

John & Sebastian Cabot

BY

*HENRY HARRISSE*

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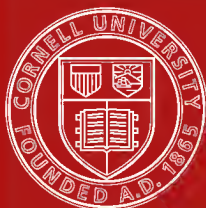


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John Cabot, the discoverer of North-Amer



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JOHN CABOT

*THE DISCOVERER OF NORTH-AMERICA*

AND

SEBASTIAN HIS SON

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# JOHN CABOT

THE DISCOVERER OF NORTH-AMERICA

AND SEBASTIAN HIS SON

*A CHAPTER OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF*

*ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS*

*1496-1557*

BY HENRY HARRISSE



LONDON: 4 TRAFALGAR SQUARE, CHARING CROSS

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TO

THE REV. JOHN JOHNSON, D.D., LL.D.  
OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED BY HIS OLDEST  
AND MOST FAITHFUL FRIEND

HENRY HARRISSE



## INTRODUCTION.

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*On ne doit aux morts que la vérité.*

IN the year 1497, a Venetian citizen, called Giovanni Caboto, having obtained letters-patent from Henry VII. the year previous for a voyage of discovery, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and, under the British flag, discovered the continent of North America.

In 1498, he fitted out in Bristol a new expedition, and again sailed westward; but scarcely anything further is known of that enterprise.

Caboto had a son named Sebastian, born in Venice, who lived in England not less than sixteen years, and then removed to Spain, where in 1518 Charles V. appointed him Pilot-Major. This office he held for thirty years.

In 1526, Sebastian was authorized to take command of a Spanish expedition intended for "Tharsis and Ophir," but which, instead, went to La Plata, and proved disastrous.

After his return to Seville, he was invited, in 1547, by the counsellors of Edward VI. to England, and again settled in that country. Seven years afterwards, he prepared the expeditions of Willoughby

and Chancellor, and of Stephen Burrough, in search of a North-East Passage to Cathay.

He finally died in London, after 1557, at a very advanced age, in complete obscurity. He is now held by many to have been one of the greatest navigators and cosmographers that ever lived, nay "the author of the maritime strength of England who opened the way to those improvements which have rendered the English so great, so eminent, so flourishing a people."

To set forth a true history of these two men, based exclusively upon authentic documents, is the object of the following pages.

PARIS, *November* 1895.

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# PART FIRST.

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## CHAPTER I.

### JOHN CABOT NOT A VENETIAN BY BIRTH.

IT is still a mooted question with certain writers whether John Cabot, the discoverer of the American Continent, was by birth a Venetian or a Genoese.

Henry VII. calls him in 1496 and 1498 “Civis Venetiarum:—Venetian citizen,” and “Venetian.” In the same years, when speaking of him, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a native of Venice, uses the expression: “Nostro Venetiano:—Our Venetian [countryman]”; and Raimondo di Soncino, the Milanese ambassador, that of “uno popolare Venetiano:—a Venetian plebeian.” Finally, he calls himself, in a petition addressed to the King of England, March 5th, 1496, “John Kabotto, citezen of Venes.”<sup>1</sup>

In the 15th century, the term “Venetian citizen” applied to three descriptions of individuals, viz.: (a) a native of the city of Venice; (b) one born within the limits of the “Duchy,” or *Dogado*, that is, the original territory of the Republic; and (c) a foreigner

<sup>1</sup> For those various designations, see RYMER, *Fœdera*, 1745, vol. v, part iv, p. 89; BIDDLE, *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, Philadelphia, 1831, 8vo, p. 76; RAWDON BROWN, *Ragguagli Sulla vita e opere di Marin Sanuto*, Venet., 1837, 8vo, vol. i, p. 99; *Annuario scientifico* for 1865, Milano, 1866, p. 100; Cornelio DESIMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto*, Genova, 1881, 8vo, p. 47. In the course of the present work, when quoting, we shall spell the name strictly as it is in the document cited.

by birth who had been naturalized. John Cabot belonged to the latter class.

Here is the text of the decree by which the Senate of Venice, by a unanimous vote, on the 28th of March 1476, conferred on him the full naturalization, in consequence of a (constant) residence of fifteen years in that city; dating, therefore, from 1461.

“ 1476, die 28 Martii.—Quod fiat privilegium civilitatis de intus et extra Ioani Caboto per habitationem annorum XV, iuxta consuetum.

De parte,	149
De non,	o
Non sinceri,	o.

1476, 28th day of March.—That a privilege of citizenship within and without be entered in favour of John Caboto, as usual, in consequence of a residence of fifteen years.

Ayes,	149
Noes,	o
Neutrals,	o.” <sup>1</sup>

This, of course, establishes the fact that John Cabot was not a Venetian citizen by birth; otherwise it is plain that he would have been under no necessity to become naturalized. But does it also prove that he was born beyond the limits of the Republic of Venice?

No satisfactory reply can be made to that question without first examining what were the naturalization laws enacted in Venice before the 16th century.<sup>2</sup>

On the 11th of December 1298,<sup>3</sup> the Venetian

<sup>1</sup> State archives in Venice, *Senato Terra*, 1473-1477, folio 109. *Infra*, *Syllabus*, doc. I. The latter word in every case refers to our own appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Vettor SANDI, *Principj di Storia Civile della Repubblica di Venezia*, Venezia, 1755; 4to, vols. ii and iii; Cristoforo TENTORI, *Saggio sulla Storia civile, politica, ecclesiastica . . . della Repubblica di Venezia*, Venezia, 1785-1790, 8vo, vol. i, dissert. iv; Giambattista GALLICCIOLI, *Delle Memorie Venete antiche*, Venezia,

1795, vol. iv, vol. i, p. 330, § 395; ROMANIN, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Venezia, 1855, 8vo, vol. iv, p. 469, quotes regarding the Venetian naturalization, the registers of the Great Council called *Magnus* and *Capricornus*, which comprise the years 1299-1308. We presume that for the subsequent laws and decrees, the *Spiritus* (1325-1349), the *Leona* (1384-1415), and *Ursa* (1415-1454), should be consulted.

<sup>3</sup> GALLICCIOLI, *loc. cit.*

population was divided into two classes, viz.: the nobility, and the common people. These classes, so far as national rights were concerned, formed again separate orders, consisting of (*a*) the natives of the city of Venice, (*b*) those of the laguna islands, or Duchy, and (*c*) the natives of the annexed towns and provinces.

At first, noblemen alone were citizens; but the term must be taken in the sense of a full citizenship, for we find even in those remote times citizens *de jure*, who, although plebeians, enjoyed civic rights of a patrician character. The only condition imposed on each was that of being a legitimate child born in Venice, whose father was himself the son of a citizen who had never obtained his living by manual labour.<sup>1</sup>

Those classes of Venetians, however, did not long retain their exclusive privileges, for in 1305 a law conferred the citizenship on every individual born in lawful wedlock, who had been a resident of Venice for twenty-five consecutive years.<sup>2</sup>

In 1348, when the plague had swept off a very large portion of the population, every foreigner who was married and had resided in the city with his family for two years, acquired the right to be made a citizen.<sup>3</sup> This extreme liberality caused strangers to flock into Venice from every quarter, and the number of applicants became so great that the Government, fearing lest the old inhabitants should be overwhelmed by this influx, passed a law extending the period of domicile to fifteen years.<sup>4</sup>

On the 7th of May 1391, for reasons which we have been unable to ascertain, but which may be ascribed to a diminution of the population in conse-

<sup>1</sup> Marco FERRO, *Dizionario del Diritto Comune e Veneto*, Venezia, 1779, 4to, vol. iii, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> SANDI, *op. cit.*, lib. iv, cap. 5,

vol. ii, p. 813; TENTORI, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> SANDI, vol. ii, p. 814.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 815.

quence of the Genoese war, and the spirit of territorial extension which animated the Republic after the treaty of Turin, the rulers again resorted to extremely liberal measures. Anyone who removed to Venice with his family had only to cause his name to be recorded in the registers of the Proveditor to acquire immediately civic rights; at least *de intus*, that is, rights to be exercised only within the territory of the Republic.<sup>1</sup>

Such excessive generosity soon resulted in the same evils as in 1348, for the applications became more numerous than ever. But as the Proveditor was obliged to accept every demand, with no option as regards granting citizenship, the right to confer it was transferred to a special college, composed of at least one hundred and fifty members,<sup>2</sup> clothed with discretionary powers, as we presume.

Venice having been again greatly depopulated by epidemics, the Senate, on the 7th of July 1407, issued a general decree extending the right of citizenship to any stranger married to a Venetian woman, and coming to reside in the city.<sup>3</sup> We infer that once more such a great facility, which dispensed with the condition of previous residence, resulted after a while in detrimental effects. However, it is not till sixty-five years later that we find modifications introduced in the law. On the 11th of August 1472, the Doge Nicola Trono decreed that in future a residence of at least, fifteen consecutive years and payment of all State taxes during that time, should be first required;<sup>4</sup> but nothing was said relative to marrying a Venetian woman.

The reader must bear in mind that these naturaliza-

<sup>1</sup> FERRO, art. *Cittadinanza*.

<sup>2</sup> SANDI, lib. iv, chapt. 5, vol. ii, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> SANDI, lib. vi. cap. 2, vol. iii, p. 345, on the authority of the book

*A. Avog.*, MS.; TENTORI, vol. i, p. 108; CECCHETTI, *Il Doge di Venezia*, Venezia, 1864, 8vo, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, *Syllabus*, doc. 2, which contains the entire text of the decree.

tion laws applied only to aliens, or natives of the annexed provinces. The inhabitants born in the metropolis, or within the Duchy, never ceased to enjoy the full nationality conferred on that class of residents by a special decree issued in 1313, and of which we shall speak hereafter.

The citizenship was of two kinds, viz.: *de intus* and *de extra*, relating respectively to privileges within and without the dominions of the Republic. These two sorts of privileges were frequently combined in the same individual, who was then a citizen *de intus et extra*. And as the citizenship *de extra* comprised the enjoyment of all the commercial rights which Venice possessed in foreign lands, together with the privilege of sailing under the flag of St. Mark, dependent, after 1472, so far as naturalized citizens were concerned, only on giving security to the State, applicants who were traders or seamen naturally sought to complete their naturalization by becoming citizens *de extra* as well as *de intus*.

