caza de animali, de liquali el paese abonda, cioè cervi grandissimi vestiti de longissimo pelo. . . et cusi lupi, volpe, tigri et zebeellini. Affermano esservi, che mi pare miraculo, tanti falconi peregrini, quante passare sono nel nostro paese »; and Pasqualigo's letter of October 19th in *Paese nuovamente ritrovati*, *loc. cit.*: « Hanno grandissima copia de salmoni: Arenghe: Stochafis: & simil pessi ». Sandwich bay, as we have seen, was called « White Bear bay » and Hamilton inlet the « bay of Does ».

1. *Ilha Encorporada* on the Salvat de Pilestrina map (N^o III).

2. *C. de Marco* on the Reinel (N^o IV), Miller N^o I, Freducci and Riccardiana maps. The Ferdinand Columbus and Ribero (N^o I) maps have *c. de Marco*. Cf. HARRISSE, *Découverte*, etc. p. 116.

3. *Monte de Trigo* on the Miller N^o 1, Freire and Gutierrez maps. The Verazano globe has *monte de Tergo*.

4. *B. das Rosas* on the Viegas and Riccardiana maps. The Salvat de Pilestrina (N^o III) and Maggiolo maps give it as *rio de Rosa*. Cf. Parkhurst's letter in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 1589, p. 675: « As for Roses, they are as common as Brambles here [in England]. »

5. *Ilha do Frey Luis* on the Salvat de Pilestrina (N^o III), Reinel (N^o IV),

of the chaplains of the fleet. Exploits river which empties into Notre Dame bay was called the « river of Jordan ¹ ». It flows through a very fertile valley where the grass is rich and timber abundant. Our modern cape Freels was named *capo do Frey Luis* or « Monk Lewis's cape ² ». Passing round it they next explored Bonavista bay which seems to have been called the « bay of the Cross ³ ». They probably set up a cross here as was frequently done by the early explorers. Our cape Bonavista was named *capo de Boa Vista* ⁴ which the French altered into *Bonne Viste* and the English into « Bonavista ». Rounding it they entered the deep Trinity bay which was named « St. Cyria's bay » but for what reason is not clear ⁵. The extremity of the long peninsula separating Trinity bay from Conception bay to the south of it, was christened « cape Conception ⁶ » while this name was also given to the latter bay itself ⁷.

As it was now the beginning of September and they had already coasted this mainland for some six hundred miles or

Miller No 1, Ferdinand Columbus, Portuguese Portulan 217 Portuguese Dépôt, Freire, Gutierrez and Ribero (No 1) maps and on the Mantuan planisphere. It is also given in a corrupted form on the Maggiolo and Freducci maps, the Verrazano globe and the Catalan atlas.

1. *Rio Jordan* on the Maggiolo map and the Verrazano globe. The Freire map has *r. de St. Jordan*. The Riccardiana atlas gives *r. Reall* at this point.
2. *C. Frey Luis* on the Viegas map. The Salvat de Pilestrina map (No III) has *capo de San Antonio* here and the Miller No 1 map, *c. de Boa Ventura*.
3. *Abaiade Cruz* on the Maggiolo map and *b. da Cruz* in the Riccardiana atlas.
4. *C. de Boa Vista* on the Portuguese Portulan 217, Viegas, Riccardiana, Portuguese Dépôt and Freire maps.
5. *B. de santa Ciria* on the Salvat de Pilestrina (No III), Reinel (No IV), Ribero (No 1), Viegas, Portuguese Portulan 217, Portuguese Dépôt, Freire and Gutierrez maps and on the Verrazano globe. The Miller No 1 map has mis-copied it *baia de santa Ana* and the Maggiolo map, *a baia de s. Zacaria*.
6. *Capo de Cœpicion* on the Salvat de Pilestrina map (No III).
7. *B. da Comœchia* on the Reinel (No IV), Miller No 1, Maggiolo, Riccardiana, Portuguese Dépôt, Freire and Gutierrez maps and on the Verrazano globe.

more¹, it was decided that the two vessels with the Indians on board should sail from here direct to Lisbon. No doubt the unexpected drain on the stores caused by the presence of so many people had something to do with this decision. Gaspar Corte-Real himself however resolved to continue his exploration of this coast further towards the south. He wished to make clear if this really was a mainland and also to find out its connection with the islands discovered by Columbus near the equator². About the first week in September accordingly the three ships parted company in Conception bay³. The two vessels with the Indians on board set sail direct for Lisbon while Gaspar Corte-Real continued his journey southward.

The two caravels having on board the Nasquapee Indians reached Lisbon in safety, the one on the 9th⁴ and the other on

1. Pasqualigo's letter of October 18th in HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, p. 210: « havendo corsa la costa de dita terra per spazio de 600 et più miglia non l'huo trovato fin alguno »; and that of October 19th in *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati*, *loc. cit.*: « per la costa de laqual scorseno forsi miglia, de. in. dec. ne mai trovoreno fin ».

2. Cantino's letter in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 206: « l'altro compagno ha deliberato andar tanto per quella costa, che vole intendere se quella è insula, o pur terra ferma »; and Pasqualigo's letter, *Ibid.*, p. 210: « credeno conjungersi con le Andilie, che furono discoperte per li reali di Spagna, et con la terra dei papagà [Brazil], *noviter* trovata per le nave di questo re che andorono in Calicut, . . . Espetasse di zorno in zorno l'altra caravella capetania, . . . per esser andata più avanti scorendo per quella costa, per discoprir quanto più potrà de quella ».

3. This seems clear from the fact that Conception bay is the last point indicated on the Salvat de Pilestrina map (N^o III). The journey home occupied a month and they arrived at Lisbon on the 9th and 11th of October. They must therefore have set sail in the beginning of September.

4. Pasqualigo's letter of October 18th in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 209: « Adi 9 dil presente arivò qui una di doe caravelle », etc. The date of the 8th given in the letter in the *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati*, is evidently a printer's error. « Adir VIII », should simply read « Adi VIII », etc.

the 11th of October¹. The return voyage had only occupied a month². The arrival of these ships and the accounts given of this new region, which seemed to be connected with the land explored in the previous summer, created considerable excitement in Portugal. The Indians were also objects of the greatest curiosity. One who saw them described their height as « somewhat taller than the average among ourselves with limbs in proportion and well-formed. The hair of the men is long³ and they wear it in curls⁴ ». Their faces were marked with great streaks. Some had six marks, some eight and others less⁵. They were shy and gentle and laughed considerably⁶. Their language was found to

1. Cantino's letter in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 203 : « alli undee del presente . . . uno de epsi è ritornato », etc. Cf. also GALVANO, *loc. cit.* : « o outro tornou a Portugal ».

2. *Ibid.*, p. 206 : « Questo naviglio è venuto di là à qua in un mese, et dicono esservi 2800 miglia de distantia ». PASQUALIGO gives (*Ibid.*, p. 209) : « lontan di qui miglia 1800 » and (*Parse, loc. cit.*) « il. M. miglia lonzi da qui. »

3. Cf. HIND, *op. cit.*, II, 103 : « In June 1839, the Nasquapees who had descended the Moisie for the first time to see the *robe noire*. . . wore, as is the custom of their tribe, their thick black hair down to the waist, falling loosely over their shoulders »; and also, *Ibid.*, p. 97.

4. Cantino's letter in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, 203 : « cominciando alla loro grandezza, dico che sono alquanto più grandi del nostro naturale, com' membre corrispondente et ben formate. Li capelli de maschii sono longi quanto noi altri usiamo, et pendeno con certe inanelate volveture ».

5. *Ibid.* : « hanno il volto con gran signi segnato »; and PASQUALIGO in *Ibid.*, p. 209 : « hanno signada la fazza in diversi logi, chi de più, chi de mancho segni »; and in *Paisi nuovamente ritrovati, loc. cit.* : « hanno signato la fazza in modo de Indiani : chi da .VI. chi da VIII. chi da manco segni ». Cf. HIND, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 97-98 : « The men are tattooed on the cheek, generally from the cheek-bone to the nostril on either side. The marks which I saw consisted of slight cuts about a line long, parallel to one another, and about a line apart. The incision is made with a flint. . . and the juice of some herb. . . is rubbed into it, so as to make the mark permanent ».