In addition to the entry in the Senatorial register quoted at the beginning of the present chapter, we possess a list of seventeen naturalizations *de intus et extra*, recorded in the Book of Privileges. John Cabot figures the thirteenth in the roll, as follows:—

“Simile privilegium factum fuit Joanni Caboto sub duce supra-scripto 1476:—The like privilege has been granted to John Caboto, under the above-mentioned Doge, in 1476.”<sup>1</sup>

The privileges alluded to are set forth in the decree of Doge Trono, rendered the 11th of August 1472, which precedes the list of naturalized citizens already cited, and is entitled: “Privilegium Civilitatis de intus et extra per habitationem annorum XV. :—Privilege of Citizenship within and without

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*.

granted in consequence of a residence of fifteen years." The motive is to be derived from the following clause:—

"Quod quicumque annis XV vel inde supra, Venetiis continue habitasset; factiones et onera nostri domini ipso tempore subeundo, a modo civis et Venetus nostri esset; Venetiarum Citadinatus et privilegio et alijs beneficiis, libertatibus et immunitatibus, quibus alij Veneti et cives nostri utuntur et gaudent perpetuo et ubilibet congauderet:—That whosoever has inhabited Venice for fifteen years or more, and during that time fulfilled the duties and supported the charges of our Seigniorship as if he had been a citizen and one of our own Venetians, shall enjoy perpetually and everywhere, the privilege of Venetian citizenship, and the other liberties and immunities enjoyed and used by the other Venetians countrymen of ours."<sup>1</sup>

It is evident, on the face of this document, that the decree was rendered in favour of individuals who were not Venetians, or "countrymen of Venetians." This is made further apparent by referring to the list itself. The applicants whose origin is stated in the decrees, all come from places which never belonged to Venice, such as Milan, Balabio, Lodi, Novara, nor even to the original dominions, such as Brescia and Bergamo.

We also note in the list that the last seven names are not followed by an indication of original nationality. John Cabot's is among these. The omission is simply due to the negligence of some clerk of the Ducal Chancery, who engrossed the list, in as succinct a form as possible, a long time after the decrees were rendered; for it covers twenty-eight years, and not only omits important particulars, but likewise exhibits great chronological confusion. We notice, for instance, that the term: "Sub duce suprascripto" in Cabot's case, is made to refer to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, whilst it was under the rule of Andrea Vendramin that he acquired the Venetian naturalization.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.*

The peculiar organization of the Venetian Republic makes it incumbent on us to examine the question of nationality under one more aspect.

It cannot be doubted that in the 15th century, which is the epoch of the greatest prosperity of Venice, the State only extended a right of protection to its annexed, or conquered, towns and territories. The natives of Padua, Verona, Bergamo, Brescia, Ravenna, &c., &c., could not assume the title of "Venetian citizens," although those cities actually formed parts of the Republic of Venice. Even the laguna islands, which were the nucleus of the rising republic in the 7th century, had, for many years previous, been deprived of Venetian civic rights.

The 15th century was for Venice a period of great territorial conquests: Vicenza, Verona, Padoua, in 1410, the Frioul in 1420, Dalmatia in 1426, Ravenna in 1441, Cremona in 1448, &c., &c. Now, we see in the roll above cited a native of Brescia, and one of Bergamo, which cities were annexed to Venice in 1428. This shows that a man born in the conquered towns or provinces was, in 1476, a Venetian, but not a Venetian citizen, which title he could acquire only after having been naturalized individually. And, as the place from which John Cabot came originally when he applied for citizenship in Venice is unfortunately omitted from the abstract of the decree, critics can presume, *prima facie*, that he may have been brought into life in one of the numerous Venetian localities the natives of which, at that time, were not Venetian citizens born.

This view of the case has not been considered by the patriotic Venetian writers who claim John Cabot. They simply allege that he was born in Venice. This, so far as the city is concerned, we have shown to be absolutely untenable. Of late years, others have put forward the original dominion of the

Republic as the region of his birth. Here again the pretension is inadmissible.

In 1313, a law conferred on all resident natives of the *Dogado* the full naturalization, that is, *de intus et extra*. The two highest authorities in the old Venetian Jurisprudence, Vettor Sandi and Cristoforo Tentori, are positive. They state the fact in these words :—

“Nell’ anno stesso [1313] dilatatasi la prerogativa all’ antico Dogado Veneziano, si decretò Cittadino dell’ una e l’ altra classe chi nato dentro il tratto da Grado sino a Cavarzere abitatesse con ferma stazione in quelle terre :—In the same year [1313] the prerogative of the old Venetian Duchy was enlarged, by granting the citizenship of both classes to any one born within the space extending from Grado<sup>1</sup> to Cavarzere,<sup>2</sup> with a fixed residence in that region.”<sup>3</sup>

Particular attention should be paid to this decree, because those who reluctantly concede that John Cabot was not born within the city of Venice, hope nevertheless to gratify national vanity in naming as his birth-place Chioggia, one of the laguna islands, which would make him a Venetian in the general sense of the term. This selection is particularly unfortunate.

Reverting to the decree of 1313, which, so far as known, has never been abrogated, we reply that Chioggia belonged to the original dominion, or Duchy. “Esse Dogado,” says Sandi, “comprendeva 12 principali Isole . . . erano Chioggia, o Fossa Clodia maggiore, e minore.”<sup>4</sup> Consequently, if John Cabot had first seen the light in Chioggia, he would not have been obliged to ask the Senate in 1476 to grant naturalization, since the natives of that

<sup>1</sup> Grado is a town situate at the northern entrance of the Gulf of Trieste.

<sup>2</sup> Cavarzere is another town, situate on both banks of the Adige, twelve miles from Chioggia.

<sup>3</sup> SANDI, vol. ii, p. 814, and TENTORI, *Saggio*, vol. i. p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> SANDI, lib. iv, art. v, vol. ii, p. 530.



island, for more than one hundred and fifty years, had been full Venetian citizens by birth!

At all events, there is no proof whatever that he was a Chioggian. The assertion is based exclusively upon two lines inserted in a sort of keepsake written at the close of the last century, and unsupported by proof of any kind, viz.:—"Caboto Veneziano nativo di Chioggia ha scoperto la America settentrionale per gli inglesi."<sup>1</sup> It may be true as regards Sebastian;<sup>2</sup> but if John Cabot is meant, such a bare statement, made three hundred and fifty years after the event, is, of course, worthless, even when bolstered up with the allegation that in Pelestrina, and in Chioggia, there were families of the name of Capotto, Giabuto and cha' Botto. For that matter there were many individuals bearing a similar name in other parts of Italy, in Gaeta,<sup>3</sup> as well as in Savona, Porto Maurizio, and various localities, particularly of Liguria,<sup>4</sup> which, as we shall now proceed to show, rests its claims on more defensible grounds than either Chioggia or Venice itself.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by BULLO, *La Vera Patria di Nicolò de' Conti e di Giovanni Caboto*, Chioggia, 4to, p. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> Castello, however, is the place in Venetia mentioned as having given birth to Sebastian Cabot. *Minerva*, No. of February 1763, quoted by Mr. BULLO.

<sup>3</sup> MURATORI, *Antiquitates italicae mediæ ævi*, 1741, vol. iv, dissert. xlix, col. 395-6.

<sup>4</sup> G. DONEAUD, *I Caboto di Porto Maurizio*, in *La Provincia*, No. of November 19th, 1881, in that Porto Maurizio newspaper.

## CHAPTER II.

### WAS JOHN CABOT A GENOESE ?

WE have shown that John Cabot was only an adopted citizen of Venice. It is necessary now to ascertain his birth-place.

Several writers presume that he was born at Castiglione, a place near Chiavari, in Liguria, because Raimondo di Soncino relates that : "Messer Zoanne Caboto ha donato una isola ad un suo barbero da castione Genovese :—Mr. John Caboto has given an island to a barber of his from the Genoese Castiglione."<sup>1</sup> The fact that John Cabot made a present of an island to his barber (surgeon ?), who was a Genoese, is scarcely sufficient to prove that he also belonged to that nationality, inasmuch as he made at the same time a similar present to another of his companions, who was "Borgogne :—from Burgundy." There are better reasons to show John Cabot to have been a Genoese by birth.

So early as January 21st, 1496, Dr. Puebla, the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella to England, informs them of the efforts of an individual "like Columbus," who was endeavouring to fit out an expedition to discover transatlantic lands. His letter is lost, but we possess the reply of the Spanish monarchs, which contains the following passage : "You tell us that a man like Columbus has come to

<sup>1</sup> Dispatch of December 18th, 1497. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. x, p. 325. The expression "Castione Genovese," is evidently intended in the original text to draw a distinction between Castiglione in Liguria, and several places of the same name in Lombardy and Tuscany.

England for the purpose of proposing an undertaking of the same kind to the English King.”<sup>1</sup> The words “uno como Colon” so clearly suggest those used by Puebla two years afterwards: “otro Genoves como Colon,” that we may suppose an ellipse in Their Majesties’ answer, and that Puebla’s letter contained a similar reference to Cabot’s nationality. Be that as it may, if his later dispatch of 1498 omits to give the name of the navigator, it states explicitly that he was a Genoese, in these words: “Cinco naos armadas con otro genoves como Colon:—five ships equipped with another Genoese like Columbus.” However, the petition of March 5th, together with the letters patent of April 5th, 1496, and February 3rd, 1498,<sup>2</sup> show that John Cabot is meant.

Pedro de Ayala, Puebla’s adjunct in the embassy, also writes as follows:—

“I have seen the map drawn by the discoverer, who is another Genoese like Columbus . . . For the last seven years the Bristol people fit out ships to go in search of the Brazil Island and of the Seven Cities, according to the notions of that Genoese.”<sup>3</sup>

Let us now examine the English historians of the first half of the 16th century.