6. Cantino in HARRISSE, *loc. cit.* : « La conditione et gesti loro son mansueti. umi, rideno assai e dimostrano summo piacere »; and PASQUALIGO's letter in *Paisi*, etc., *loc. cit.* : « sonno molto vergognosi & mansueti », etc. Cf.

be completely unintelligible « although », adds one who was present, « I believe they have been addressed in every language known ». Their costume consisted simply of deer and other skins of which the fur was worn inside in winter and in summer was turned outside ². Since their country did not produce iron they had no arms but fashioned everything with very sharp stones with which they cut through even the hardest substances ³.

King Manoel was delighted. As the country produced timber in plenty and was only distant a month's journey, fresh material could be brought thence and the East Indian fleet greatly increased. In addition to this the natives would make excellent slaves ⁴. These would prove the more valuable as the African negro

Hind, *op. cit.*, II, 97 : « In figure the Nasquapees are shorter and of lighter build than the Montagnais; they have very delicately formed and clean-cut features, small hands and feet, a large and rather soft eye, inclined towards the nose; their hair is intensely black, coarse, and thick, their teeth regular and beautifully white ».

1. Pasqualigo's letter in *Puesi*, etc., *loc. cit.* : « Parlano ma non sonno intesi dalcuno : Ampo credo che sia sta facto parlare in ogni lengnazo possibile. » According to Hind (*loc. cit.*) the Nasquapees speak a dialect of the Cree language.

2. Pasqualigo's letter of October 10th in the *Puesi*, *loc. cit.* : « vestiti de belle de diversi animali : ma precipue de ludre : de instade voltano el pella in suso : & de inverno el contrario : & queste pelle non sonno cusite insieme in alcun modo : ne conze : ma così como sonno tolte da li animali se le metteno intorno le spalle & braze. » Cf. Hind, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99 : « Their winter dress consists of a jacket of deer-skin, worn with the hair next to the body, and a coat of the same material reaching to the knees, with the hair outside ».

3. Cantino's letter in *Harrisse*, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-206 : « Non hanno arme ne ferro niuno, ma ciò che lavorano et ciò che fanno, fanno con durissime pietre aguze, con lequale non è cosa sì dura che non taglino ».

4. Pasqualigo's letter of October 18th in *Ibid.*, p. 210 : « De questi nova, questa regia majestà ha auto gran piacer, perché li par, che questa terra sera molto a proposito di le cose sue, per più respeti, ma precipue perché essendo molto vicina a questo regno, facilmente et in pocho tempo potra haver grandissima copia di legnami per fabrication di arbori et antene di nave, et homeni

had now become so wary that his capture was a matter of some difficulty.

In the meanwhile the autumn passed without any sign being seen of Gaspar Corte-Real himself. His exploration of the coast to the south of Conception bay had evidently brought him into trouble. His brother Miguel who had contributed both to the Greenland expedition and to this last one ¹, at length determined to go in search of him ². On the 15th of January 1502 king Manoel issued Letters patent to Miguel Corte-Real whereby his half-share of the discoveries already made by his brother Gaspar was acknowledged and he himself invested with the captaincy of any fresh territories he might discover on the present voyage ³.

schiaivi assai da ogni fatica, imperliò che dicono, quella terra esser populatissima et piena de pini et altri legni optimi. Et tanto ha piaciuto dita nova a sua majestà, che li ha fato venir volontà de mandar navillii iterum a dito locho, et a crescer la flota sua per India, per conquistar più presto hormai cha per descobrir »; and that of October 19th, in *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati*, *loc. cit.*: « per el che questo Serenissimo Re desegna havere grandissimo utile cum dicta terra si per li legni de nave: che se haveva de bisogno: como per li homini: che seranno per excellentia da fatiga: & gli meglhor schiaivi se habia hant' sin' ora. »

1. *Ibid.*, p. 92 *supra*.

2. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.*: « ha tardoça do qual, & mã suspeita q se começava a ter de sua viagem, causara ho mesmo infortunio a Miguel corte real, porteiro mór delRei, que pello grande amor q tinha a seu irmão determinou de ho hir buscar; » and Osorii, *loc. cit.*: « At frater illius Michael Corteregalis, qui magnum apud Regem locum tenebat, amore fraterno ductus, ut fratrem inquireret, anno M. D. II. duas naves instruxit, quibus in eadem oras navigaret. »

3. HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215: « nos praz que de toda a terra firme ou ilhas que ho dito gaspar corte reall atee ora tem achadas ou descobrir daquella parte que elle denomear e demarear ao dito miguel corte reall por sua lhe fazemos della doaçam e merçee per todo ssempre como de fucto per esta fazemos. . . . Outrosy nos praz. . . . que seendo casso que elle nom ache o dito sseu irmão ou sendo falecido. . . . que toda a terra firme e illias que elle per si novamente neste anno de quinhentos e dous descobrir e achar alem da que o dito seu irmão tever achada, elle a aja pera sy e lhe fazemos della doaçam e merçee. . . . dada em lisboa a Xb dias de janeiro. mill e bc e dous. »

Armed with these powers Miguel prepared a fresh expedition which consisted of two or more likely of three vessels ¹. By the end of April all was in readiness and on the 10th of May the fleet set sail from Lisbon ². How long the voyage out took we do not know. They seem however to have reached Newfoundland towards the end of June and on the 24th of that month to have named the present St. John's, « St. John's river » ³. Instead of the three vessels all proceeding on the search together it was decided that each ship should examine a particular part of the coast and that on the 20th of August they should all meet together again in the harbour St. John's ⁴. This plan was at once put into execution. The vessel which proceeded north to Conception bay, where leave had been taken of Gaspar Corte-Real in the previous summer, seems, on the 16th of July, to have given cape St. Francis, the southern point of that bay, its present name ⁵.

One of the other vessels made her way southward which was the direction Gaspar Corte-Real had intended to take. It was

1. Galvano, *loc. cit.* : « Pola qual causa seu yrmão Miguel corte real foy em sua busca cõ tres navios armados á sua custa ». Damian de Goes (*loc. cit.*) has, « cõ duas naos ».

2. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.* : « & partio de Lisboa ahos dez dias de Maio de M. d. ii ».

3. *R. de San Joham* on the Miller N^o I and Freire maps.

4. Galvano, *loc. cit.* : « Chegados aquella costa, como virão muytas bocas de rios & abras, entrou cada hum pela sua com regimento que se ajudasse todos ate vinte dias do mes Dagosto ». We are not told where they were to meet but it seems probable it was at St. John's from the fact that our modern cape Spear, which lies 3 1/4 miles S. E. of it and marks the entrance to a vessel outside, is called on the Reincl map (N^o IV), *c. da Espera* or « Rendezvous cape ». The name is also given on the Miller N^o I, Maggiolo, Freducci, Portuguese Portulan 217, Portuguese Dépôt, Freire, Gutierrez, Ferdinand Columbus and Ribero (N^o I) maps, as well as on the Mantuan planisphere, the Catalan atlas, and the Verrazano globe.

5. *C. de San Francisco* on the Miller N^o I map and the Catalan atlas.

apparently on this occasion that Broyle harbour south of St. John's was named « Duck bay ¹ » and Ferryland, *Farelhão* or the « Rocky Promontory ». To Aquafort harbour was given the name of « Fresh-water river ² ». It possesses indeed a very pretty water-fall ³. Our modern Fermeuse harbour received the name of *rio Feroso* ⁴ or « Pretty river » which it has never lost. Sailing on towards the south they seem on the 16th of July to have named Renewse harbour « the river of St. Francis ⁵ ». Cape Race 10 miles south of it was most appropriately called *capo Raso* or the « Bare cape ⁶ ». This was afterwards altered by the French into *cap Raz* whence our cape Race. Rounding this latter the vessel in question seems to have explored the southern coast of Newfoundland as far as a cape called « Return cape », which was perhaps our cape Ray ⁷. As it was now the month of August she once more made her way back to St. John's.

1. *B. das Patas* on the Viegas map. The Reinel (N^o IV), Miller N^o I and Ferdinand Columbus maps have *rio das Patas*. On the Miller map it is placed north of cape Spear. This is a very pleasant fertile spot and according to Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 428), « good ptarmigan shooting may be obtained in the vicinity during the season ».

2. *R. da Agnea* on the Miller N^o I map, and *Aguada* on the Freire map.