Neither Richard Arnold,<sup>4</sup> Edward Halle,<sup>5</sup> John Hardyng,<sup>6</sup> John Harpsfield,<sup>7</sup> nor any other historical writer of the time in England, says a single word concerning either Columbus, Vespuccius, or any of the two Cabots. With the exception of a manuscript chronicle which we shall cite hereafter, it is only in the year 1559, in connection with the expedition of

<sup>1</sup> Dispatch of March 28th, 1496, *op. cit.*, doc. v, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> DESIMONI, *Intorno*, pp. 47, 48, 49, 56. BIDDLE, *Memoir*, p. 76; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, docs. iii, iv, xi, pp. 312, 313, 327.

<sup>3</sup> *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii, p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> ARNOLD, *usque* 1520, London, *s.a.*, *sed* 1520, fol.

<sup>5</sup> HALLE, *usque* 1559, MS. of the British Museum, *Cott. Vit.* cix.

<sup>6</sup> HARDYNG, *usque* 1542 (continuation by GRAFTON), London, 1543 (?), 4to.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronicon Johannis Harpesfeldi a diluvio ad annum 1559*. Cotton MS. Vitell cix. George LILLY, Francof, 1565, 4to, and Arthur KELTON, *usque*, 1546, London, 1547, in-16, are also silent.

Willoughby and Chancellor (1553), which probably would have been also left unnoticed but for the tragic death of its noble chief, that English historians begin to insert brief details about transatlantic voyages.<sup>1</sup>

Judging from the letters patent which we have just cited, the manuscript chronicle belonging to the collection of Robert Cotton,<sup>2</sup> and the Cabotian planisphere of 1544, which hung up in Whitehall, the documents of that period, which take notice of the official nationality of John Cabot, call him a Venetian. Yet, the first English chronicles or histories which make mention of the discovery of the North-East Coast of America, all declare that Sebastian Cabot was the son of a Genoese.

For instance. In the third edition of the *Epitome* of Thomas Lanquet, published in 1559, we read as follows:—"Sebastian Caboto, borne at Bristow, but a Genoways sonne."<sup>3</sup> It is the first time that such an assertion occurs in an English book.

In Richard Grafton's *Chronicle*, printed ten years after Lanquet's, there is the following passage:—

"About this time (1553) there were three noble ships set forth and furnished for the great aduerture of the vnknowne voyage into the East, by the North Seas. The great doer and encourager of which voyage was Sebastian Gaboto an Englishe man, borne at Bristow, but was the sonne of a Genoway."<sup>4</sup>

A similar statement can be read in all the editions of the *Chronicles* of Ralph Holinshed,<sup>5</sup> and in those

<sup>1</sup> Richard GRAFTON, however, in his edition of 1550 of HALLE'S *Chronicle* (vol. ii, fo. 158), gives a few lines to the expedition suggested by Robert THORNE, and which John RUT led to the North-West in 1527.

The first allusion to the discovery of the New World to be found in a book printed in England, is in the translation made by Henry WATSON after the French version of Sebastian BRANDT'S *Stultifera navis*, London,

Caxton, or Wynken de Worde, 1509, 4to. (*Bibliot. Americ. Vetust., Addit., No. 33, pp. 44-45.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, chapter vii.

<sup>3</sup> LANQUET, *An Epitome of cronicles*, 1559, 4to, *sub anno* 1552.

<sup>4</sup> GRAFTON, *A Chronicle at large, and meere History of the Affayres of England*, London, 1569, fol., and in ELLIS' edition, vol. ii, p. 532.

<sup>5</sup> HOLINSHED, *The Chronicle of England*, London, 1577, fol., vol. ii, p. 1714.

of John Stow's Annals. In the latter, however, the wording is different :—

“This yeare one Sebastian Gabato a genoas sonne borne in Bristow professing himselve to be experte in knowledge of the circute of the worlde and Ilandes of the same.”<sup>1</sup>

Here are, therefore, six writers who separately declare in express terms, or impliedly, that John Cabot was a Genoese by birth. It is important, nevertheless, to ascertain whether Dr. Puebla, Pedro de Ayala, the continuator of Lanquet, as well as Richard Grafton, Ralph Holinshed, and honest John Stow, have not perchance derived their information on that point from the same source ; because those six opinions would be then equal to one only. We must also ascertain whether the statements were borrowed from personages who by their position, their facilities for being well informed, the time and the country in which they lived, are entitled to faith and credit.

<sup>1</sup> STOW, *The Chronicle of England, Christ, 1580*, Lond., 1580, 4to, p. *from Brute unto the present yeare of* 872.

## CHAPTER III.

### JOHN CABOT CALLED A GENOESE.

RUY Gonzales de Puebla was a doctor of laws, whom Ferdinand and Isabella sent to Henry VII. in 1488 to negotiate the marriage of Catherine of Aragon with Arthur, Prince of Wales. He came to England a second time, about 1494, as Spanish Ambassador, and represented not only Castile and Aragon but also the Pope and the Emperor until 1509, when he died.

Puebla was venal, and so mean, that for the sake of cheap lodgings he lived in a disreputable house.<sup>1</sup> His official position, and intercourse with Court people, which he rendered frequent, as much to be entertained at dinner as to obtain news,<sup>2</sup> enabled him to be well-informed. He also frequented the numerous Genoese who were settled in London. In fact, his intimacy with them was too great; since by paying him bribes, which at times amounted to so much as 500 crowns, they secured his influence to be relieved of fines imposed by the English government. The corruption was such that commissioners were sent from Spain in 1498 to investigate the charges brought against him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "He has been living for three years already in the house of a mason who made money by keeping disreputable women under his roof." Petition of the Spanish merchants in London, and letter from Dr. BRETON, in the Spanish *Calendar* of BERGENROTH, vol. i, Nos. 206, 206, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> "Once Henry asked his courtiers if they knew the reason why DE PUEBLA was coming. They answered, 'To eat,' and the king laughed." "Report of LONDOÑO," *op. cit.*, Nos. 204, 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 206, p. 165.

This intercourse with people from Genoa, many of whom we must suppose to have known John Cabot personally, as in those days the Italians residing in London often met in Lombard Street, and also the probability that Puebla himself saw him at the Court in 1496 and 1498 when applying for letters patent, are considerations which add great weight to the expression "a Genoese," used by Puebla in reference to John Cabot.

Pedro de Ayala first went to Scotland as ambassador to the Court of James IV., and afterwards to London, as adjunct to Puebla, until 1500. Ferdinand of Aragon then sent him to the Emperor at Bruges, whence he returned to his native country in the spring of 1506, via England.<sup>1</sup>

Ayala differed greatly from Puebla. He was a gentleman of high birth, and, although belonging to the Church, as apostolic protonotary, was of a pugnacious, haughty, and prodigal disposition, withal, a very skilful diplomatist, who had the greatest contempt for his chief, Puebla, whose company he avoided. Instead, he lived in the intimacy of Raimondo di Soncino, the ambassador of Ludovic the Moor, who then held Genoa as a fief of the French crown. He even corresponded directly with that prince, and, to use an expression of the time, "was not less in the service of the Duke of Milan than Raimondo himself."<sup>2</sup>

At the Milanese Embassy, he had frequent inter-

<sup>1</sup> He is the "Peter Hyalas" of HALLE, GRAFTON, and HOLINSHED, and the "Elias" of BACON (*Hist. of Henry VII.*, p. 174), who negotiated the truce between JAMES IV. and HENRY VII. in 1497. He is also the Pedro DE AYALA whom FERDINAND and ISABELLA sent as ambassador with Garci LOPEZ DE CARVAJAL in the autumn of 1493, to JOÃO II., concerning the modifications proposed by the

latter for the Line of Demarcation or Partition, after COLUMBUS had departed on his second voyage. This prompted the witty remark of the King of Portugal: "My cousin's embassy lacks both head and feet;" referring to the weak intellect of CARVAJAL, and the lameness of AYALA. BARROS, *Decad.* i, fo. 57.

<sup>2</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i, Nos. 780, 783.

course with the distinguished Genoese who occupied such high positions at the Court of England that several of them were entrusted by Henry VII. with diplomatic missions to the Pope and to the King of France. There were among them men like Agostino, Antonio, Benedetto and Francesco Spinola, the King's physician Zoane Battista de Tabia, Cipriano de Fornari, &c., &c.<sup>1</sup> It was the time of the discoveries accomplished by their countryman Christopher Columbus. His voyages across the ocean were doubtless a frequent subject of conversation with those enterprising Italians. Ayala, himself, certainly took great interest in the subject, as he had been one of the two commissioners sent by Ferdinand and Isabella to João II., the King of Portugal, in the autumn of 1493, regarding the Line of Demarcation fixed by the Papal Bull of May 4th.<sup>2</sup> We are authorised, therefore, to think that when Ayala thrice called John Cabot "a Genoese,"<sup>3</sup> his information was derived from the men of that nationality whom he met so often, and is, consequently, entitled to credit.

The statements of the English historians of the 16th century relative to the same question require also to be examined in detail.

The *Epitome of Chronicles* published in 1559, is only the continuation of the chronicle of Thomas Lanquet or Lanquette extended to the reign of Elizabeth. The second part, in which is to be found the passage concerning Sebastian Cabot, is ascribed to Bishop Cooper, as the title reads: "Secondly, to the reign of our soueraigne lord king Edward the sixth, by Thomas Cooper."

Cooper does not seem to have resided elsewhere than at Oxford, where he practised medicine,<sup>4</sup> before

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*, Nos. 785, 787.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 15, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Dispatch of July 25th, 1498. *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xiii, p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> At the age of twenty-four years. Wm. NICHOLSON, *The English Historical Library*, 1696, 8vo, vol. i, p. 188.



Elizabeth ascended the throne, in 1558. He was not made a bishop till 1570. Born about 1517, and living until 1594, he may have met Sebastian at the Court during the last eight or nine years of the latter's life, which were spent within the city of London.

But it is necessary at the outset to ascertain whether Thomas Cooper was really the author of the expression: "a Genoways sonne," applied to Sebastian Cabot.