3. Cf. Jukes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 8 : « This is a long inlet, with pleasant shores, and cliffs rising to a height of about 200 feet. It takes its name of Aquafort from a pretty cascade on the northern side, where a brook shoots its waters over a cliff into the sea ». According to Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 430), « the land is fertile and well wooded », while « salmon and trout abound in the two rivers which run into it ».

4. *Rio Feroso* on the Miller N^o I map and the Catalan atlas. The Riccardiana atlas gives it north of St. Cyria's bay.

5. *Rio de San Francisquo* on the Reinel (N^o IV) and Maggiolo maps.

6. *C. Raso* on the King, Reinel (N^o IV), Miller N^o I, Maggiolo, Ribero (N^o I), Portuguese Portulan 217, Dépôt, Freire, Gutierrez maps, the Catalan atlas, etc., etc. Cf. Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 216 : « The land about Cape Race is comparatively low and bare of wood, with a steep cliff of about fifty feet in height »; and Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 38 : « The cape has a barren appearance ».

7. *C. da Zolta* on the Viegas map.

On the 20th of that month this ship and one of the others met there together as had been agreed upon¹. Neither of them however had seen a trace of Gaspar Corte-Real nor was he ever heard of more². To make matters worse Miguel now failed to appear. In vain a sharp look out was kept. The 20th of August came and went but no sign was seen of him or his vessel. After waiting for some time longer the two ships made their way sorrowfully back to Portugal³.

King Manuel was much distressed at the disappearance of these two valiant noblemen and in the hope of finding some trace of one or other of them had a fresh expedition, composed of two vessels, made ready in the spring of 1503⁴. Another elder brother Vasqueanes Corte-Real, Governor of the islands of St. George and Terceira, wished in his turn to set out but to this the king would not consent⁵. In the autumn of that year

1. Galvano, *loc. cit.* : « os dous navios assi o fizeram ».

2. *Ibid.* : « se perdeu o navio em que elle hia »; Damian de Goes, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 63^v : « mas lo q nesta viagem passou se nam sabe, porq nunca mais appareço, nem se soube delle nova »; and Osorii, *loc. cit.* : « Sed quid illi acciderit, aut quo fato absumptus fuerit, nunquam sciri potuit ».

3. Galvano, *loc. cit.* : « E vendo que não vinha Miguel corte real ao prazo, nem depois algum tempo, se tornara a este Reyno, sem nunca mais delle se saber nova »; and Osorii, *loc. cit.* : « Sed nec is ultra comparuit ».

4. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.* : « Ha perda destes dous irmãos sentio elRei muito, pela criaçam q nelles fezera, pelo que movido de seu real, & piadoso moto, no anno seguinte de M. d. iii. mandou duas naos armadas à sua custa buscalos »; and Osorii, *loc. cit.* : « Emmanuel autem cum homines nobiles, quos plurimi ob egregiam viriusque indolem faciebat, ita absumptos animadvertisset, id aegre admodum tulit : & quod erat boni Principis officium, nihil omittendum ratus est, ex quo posset intelligi, quo genere mortis obiissent, vel quibus custodiis arcerentur. »

5. Damian de Goes, *op. cit.*, fols. 63^v-66 : « Tinham estes dous irmãos Gaspar, & Miguel corte Real outro irmão mais velho qñles, a que chamavão Vasqueanes corte Real, q era veador da casa dellRei, do seu conselho, capitam, & governador das ilhas de sam George, & terceira, & alcaide mór da cidade de Tavilla, muito bom cavalleiro, bom Christão, homẽ de singular exeplo de vida,

these two ships returned without having discovered a trace of either of the missing brothers ¹. They were thereupon given up for lost.