The first edition of Lanquet's Chronicle, published in 1549, does not contain, of course, any allusion to an event of the year 1553.

The second edition, which was printed in 1554, we have failed to find in any library.

The third edition appeared in 1559, and is the one from which we have borrowed the previously quoted statement concerning the nationality of Sebastian Cabot's father. The title states that the third part is "to the reigne of our soueraigne Ladye Quene Elizabeth, by Robert Crowley," and it bears the imprint "Londini. In ædibus Thomæ Marshe"; but we read in the colophon: "Imprinted at London by William Seres." The reader should bear in mind these three names, Crowley, Marshe and Seres (or Ceres).

The fourth edition is of 1560, and the fifth of 1565. Both of these were certainly edited by Thomas Cooper. The reference contains only the words "one Sebastian Gaboto," without any allusion to the birth-place of his father. Further, in the "Admonicion," on the verso of the title-page, Cooper protests against the edition of 1559 in energetic terms:

"Wherein as I saw some thynges of myne lefte out, and many thynges of others annexed . . . greatly blame their vn honest dealyng, and protest that the Edicion of this chronicle set fourth

by Marshe and Ceres in the yere of Christe 1559, is none of myne."<sup>1</sup>

The edition of 1559 is therefore a mere counterfeit, and as the words "a Genoways sonne" are not in any of the editions which Cooper recognises as his own, the designation is an interpolation of the compiler who edited the publication of Marsh and Ceres, that is, Robert Crowley.

Crole or Crowley was at once printer, bookseller, poet, controversialist and preacher. After receiving his education at Oxford,<sup>2</sup> he settled in London towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII. and became one of the most zealous reformers of his day and country. As he did not die till 1588, Crowley may have known Sebastian Cabot personally, since they both lived in the same city from at least 1551 until 1554, when Crowley went to Frankfort returning to England only on the death of Queen Mary, in 1558.

Richard Grafton's Chronicle is in reality that of Edward Hall or Halle, remodelled and augmented. But as Halle's Chronicle in its original printed form<sup>3</sup> only dealt with the reign of Henry VIII., while the continuation, found, it is said, among Halle's papers, only came down to the year 1532, and as moreover, he died in 1548, it is evident that the details about Cabot *sub anno* 1553, given by Grafton, were not borrowed from Halle.

Grafton was the appointed printer of Edward VI., who notwithstanding his youth, wrote a great deal. Having already enjoyed that privilege while as yet Edward was but Prince of Wales, in 1545, Grafton continued to hold it to the young monarch's death in 1553. We are unable to say whether this

<sup>1</sup> Thomas LANQUET, *An Epitome of Chronicles*; COOPER'S editions of 1560 and 1565, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> AMES, *Typographical Antiquities*,

London, 1819, 4to, vol. iv, p. 324.  
<sup>3</sup> *The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*; London, 1548, fol.

circumstance brought Grafton into contact with Cabot, whom we know to have frequented the Court of that King, where he even delivered lectures on Cosmography. But the sentence in question, such as Grafton gives it in 1569,<sup>1</sup> resembles too much that in the third edition of Lanquet's Chronicle, although inserted *sub anno* 1552, instead of 1553, not to have been borrowed from Crowley.

We know scarcely anything of the life of Ralph Holinshed, but for the present inquiry this is of no importance, as what we read about Cabot in his Chronicle is copied literally from Crowley, or from Grafton.

Crowley, Grafton and Holinshed therefore constitute but one authority; yet we should recollect that the first two, and probably the third, were contemporaries of Sebastian Cabot, and lived in London, where he himself then resided.<sup>2</sup> It is certain that under the circumstances they would not have represented him to be the son of a Genoese, if they had ever heard that he was the son of a Venetian born.

We now come to John Stow, and must ascertain whether he also borrowed his statement from the same source.

The life of that learned antiquary is really touching. He was a poor tailor, who worked at his trade until the age of forty.<sup>3</sup> Being then impelled by an innate taste for historical studies, he quitted the shears and the needle to make researches into the English archives. He travelled long distances afoot, to investigate documents preserved in churches, colleges and monasteries, and collected, compared, copied and annotated a mass of texts, with a skill

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Sébast. Cabot*, doc. xxxvii s. a., 4to; in the Epistle dedicatory. B, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> *A very necessarie Booke concerning Englyshe Chronicles*, London, 1561, translated by RICHARD EDEN; Lond., 12mo, written when he was but thirty-five years old.

and devotion truly admirable. Finally, when at the age of eighty the zealous and patriotic "searcher and preserver of antiquities," as Hakluyt justly calls him, was no longer able to work, James the First, as a reward for the services which he had rendered to national history, authorized him, by letters patent of May 8th, 1603, to beg his bread under the porch of all the churches in the kingdom. He died two years afterwards, April 5th, 1605.<sup>1</sup>

Stow speaks of Sebastian Cabot three times. We shall take these in their reverse order.

The third time is on the occasion of the disastrous expedition of 1553, in which Willoughby and all his companions were frozen to death. There is an account of that terrible event in the Chronicles of Lanquet, Grafton and Holinshed; but Stow's betrays a different source of information. He gives, for instance, the precise date, viz. : May 20th of the seventh year of the reign of Edward VI., but omits the name of the unfortunate navigator, as well as the sequel of the voyage. We also notice a circumstance which the other Chronicles of the time have failed to report, viz. : that the expedition was fitted out at the cost of merchants, who each subscribed £25, and that among the principal promoters were Sir George Barnes and Sir William Garrard. Unfortunately, Stow speaks of our Cabot only as "one Sebastian Cabotte," without mentioning either his nationality or that of his father. Our reason for quoting Stow at this point is simply to show that he was not a blind follower of his predecessors, and that he possessed independent information regarding Sebastian Cabot.

The second time he refers to him is with reference to the three savages from the New World

<sup>1</sup> *Life of John Stow*, in the edition of 1720, of his *Survey of London*, fol., vol. i.

who were exhibited in London in 1502.<sup>1</sup> In this instance Stow again omits to state the nationality of Sebastian's father, doubtless because he has already given the information in a passage referred to in a marginal note. This brings us to the first mention, and there our hero is described as "one Sebastian Gabato a genoas sonne." It is in Stow's brief account of the transatlantic voyage in the course of which the continent of North America was discovered.<sup>2</sup> No authority is cited for the assertion, but we can easily ascend to its source by comparing the account with that of Hakluyt. It will be seen from the following extracts that both are unquestionably derived from the same original.

Stow  
(in 1580).

"This yeare one . . . professing himselfe to be experte in knowledge of the circuite of the worlde and Ilandes of the same, as by his charts and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed, caused the King to man and victual a shippe at Bristow to search for an Ilande which he knewe to be replenished with rich commodities . . . . ."

HAKLUYT  
(in 1582).

"This yeere the King (by means of . . . which 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) caused to man and victuall a shippe at Bristowe, to search for an Ilande, whiche he said hee knewe well was riche and replenished with riche commodities . . ."

The similarity continues to the end of the description, which Hakluyt frankly states "to have been taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabyan's Chronicle, not hitherto printed, whiche is in the custodie of Mr. John Stowe."<sup>4</sup> On his part, Stow acknowledges possessing "a continuation by Fabyan himself, as late as the third year of Henry

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Sébast. Cabot*, doc. xiv, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. vi B, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> *Jean et Sébastien Cabot, loc. cit.*, and doc. vi C, p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*.

VIII."<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt therefore that Stow's description of the voyage of 1497 was derived from Fabyan.

The fact that no such account is to be found in any of the manuscripts or editions of Fabyan's Chronicle which have come down to us<sup>2</sup> is no proof to the contrary. The first edition of Fabyan was published four years after his death, in 1516, and it extends no later than the reign of Richard III. The additions to the second edition, published in 1533, and which reach to the year 1509, are only brief notes, which cannot even be said to come from Fabyan's MSS. And yet this author certainly left a continuation, of which, however, his posthumous publishers, Pynson and Rastell, have not been aware. That continuation covered the entire reign of Henry VII., since Stow says it reached to the third year of the reign of Henry VIII., and it consequently embraced the period of Cabot's first transatlantic voyages, as well as a description of the same. This is further shown by the other statement (above cited) relative to three savages brought from the New World in 1502, which is also given as having been taken from Fabyan's Chronicle, although it is not to be found in any known text of his work.

Now, if Stow's declaration that Sebastian Cabot was the son of a Genoese comes originally from Fabyan, as must be admitted *a priori*, it is entitled to credit. Not that Fabyan, notwithstanding his efforts to reconcile the various accounts of historians, possessed great critical acumen; but as he was born

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS. 538, quoted by BIDDLE, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle*, London, 1516, 1533, 1542, 1559, fol. ELLIS has consulted for his 1811 edition two MSS., but they were incomplete as regards the

part which interests us. The copy of FABYAN in the Reading Room of the British Museum contains the following MS. annotation: "A third MS. in the Holkham Library." We have vainly endeavoured to discover it.

in London, and lived in that city to the time of his death in 1512, having held the important offices of sheriff and alderman, the latter of which he still filled in 1502, he must have been in a position to obtain reliable information concerning matters of importance to trade and navigation, such as were unquestionably the granting of the letters patent of 1496 and the successful voyage of John Cabot in 1497. He must then have known personally the fortunate navigator, to whom, in London, on account of his great discovery "vast honors were paid, and after whom the English ran like wild people."<sup>1</sup> Besides, Fabyan was a draper by trade, and, on account of the celebrated Genoa and Savona cloths and plushes which were then largely imported into England, doubtless had commercial intercourse with the Ligurian merchants residing in London, and may thus have acquired from them information relative to John Cabot's original nationality.

Withal, the matter is not yet absolutely clear. In the quotation given above the reader may have noticed a certain blank in the extracts alike of Stow and Hakluyt. This line of argument required us to leave out a few words, which must be now replaced. They are :

STOW (1580).

"One Sebastian Gabato a  
genoas sonne."

HAKLUYT (1582).

"by meanes of a Venetian."

The difference is great, and the more noticeable that both Stow and Hakluyt took their text from the same manuscript Fabyan. An interpolation has certainly been made by one of them.

It must be said that Hakluyt did not always follow original texts faithfully. Without accepting

<sup>1</sup> PASQUALIGO's Letter ; *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322.

all the criticisms levelled at him by Biddle<sup>1</sup> concerning extracts from Gomara, Ramusio and Willes, inserted in the *Principall Navigations*, the inaccuracy of which must be in part ascribed to Richard Eden, there is one which we think well-founded. It is that which concerns the three savages from the New World already referred to as exhibited in London in 1502.<sup>2</sup> This circumstance is related by Hakluyt and by Stow, in both instances as having been borrowed from Fabyan. According to Stow, the exhibition took place "18 Hen. VII. A.D. 1502."<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages* published in 1582, had given almost the same date: "in the xvii yeere of his [Henry VII<sup>th</sup>'s] raigne."<sup>4</sup> Being anxious, afterwards, to make the exhibition coincide with Cabot's voyage of 1498, he changed, in his edition of 1599-1600, the date of 1502 into that of "the fourteenth yere of Henry VII<sup>th</sup>'s raigne;" which covers the period from August 21st, 1498 until August 21st, 1499. We have just seen also that in 1582, he says, again in quoting Fabyan: "by meanes of a Venetian." Yet, eighteen years afterwards, he alters his text, so as to make it read: "by meanes of one John Cabot, a Venetian," continuing nevertheless, to give the fact as coming from Fabyan. Hakluyt therefore may be charged with manipulating sometimes the authors whom he quotes.

As to John Stow, we must frankly admit that he is also liable to the charge of having foisted several words into the cited passage derived from Fabyan. True it is that we do not possess the latter's original text, but the critic can trace it to

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE, pp. 13, 21, 34, 53. See TYTLER'S excellent vindication of HAKLUYT, *Progress of Discovery*, Edinb., 1823, pp. 417-444.

<sup>2</sup> STOW, *Chron.*, Lond., 1580, p. 875.

<sup>3</sup> *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiv, p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*, in the Hakluyt Society's reprint, p. 23.



its prototype, viz.: the Cottonian MS. entitled *Cronicon regum Angliæ et series maiorum et vice comitum Civitatis London ab anno primo Henrici tertium ad annum primum Hen. 8<sup>vi</sup>*, which begins as follows :

“ This yere the Kyng at the besy request and supplicacion of a Straunger venisian, which by a Cœart made by hym self expert in knowyng of the world. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

Hakluyt’s first account (1582) is certainly more in accordance with the above text than is that of Stow, and as he expressly states that he took it from the copy of Fabyan then in the possession of Stow, we are bound to infer that Stow’s copy of Fabyan did not contain the words: “ Sebastian Gabato a genoas sonne,” and that these are an interpolation made by Stow himself.

We have been unable to ascertain where he obtained his information on this point. True it is that Crowley, thirty years before him, had already stated that Sebastian Cabot was “ a Genoways sonne,” which statement was repeated by Grafton in 1569, and by Holinshed in 1577, and the chronicles of those authors cannot have remained unknown to Stow. Withal, our impression is that if he had borrowed the statement from them, we should find it, not in his account of the voyage of 1497, but in his description of Willoughby’s expedition, exactly as those historians have it, and with the same details.

Further, however paradoxical it may seem at first sight, we are inclined to believe that in Stow’s opinion, the Cabot who discovered the continent of North America, and the Cabot who “ encouraged ” the enterprise of Willoughby fifty-six years afterwards, had nothing in common, not even the name.

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. vi, p. 316.

Under the years 1498 and 1502, he calls the navigator "*Gabato*"; under the year 1553, "*Cabotte*." When speaking of *Gabato* in 1502, in order to show that he is the same individual mentioned previously, Stow omits the adjective *a* before the name and adds in the marginal note: "before named in anno 1498." Now, there is no such reference,—although greatly needed,—when he speaks of the principal promoter of Willoughby's expedition, whom he simply designates as "one Sebastian Cabotte," as if the man had never before played any part in the events related in his chronicle, and without knowing, apparently, where he came from.

It is not impossible, therefore, that Stow may have borrowed his information relative to the original nationality of Sebastian Cabot's father, from some old document, and not from the same source as Crowley, or from Crowley himself.

At all events, it has been shown that until the day when the Doge Andrea Vendramin said to John Cabot, according to the consecrated formula: "te nostrum creamus:—We create thee one of us," John Cabot had only been in Venice, a "forestiere," or alien in the full sense of the term. Further, the documents prove that after he removed to England, diplomatists and historians believed him to have come originally from Genoa, and called his son Sebastian "a Genoways sonne," whilst no proof to the contrary has yet been adduced by anyone.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT'S AGE AND NATIONALITY. NOT AN ENGLISHMAN.

A number of English writers state that Sebastian Cabot was born in England, at Bristol.<sup>1</sup> This assertion requires to be thoroughly examined.

John Cabot was married to a Venetian woman, who followed him to England, apparently in one of those galleys which Venice sent regularly to the principal ports of Great Britain. On the 27th of August 1497, she was living at Bristol with her children.<sup>2</sup> Lorenzo Pasqualigo, in the only mention which has reached us of John Cabot's wife, and Sebastian's mother, simply says: "so moier venitiana e con so fioli a Bristo."<sup>3</sup> We do not even know what was her maiden or her christian name.<sup>4</sup> The probability is that she died at the close of the 15th century, since, when Sebastian Cabot alleged, as a pretext for going to Venice, that he had to prosecute a claim relating to his mother's jointure, Peter

<sup>1</sup> LANQUET (*i.e.* CROWLEY), GRAFTON, HOLINSHED, STOW, &c. &c. That belief was certainly based upon EDEN'S marginal note (mentioned below), which must have inspired them with the more confidence that it emanated from Cabot himself.

Francis GODWIN, *Annales of England*, London, 1630, folio, calls "Sebastian Cabota, a Portugall." Gaspar CORREA, who lived in the times of Cabot, says he was a Basque: "N' este anno de. 527 partio de Sevilla hum Bastião Gabato, biscayno;"

*Lendas de Índia*, Lisboa, 1858-62, 4to, vol. iii, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i, No. 752; BULLO, *Vera Patria*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> John Cabot's wife seems to have had a sister, whose name is also unknown, and who was represented as living in Venice on the 28th of April 1523, and to be then very old: "la ameda vostra é molto vecchia," says the Ragusian when writing to Sebastian Cabot. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*; doc. xxxi, p. 353.

Vannes wrote to the Privy Council, on the 12th of September 1551: "this matter is above fifty years old."<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that in the 11th year of the reign of Henry VII., John Cabot and his three sons requested a grant of letters patent for a voyage of discovery.<sup>2</sup> These were granted on March 5th, 1496, and it is from them that we learn the names of Cabot's three sons, "Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto."

If we follow the order in which the grantees are mentioned in the letters patent, Sebastian was the second son; but we have yet to ascertain his age and the place of his birth.

The grant is to John Cabot personally, and to his sons, but he does not receive it at the same time as guardian for them, or any of them. On the contrary, the individual character of the grantees is preserved absolutely, as the letters patent are to each separately, their heirs and deputies:

"Dilectis nobis Johanni Cabotto civi Venetiarum, ac Lodovico, Sebastiano et Sancto, filiis dicti Johannis, et eorum ac cujus libet eorum hæredibus et deputatis:—to our welbeloued John Cabot, citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus, sonnes of the said John, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies."

Apparently, John Cabot's three sons were therefore in March 1496 all of full age. True it is that Henry VII. asserted high prerogatives, and perhaps infancy or minority would not have been a bar under his reign to the vesting of a royal grant in an infant or minor, leaving the question of disability to arise when it was sought to enforce some liability against the alleged infant, or when some question was started as to the exercise by him of authority pur-

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Sébast. Cabot*; doc. xxxvi, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. v, part iv, p. 89; DESIMONI, *Intorno*, doc. vi.

porting to be given to the minor by the grant of letters patent. Yet any one at all familiar with the history of English jurisprudence will concede that, even under the first Tudor, powers such as the making of contracts with third parties, and the right to take and equip ships in British ports, to bind crews, and enjoy the privileges of exclusive resort and traffic,—all of which could be vitiated on the ground of infancy,—would scarcely have been granted to any one who was not obviously of full age. Nor is it likely that powers so extensive as to give authority to subdue, occupy and possess foreign regions, and to exercise jurisdiction over them in the name of the King of England, could also have been given to minors. The counsellors of the Crown, we think, would have required proofs of majority, if the least doubt had arisen in their mind on that most important point.

This objection involves the question of majority. If we interpret it in the sense of the English common law, Sebastian Cabot, on the 5th of March 1496, had attained at least the age of twenty-two since his younger brother Sanctus was then, necessarily, not less than twenty-one years old. Sebastian therefore was born before March 1474. If, on the other hand, we view the question from the standpoint of the civil law which prevailed at Venice, Sebastian's birth occurred at the latest in 1470.

The place of his birth can also be ascertained, both by implication and from trustworthy reports.

If we are to believe certain English biographers, Sebastian Cabot's native place was in England, on the banks of the Frome or Avon. This assertion rests almost exclusively upon a statement made by Sebastian Cabot himself, which, however, as we shall hereafter show, carries but little weight.

Richard Eden, in a marginal note appended to his

translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, makes the following statement :

“Sebastian Cabote tould me that he was borne in Brystowe, and that at iiii. yeare ould he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne into England with his father after certayne years, whereby he was thought to have been born in Venice.”<sup>1</sup>

Reverting to the decree by which the Senate of Venice conferred the Venetian nationality on John Cabot, we must recall the fact that the privilege was granted in consequence of a constant residence of fifteen years in Venice. And as the act is dated March 28th, 1476, whilst the letters patent of Henry VII. bear date March 5th, 1496, Sebastian Cabot was not only already in existence when his father obtained the Venetian nationality, but he must have then been not less than two, or six years old. That is, he was begotten whilst John Cabot yet awaited within the limits of the Republic, to all appearances in the city itself, the prescribed period when an alien could be invested with the rights and privileges of a Venetian citizen. Sebastian Cabot therefore was born in Venice.