In conclusion a word as to the cause of the transfer of the name Labrador from Greenland to the region now so designated. Neither the Cabots nor the Corte-Reals had reached the bottom of Davis strait. It was therefore not known for certain whether this was a strait or merely a gulf. The Corte-Reals were of opinion that the mainland continued all the way ². Some of the maps thereupon made a gulf here. This was the case with Ruysch's map and with the official Spanish map drawn up by Ribero in 1529. Though on the copy seen by Oviedo the coast here was left undefined ³, on other copies such as the Weimar and Propaganda maps it was continued across the bottom of Davis strait ⁴. The result was that Davis strait became a gulf and Greenland under the name of Labrador became attached to North America. This is seen again on such maps as those of Thorne and Bordone ⁵. On the latter across the whole of North America is written *terra del laboratore* which is really intended merely for the peninsula of Greenland. The same mistake was continued by the French geographers

& de muitas esmollas publicas, & secretas. . . . Este Vasqueanes corte Real, nã se podêdo persuadir q̄ seus irmãos erã mortos, neste anno de M. d. iiii, determinou de cõ naos d̄ sua propria custa hos ir buscar, mas tendo elRei por excusada sua ida, lho não quis consentir. »

1. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.* : « mas nem de hum, nẽ do outro se pode nunqua saber onde, nem quomo se perderam . . . nem se proçedeo mais neste negocio, por se ter por desnecessaria toda ha despesa que se nisso mais fezesse » ; and Osorii, *loc. cit.* : « Sed cùm naves omnia illa maria peragrarent nihil de illorum exitu cognoscere potuerunt. »

2. *Vid.* p. 93 *supra* note 4.

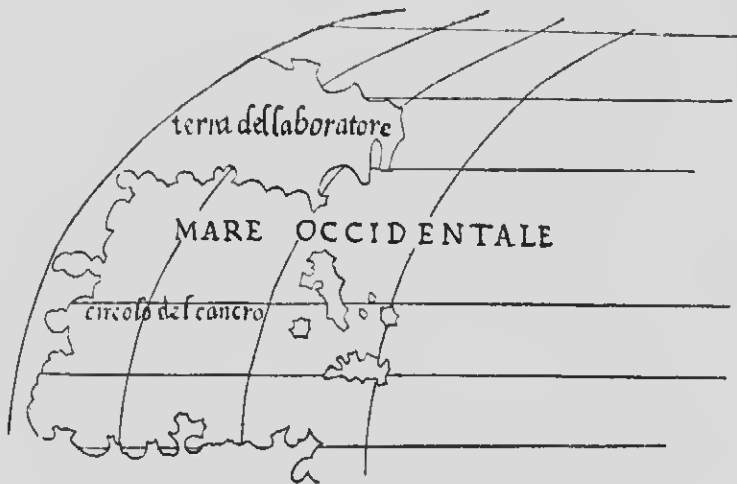
3. *Vid.* p. 19 *supra*.

4. *Vid.* map No I and Cf. the Egerton portulan in HARRISSE, *Découverte, etc.*, p. 70, No 12.

5. *Vid.* maps Nos IX and X from Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, Nos XXXIX, 2 and XLI, 1.



No IX. Thorne's Map, 1527.



No X. Bordone's Map, 1528.

Desliens and Desceliers all of whose maps give Greenland under



No XII. Molyneux's Map, 1599.

the name *Terre du Laborador* or *Laboureur* as attached to North America. Iceland however has kept its place alongside this new

Labrador¹. The same mistake was again repeated on the Harleian mappemonde and on the so-called Cabot map. When then in 1558 the Zenó map appeared giving a good outline of Greenland under the name of « Engronelant », the real identity of the old Labrador was forgotten². It continued thenceforth until the present day to form an integral part of North America. Originally however this region was called the « land of the Corte-Reals³ » while the real Labrador was, as we have seen our Greenland.

H. P. BIGGAR.

1. *Vid.* map N° XI in V. Hantzsch and L. Schmidt, *Kartographische Denkmäler zur Entdeckungsgeschichte von Amerika*, etc. Blatt II, Leipzig, 1903.

2. *Vid.* map N° XII from Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, N° I, where the inscription on *Estotiland* is meant for the old Labrador or our Greenland.