If, in reply, misguided English patriotic writers bring forward the statement of Cabot to Eden, “that at iiii yeare ould he was carried with his father to Venice,” they must admit one of two consequences, either of which is damaging to their case.

The first is that if John Cabot's wife went to England only after her husband was made a Venetian citizen, March 28th, 1476, and then gave birth to Sebastian, in that case he cannot have been older than nineteen when Henry VII. granted him the letters patent of April 5th, 1496. Our argument derived from incapacity on account of lack of age, preserves therefore its full force.

<sup>1</sup> EDEN, *Decades of the New Worlde*, London, 1555, 4to, fo. 255.

The second consequence is that if it was before the time when John Cabot had acquired his Venetian naturalization that he became in England the father of Sebastian, then the latter was born prior to 1457, since the naturalization granted in 1476, is predicated upon a residence of fifteen consecutive years in Venice, and Sebastian says that he had attained the age of four when his father took him from England to that city. As Sebastian was still at the head of the Muscovy Company in 1556-1557, he would thus be in active service when one hundred years old!

The next legal document relating to the question of birth-place or original nationality is the grant of March 5th, 1496, in which John Cabot is mentioned as being a "Venetian citizen." We are of opinion that if his sons had been actually born within the dominion of the crown of England, being in consequence natural born subjects, although they were children of an alien,<sup>1</sup> their names would have been preceded in the letters patent by the usual formula: "dilectis subditis nostro." And if only one of them, Sebastian, for instance, had been brought into life on British soil, a similar expression would also have recorded the fact. We have only to examine the numerous grants in Rymer's *Fœdera* to become convinced of this rule. On the other hand, if the sons of John Cabot alone had been the grantees, the probability is that their nationality would have been stated; but in the present instance it was doubtless deemed sufficient to employ the prescribed statement for the *pater familias* alone.

This interpretation is borne out by the wording of another authentic document, viz. the letters patent<sup>2</sup> granted by Henry VII. on the 19th March 1501, to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst, and John Thomas of Bristol, associated with three Azorean

<sup>1</sup> BLACKSTONE, vol. i, p. 288, note. <sup>2</sup> Letters patent in BIDDLE, p. 312.

adventurers. This patent is the first of the kind granted in England after the authorizations conceded to the Cabots in 1496 and 1498. Now, in these letters patent of 1501, Henry VII. explicitly abrogates the similar privilèges which he had previously granted, necessarily those to John Cabot and his sons, including, of course, Sebastian. And in what terms does the King refer to his first patentees? He says that this new grant shall not be interfered with by virtue or colour of any previous grant made by him to any foreigner or *foreigners* under his Great Seal :

“Seu aliquis extraneus aut aliqui extranei virtute aut colore alicujus concessionis nostræ sibi Magno Sigillo Nostro per antea factæ.”

It stands to reason that Henry VII. never would have used such expressions as “extraneus:—foreigner,” if Sebastian Cabot, who was one of those first grantees, had been an Englishman born. We must also notice that he does not use the term “foreigner” merely in the singular,<sup>1</sup> which would make the restriction apply only to John Cabot, the sole grantee in 1498. The word is also employed in the plural: “extranei,” which again necessarily is a reference to the several grantees in 1496.

Our conclusion that Sebastian Cabot was a Venetian by birth, and, in England, never anything else than a foreign resident, is confirmed by a number of other proofs.

Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, who was on very friendly terms with him, from constant personal intercourse, speaks in his third Decade, written in 1515, as follows:—

“Familiarem habeo domi Cabottum ipsum et contubernalem interdum:—Cabot is my very frende, whom I vse famylierly and

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find in RYMER'S *Fœdera* a number of instances where the distinction between these terms is clearly expressed.



delyte to haue hym sumtymes keepe me company in myne owne house."

This historian makes at the same time the following statement :—

"Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed a parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus . . . transportatus pené infans :—Sebastian Cabot a Venetian borne, whom beinge yet but in maner an infante, his parentes caryed with them into Englande."<sup>1</sup>

Peter Martyr would hardly be so positive if the information had not been derived either from a trustworthy source, or from Cabot himself.

Oviedo, who also knew Sebastian Cabot personally, and must have often met him at the Court of Charles V., makes a similar statement :—

"Sebastian Gaboto, por su origen veneciano é criado en la isla de Inglaterra :—Sebastian Gaboto, of Venetian birth, brought up in the island of England."

However, in the cedula of King Ferdinand of Aragon appointing Sebastian Cabot, October 20th, 1512, naval captain, there is a mention of English nationality in the words :—"Sebastian Caboto, Ingles."<sup>3</sup> He had then been living in England for at least sixteen years and doubtless spoke English perfectly ; he also belonged to the retinue of Lord Willoughby de Broke, who had command of the British troops which were landed at Pasages only a few months before. In consequence of these facts, Sebastian Cabot may well have passed in Spain for an Englishman. But English documents absolutely authentic and of the time show that such was not then the opinion in England.

In 1521, Henry VIII. ordered that the Twelve Great Liveries of London should bear most of the cost of an expedition to the New World, under the

<sup>1</sup> ANGHIERA, *De rebus Oceanicis et Indias*, lib. xxiii, cap. 1, vol. ii, p. Orbe nouo, Basil. 1533, folio, fo. 55. 169.

<sup>2</sup> OVIEDO, *Historia General de las* <sup>3</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xvii, p. 332.

command of Sebastian Cabot. The Wardens and Company of Drapers, acting as spokesmen, objected. Among other reasons, they stated that Cabot knew nothing personally of those transatlantic regions, whilst "perfitte knowledge might be had by credible reporte of maisters and mariners *naturally born within this realm of England* having experience, and exercised in and about the forsaid Iland."<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are certainly an allusion to the foreign birth of Sebastian Cabot and carry great weight when we consider that they were addressed to the King and to Cardinal Wolsey by old and highly respectable residents of London.

We now come to assertions from his own lips, made under very grave circumstances.

At the time when Cabot was holding the office of Pilot-Major of Spain, he sent an agent to Venice for the purpose of entering into negotiations concerning an expedition, of which we will speak at length hereafter. The Chief of the Council of Ten, in reporting the interview with that envoy (called Hieronimo de Marin de Busignolo), September 27th, 1522, stated that Cabot "dice esser di questa città nostra :—says he is of our city [of Venice]."<sup>2</sup>

The Council instructed Gasparo Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Charles V., to see Cabot. He came to the embassy at Valladolid, on the 30th of December 1522, and made a statement which Contarini forwarded to his government the next day, in Cabot's own words :—

"Signor Ambassator per dirve il tuto io naqui a Venetia ma sum nutrito in Ingelterra :—To tell everything to your Lordship, I was born in Venice, but brought up in England."<sup>3</sup>

An admission of this kind could then be easily

<sup>1</sup> *Wardens Accounts of the Drapers Company of London*, in our *Discovery of North America*, p. 748.

<sup>2</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xxvi, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, doc. xxviii, p. 348, and *infra*, *Syllabus*, No. xxxvi.

verified in Venice, and, bold as Cabot undoubtedly was, he never would have dared to make such an assertion, if untrue, to a foreign minister whom he was called upon to meet frequently at the Court, and to men like the Ten, justly jealous of their dignity, and who never left unpunished an imposture practised on that all-powerful Council. The belief in Sebastian Cabot's Venetian birth remained unshaken among the Venetians who knew him personally. Andrea Navagero, Contarini's successor in Spain, in official accounts, written in 1524, twice uses the expression: "Sebastian Cabotto Venetiano."<sup>1</sup> So does Ramusio, as well as the Mantuan Gentleman, who, in repeating to Ramusio a conversation lately held with Sebastian Cabot, employs the terms "Un gran valent' huomo Venetiano," and "vostro cittadino Venetiano:—Your Venetian fellow-citizen."<sup>2</sup> Thirty years afterwards, when Cabot lived in London, the Council of Ten in a dispatch addressed, September 12th, 1551, to Giacomo Soranzo, the ambassador of the Republic to England, mentions him as the "fidelissimo nostro Sebastiano Gaboto:—Our own most faithful Sebastian Cabot."<sup>3</sup>

What more can be asked to prove that Sebastian Cabot was born not only on Venetian soil, but in the City of Venice itself: "di questa citta nostra"?

<sup>1</sup> NAVAGERO'S dispatch of Sept. 21st, 1524, in BULLO, p. 69. *colta*, 1563, vol. i, fo. 374, verso.

<sup>3</sup> *Jean et Seb. Cabot*, doc. xxxv, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> RAMUSIO, *Delle Spetierie*, in *Rac.*

## CHAPTER V.

### JOHN CABOT'S LIFE IN ENGLAND.

PETER Martyr, apparently repeating what Sebastian Cabot told him, says that he was brought over to England when yet an infant. As Sebastian died after 1557, and was, as we have shown, at least twenty-two years old in 1496, if the expression "pene infans" is to be taken literally, the settling of John Cabot in England would have followed soon after his Venetian naturalization; since the decree of the Senate conferring it is of the year 1476, and the term "infans" applies only to a child who does not yet know how to speak.

A passage in the narrative of the Mantuan Gentleman contradicts Peter Martyr's remark. He reports that Sebastian Cabot made to him the following statement :

"When my father departed from Venice, many yeeres since, to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandises, hee tooke me with him to the cite of London, while I was rather young, yet having neverthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the sphere."<sup>1</sup>

The words "lettere d'humanità" mean here classical studies, and "la sphaera," is Cosmography. Sebastian therefore must have been at that time not less than fourteen or fifteen years old, to possess a knowledge of these things. And as he was at least twenty-two when Henry VII. granted him letters patent in 1496, John Cabot can scarcely have settled

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. i, fo. 374.

in England with his family before 1490,—if Sebastian's statement to the Mantuan Gentleman be exact.

Sebastian also told Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador, in 1522, "sum nutrito in Ingelterra:—I was reared in England."<sup>1</sup> The verb "nutrire" conveys the idea of early youth, followed by several years employed in being educated.<sup>2</sup> If so, he came to England when a child, and in that country acquired his early education. This statement tallies with the "pene infans" of Peter Martyr, but contradicts the remark made by Sebastian Cabot to the Mantuan Gentleman. In the course of this inquiry, we shall be confronted at every step with contradictions of the kind, without being able to find positive reasons for preferring one of Sebastian Cabot's assertions to another.

Under the circumstances we can only hope to arrive at approximative dates, and then only by inference. We reason in this wise :

When John Cabot obtained his English letters patent in 1496, he had three sons, all of whom were grantees with him, and therefore of full age. If we limit ourselves to the age of majority according to the common law, the eldest of those sons, Lewis, was, therefore, in 1496, not less than twenty-three years old, or born in 1473.

John Cabot consequently married at the earliest in 1472, and as the marriage took place in Italy, or was ruled by his personal status, he must have been then at least twenty-one. This places the date of his birth not later than 1451. Our figures, naturally, are extreme ones, and not absolute. There may have been, for instance, a difference of more than one year between each of the three sons, and John Cabot may have married later than the age of

<sup>1</sup> CONTARINI'S dispatch, in *Jean et Seb. Cabot*, doc. xxviii, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> "Nutrio = educo = dicitur de iis quæ parva sunt et crescunt." FORCELLINI.

twenty-one. But, in the present state of the question, it is not possible to obtain greater exactness. Taking, however, the usual course of things, our results can differ but a few years, say four or five, from the reality.

We are inclined to believe that John Cabot removed with his entire family to England in 1490. This impression is based upon the fact that the first indication of his presence in that country is the statement of Pedro de Ayala that during the seven years previous to 1498, the Bristol men had sent an annual expedition to find the (imaginary) island of Brazil, in accordance with John Cabot's notions. This locates him in England in 1491.

The inference drawn from the above hypothetic mode of computation is that John Cabot did not undertake his memorable voyage of 1497 till he had attained the age of forty-six, and that when Sebastian came to England, he was a lad of about sixteen. This would agree with the statement made to the Mantuan Gentleman.

All that we have been able to ascertain relative to John Cabot's avocations before settling in England, is that Ayala represents him as having visited Portugal and Spain to obtain royal aid to undertake transatlantic discoveries, and also as having visited Mecca.<sup>1</sup> We shall examine the first of these statements in the following chapter. As for the voyage to Mecca, it must have been accomplished after 1476, for John Cabot remained in Venice fifteen years previous to that date; and when his probation time commenced, in 1461, he was not much more than ten years old.

If Bristol is the place where John Cabot first settled in England, such a residence may imply on his part

<sup>1</sup> "Et dice che altre volte esso è of Raimondo DI SONCINO; *Jean et stato alla Meccha.*" Second dispatch *Séb. Cabot*; doc. x, p. 325.

notions of transatlantic enterprises dating from his arrival. That city was the centre of English trade with the northern countries,<sup>1</sup> and the port from which sailed such bold expeditions as those to "Thule," for example, as Columbus himself relates in 1477.<sup>2</sup> But it is not certain that Bristol was the place where John Cabot first established his English home. The Mantuan Gentleman, as we have already remarked, states, on the authority of Sebastian himself, that London was the city to which the family emigrated from Venice: "nella città di Londra."<sup>3</sup>

Peter Martyr, again, we believe, in repeating statements from Sebastian Cabot, who evidently endeavoured to belittle his father, says that the latter, together with his family, "came into Englande havynge occasion to resorte thether for trade of merchandies, as is the manner of the Venetians too leave no parte of the Worlde unsearched to obteyne richesse."<sup>4</sup> Sebastian made, as we have seen, a statement of the same kind to the Mantuan Gentleman, to whom he said that his "father departed from Venice to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises."<sup>5</sup>

Like so many Venetians of the time, John Cabot may have engaged in commercial pursuits; but the information transmitted by his contemporaries represents him simply as a seaman. The *Cronicon*<sup>6</sup> and Pedro de Ayala<sup>7</sup> speak of charts and mapamundi of his own make. Raimondo di Soncino, in two dispatches written at a few months' interval, mentions

<sup>1</sup> FINN MAGNUSEN, *Om de Engelshes Handel paa Island*; Copenhagen, 1833, p. 147, quoted by KOHL, *Discovery of Maine*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter of Christopher COLUMBUS in LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, vol. i, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> RAMUSIO, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> "Sed à parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (uti moris est

Venetorum, qui commercii causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites)." ANGHIERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. vi, fo. 55.

<sup>5</sup> "Andato à stare in Inghilterra à far mercantie lo menò seco nella città di Londra." RAMUSIO, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. vi, p. 316.

<sup>7</sup> Dispatch of AYALA, *Ibid.*, doc. xiii, p. 329, and *infra*, *Syllabus*, No. xvi.

John Cabot, in one as "molto bono marinare et a bona scientia de trovare insule nove:—a very good mariner, possessing great talent for discovering new islands," and in the other as being "de gentile ingenio, peritissimo de la navigatione:—a man of fine mind, extremely skilful in [the art of] navigation."<sup>1</sup> The references to his endeavours to obtain the aid of Spain for voyages of discovery "like Columbus," and the alleged repeated attempts of the Bristol men to find the island of Brasil according to his notions, are additional proofs that in England John Cabot was considered to be a practical navigator.

In a work written at the beginning of this century, we find the following passage, in support of which, unfortunately, no authorities are quoted :

"The Venetians had factories in the different towns and cities of the northern kingdoms, and agents wherever they deemed it advantageous to preserve an intercourse. John Gabota, or Cabot, by birth a Venetian, was employed in that capacity at Bristol; he had long resided in England, and a successful negotiation in which he had been employed in the year 1495, with the court of Denmark, respecting some interruptions which the merchants of Bristol had suffered in their trade to Iceland, had been the means of introducing him to Henry VII."<sup>2</sup>

This is evidently the source of the statement inserted by Rafn in his celebrated *Antiquitates Americanæ*,<sup>3</sup> but also without the support of documentary proofs.

At first sight, there is nothing impossible in the statement. Englishmen having killed the governor of Iceland in a riot, King Christian I. embargoed four British vessels laden with valuable merchandise. As Edward IV. made no reply to the complaints of the Danish monarch, the latter allowed the cargoes to be sold. This brought about an open

<sup>1</sup> Raimondo DI SONCINO, *loc. cit.* *Newfoundland*, London, 1819, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> L. A. ANSPACH, *A History of* <sup>3</sup> Hafniæ, 1837, 4to, p. 451.



war between the two nations,<sup>1</sup> which lasted from 1478 until 1491, when England and Denmark entered into negotiations at Antwerp, but peace was not concluded before June 24th, 1497. It is possible therefore that John Cabot may have been engaged by Bristol ship owners to prosecute their claims in 1495.

Thinking that perhaps a mission of this sort might have left traces in the records of the Hansa, we carefully examined the *Hansecesse* from 1477 to 1500,<sup>2</sup> but found only two mentions of Bristol vessels (in 1487 and 1491), and these unimportant. At all events, Cabot's name does not figure in those records. We also instituted researches in the archives of Denmark,<sup>3</sup> and in the old chronicles of that country, in order to find traces of negotiations of the kind mentioned in the above extract. Nothing whatever was discovered on the subject, nor do we believe that authentic documents referring to such a matter exist in Bristol or anywhere in England.

The assertion of William Stratchey that John Cabot "was indenized Henry VII.'s subject and dwelling within Blackfriars,"<sup>4</sup> rests upon no proof whatever.

<sup>1</sup> ". . . Accessit et alia hujus belli causa, quod quum Angli proefectum Christierni regis ejus nominis primi in Islandia per tumultum occidissent, Rex ut illatam injuriam ulcisceretur quatuor illorum naves preciosis mercibus onustas coepit ac diu tenuit. Quumque de cede facta querenti regi Angli respondere nollent, passus est rex captarum navium merces distrahi: quæ res paulo post in apertum bellum processit damnaque in mari ab Angelis multa Danis, magna vicissim Anglis tam sub Christierno patre quam sub filio ejus Joanne illata sunt."—P. PARVUS ROSEFON-TANUS, *Chronicon*, in his *Refutatatio calumniarum*, 1560, s. l., 4to, signat. o 4.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Dietrich SCHÄFER, Leipzig, 1888-90, vols. ii and iii.

<sup>3</sup> Through the obliging agency of Mr C. H. BRUNN, the learned director of the Copenhagen Royal Library.

<sup>4</sup> STRACHEY, *The First Booke of the Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, 1612. Hakluyt Society edition, 1849-51, p. 6. We may judge of STRACHEY's accuracy by this other statement:—"John Cabot, a Venetian, howbeit endenezed an English subject, and at that tyme, governour of the companie of the marchants of Cathay in the cittie of London."—*Op. cit.*, p. 139.

## CHAPTER VI.

### JOHN CABOT'S FIRST EFFORTS.

AT the outset, we must state that John Cabot is not, as certain writers believe,<sup>1</sup> the "Magister navis scientificus totius Angliæ" who, according to William de Worcestre, left Bristol, June 15th, 1480, on board a ship equipped at the cost of John Jay, junior, in search of the imaginary islands of Brazil, and of the Seven Cities. That vessel, which on account of heavy storms was compelled to return after a voyage of seven months (or weeks), without having made any discovery, was commanded by one Thomas Llyde or Lloyd.<sup>2</sup>

In the dispatch addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, from London, July 25th, 1498, by Pedro de Ayala concerning a transatlantic voyage then lately accomplished under the British flag, we notice the following sentence :

"I have seen the map which was made by the discoverer, who is another Genoese like Columbus [and?] who has been to Seville and Lisbon trying to obtain assistance for that discovery :—Yo he visto la carta que ha fecho el inventador que es otro Genoves como Colon que ha estado en Sevilla y en Lisbona procurando haver quien le ayudasse a esta invencion."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D'AVEZAC, *Letter to the Reverend Leonard Woods*, 1868, in KOHL'S *Documentary History of Maine*, Portland, U.S., 1869, 8vo, p. 506 ; JUR- IEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, *Les marins du xv<sup>e</sup> et du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle* ; Paris, 1879, vol. i, p. 215, and others.