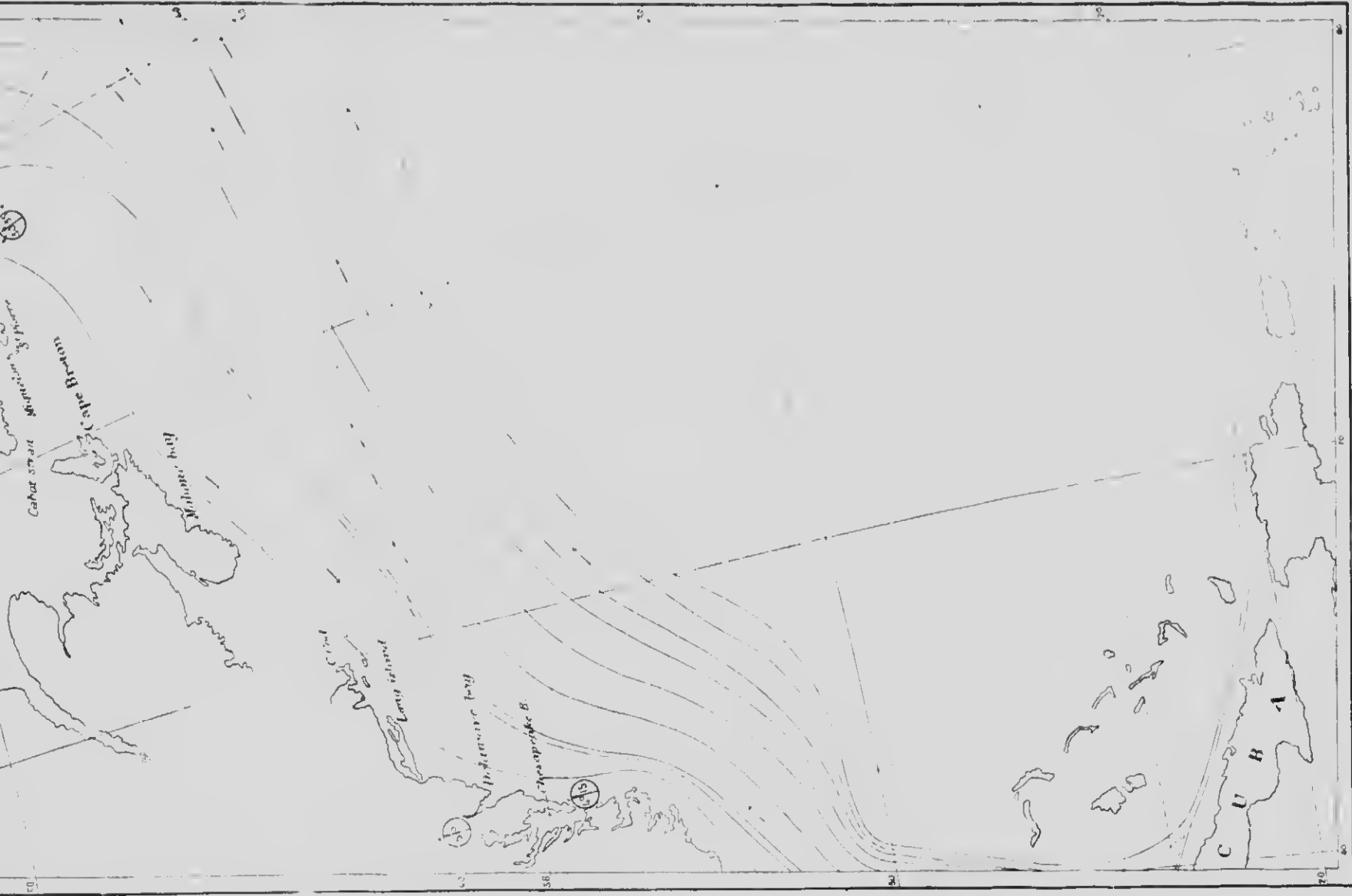
3. Galvano, *loc. cit.* : « nem ficar outra memoria, se não chamarse esta terra dos Corte reaes ainda agora ». Damian de Goes and Osório who copied him give this name to Greenland. Damian de Goes, *loc. cit.*, « pelo q se pos, aquella provincia da terre verde, onde se eré que sestres dous irmaos perderam, ha terra dos corte Reaes »; and Osório, *op. cit.*, fols 69-70 : « Itaque et illi fratres periere, et tellus simul nomen amisit, et pro tellure viridi tellus Corteregaliū appellari coepit. »



Handwritten notes on a vertical line, including the word "Lungs" and some illegible scribbles.



N. III. Modern Outline Map.



N. M.B. Mosby O. Line Map



AL. 111.11.11