<sup>2</sup> *Discovery of North America*, No. xiii, p. 659.

<sup>3</sup> Pedro DE AYALA, *ubi supra*. FERDINAND and ISABELLA seem to have believed that John Cabot was

an emissary of the King of France (CHARLES VIII.), for in reply to the letter of Dr. PUEBLA sent from London, January 21st, 1496 (lost unfortunately), informing them of Cabot's efforts to obtain aid from HENRY VII., they wrote : "We believe that this undertaking was thrown in the way of the King of England with the premeditated intention of distracting him from his other business."—BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, vol. i, p. 88, No. 128.

The last phrase is ambiguous; but although Columbus, fifteen years before, had been to Seville and Lisbon to obtain assistance,—a fact which Their Majesties certainly knew,—the general context of the sentence, the needlessness of the remark if applied to Columbus, and the positive expression: “a esta invencion,” authorise the inference that Ayala had then in view the recent discoverer, when speaking of the efforts made in Spain and Portugal. Now we learn from the letters patent granted by Henry VII., April 5th, 1496, and Raimondo di Soncino's dispatch to the Duke of Milan, that this discoverer was John Cabot. Must we not also infer that John Cabot visited Spain on such an errand either before Christopher Columbus or at the same time? This supposition is to a certain extent strengthened by the following passage of Ayala's dispatch: “For the last seven years, Bristol people have sent out every year, two, three, or four caravels, in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities according to the fancy of this Genoese.”<sup>1</sup>

Those “seven years” give 1491 as the time when John Cabot was already settled in England; and his visit to Spain and Portugal is therefore anterior to that year. If Ayala's information is exact, the critic must also consider John Cabot as having entertained, at a very early date, the idea of crossing the Ocean in search of new lands, and as having actually endeavoured to carry it into effect with the aid of Bristol seamen.<sup>2</sup>

These deductions are not historically or chronologically improbable. The project of reaching Asia by sailing constantly westward was advocated in

<sup>1</sup> “Los de Bristol ha siete años que cada año an armado dos, tres, cuatro caravelas para ir a buscar la isla de Brazil, y las siete ciudades con la fantasia deste Ginoves.”—*Ibidem*.

<sup>2</sup> That the Bristol people did engage in expeditions of that character is shown by our reference in the preceding chapter to the voyage of Thomas LLOYD.

Italy, by Toscanelli, so early as 1474,<sup>1</sup> and John Cabot was still a resident of Venice in 1476.<sup>2</sup>

A letter lately brought to light shows that Toscanelli's notions with regard to transatlantic countries were current in Italy, and that the news of the discovery achieved by Columbus was considered as a confirmation of the theories of the Florentine astronomer. It is a dispatch from Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, addressed to his ambassador at Florence, as follows :

“Messer Manfredo : Intendendo Nuy, che il quondam Mastro Paulo dal Pozo a Thoscanella medico fece nota quando il viveva de alcune Insule trovate in Ispagna, che pare siano quelle medesime che al presente sono state ritrovate per aduisi che se hanno de quelle bande, siamo venuti in desiderio de vedere dicte note, se lo è possibile. Et però volemo, che troviare incontinenti vno Mastro Ludovico, Nepote de esso quondam Mastro Paulo, al quale pare rimanesseno li libri suoi in bone parte ed maxime questi et che lo pregiati strectamente per nostra parte chel voglia essere contento de darvi una nota a punctino de tuto quello chel se trova havere apresso lui de queste Insule, perché ne riceveremo piacere assai et ge ne restaremo obligati, et havuta che la haverite, ce la mandareti incontenenti. Ma vsati diligentia per havere bene ogni cosa a compimento di quello lo ha sicome desideramo. *Ferrarie 26 Junis 1494*.—Mr Manfredo : As We have just heard that the late Paul dal Pozzo Toscanelli, a physician, penned in his lifetime a note concerning several islands found in Spain [*sic.*], which it seems, are the same which have just been rediscovered (according to news received from there), We desire, if possible, to see said notes. That is the reason why We want you to find immediately one Mr. Ludovico,<sup>3</sup> who is the nephew of the late Mr. Paul, and who appears to have inherited most of his books, and particularly those [notes]. We also wish you to request him on our part to give you an exact list of all he has with him concerning those islands ; for We should be happy to obtain it, and shall be thankful for the favor. And do you, as soon as you are in

<sup>1</sup> See the original Latin text of the *Copia misa christofaro colonbo per paulum fisicum* (TOSCANELLI), first published in the additions to the *Bibliot. Americ. Vetustissima*, pp. xvi-xviii, and *Revue Critique*, Paris, Oct. 9th, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Letters patent of March 28th, 1476.

<sup>3</sup> Lodovico DAL POZZO TOSCANELLI, born towards 1428, was the second son of Pietro, brother of the great Toscanelli. He practised medicine. UZIELLI, *Bollettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche*; Rome, November 1883, in the Genealogical tree.

possession of it, send the same at once. But do not fail to do everything in your power to get from him all that he has; for such is Our desire. *Ferrara, June 26, 1494.*"<sup>1</sup>

A phrase of Soncino may also be cited in support of our interpretation of Ayala's remark. It occurs in the passage where John Cabot is made to relate, in connexion with his first voyage across the Atlantic, that when he was at Mecca, he inquired from the caravans which brought spice from afar, whence the article came; and believing in the sphericity of the earth, he inferred from their reply that it came originally from the West. Cabot thus gave it to be understood that, like Columbus, his project was prompted by the hope of finding a maritime and shorter route to Cathay.

However this may have been, the desire of John Cabot to propose the undertaking to Henry VII. was certainly enhanced, if not suggested, by the success which attended the first voyage of Columbus, the news of which he doubtless heard while in Bristol or in London. His son Sebastian, who claimed for himself, as we shall afterwards show, the sole merit of having brought to a successful issue the first English expedition westward, confessed that he conceived the notion while in England, upon hearing of the discovery made by Christopher Columbus, it being the theme of conversation at the Court of Henry VII. Further, Soncino states that it was on seeing the Kings of Spain and Portugal acquire new lands that John Cabot thought of conferring a similar boon upon the King of England.<sup>2</sup>

We should also recollect that London in the 15th century was the residence of numerous

<sup>1</sup> State Archives in Modena, *Cancellaria Ducale*. Published by Mr. UZIELLI, *Bollettino della Soc. Geogr. Italiana*, Oct.-Nov. 1889, p. 866.

<sup>2</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. i, fo. 374. This, however, implies a contradiction as regards the alleged efforts of John Cabot in Spain and Portugal.

Genoese, several of whom occupied high positions at the Court of the English King.<sup>1</sup> They formed with other Italians, as we have already said, an important colony, met daily in Lombard Street, and frequented the legations which Spain, several Italian princes, and the Republic of Venice maintained in London. Those active and intelligent foreigners, nearly all of whom were engaged in commercial pursuits, which they carried on by sea, direct from the Peninsula, must have watched the progress of transatlantic discoveries, especially as these threatened to destroy the trade of the Italian cities with the East. Their means of information were great. The *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* shows Italy to have been the principal receptacle of such tidings; whilst the considerable commerce carried on between that country and Great Britain, chiefly by means of Genoese and Venetian galleys,<sup>2</sup> was a ready vehicle of news, increased by the touching of those vessels at the principal ports of Spain and Portugal. John Cabot doubtless learnt from those countrymen of his the details of Columbus' achievement, and most probably formed then the project of imitating the great Genoese. The fact remains that John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus, filed on the 5th of March 1496, the following petition:

“To the Kyng our sovereigne lord. Please it your highnes of your moste noble and haboundant grace to graunt unto John Cabotto citizen of Venes, Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto his sonneys your gracious letters patentes under your grete seale in due forme to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuying. And they shall during their lyves pray to God for the prosperous continuance of your most noble and royale astate long to enduer.”

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i, Nos. 617, 751, 770, 771.

<sup>2</sup> RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 941; HEYD, *Histoire du Commerce*

*du Levant*, Leipzig, 1866, 8vo, vol. ii, p. 727. Our memoir read before the Institute of France, *Les Colomb de France et d'Italie*, p. 45.

We infer from the expression : "according to the tenore hereafter ensuing," that a draft of the letters patent was added by the Cabots themselves to their petition; just as in certain pleadings, American lawyers add the order or decree which they beg the judge to grant. In that case, the letters patent first published by Rymer in 1741 set forth in the Cabots' own words their purpose and wishes, viz.:

"Upon their own proper costs and charges to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."<sup>1</sup>

Henry VII. granted the petition on the 5th day of the month of March 1496.

<sup>1</sup> For the Latin text, RYMER, English, HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, vol. v, part iv, p. 89. In *gations*, London, vol. iii, 1600, p. 4.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE DOCUMENTARY PROOFS FOR JOHN CABOT'S EXPEDITION.

AS the reader has seen, the letters patent of 1496 were granted to John Cabot and his three sons; but no documentary proof whatever has yet been adduced to show that any of them accompanied their father in his first transatlantic voyage. The only circumstance which may be cited on the subject would rather prove the reverse. Pasqualigo, in describing John Cabot's return, says :

“E ali dato danari fazi bona ziera fino a quel tempo e con so moier venitiana e con so fioli a Bristo :—And [the King] has given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then [the second expedition]; and he is now at Bristol with his Venetian wife, and with his sons.”<sup>1</sup>

This sounds as if after his arrival in London, he had gone to Bristol to join his wife and children. Still less can it be demonstrated that Sebastian Cabot himself joined the expedition. The belief rests exclusively upon statements from his own lips, made at a time, under circumstances, in a form, and with details which render them very suspicious. Nay, they have been positively denied at least twice in his life-time, in England as well as in Spain, as we intend to prove in due course.

Meanwhile, in order to determine all the facts known relative to that expedition, it is prudent to limit the inquiry to contemporary authorities. These should be divided into two classes, viz. : the evidence furnished by witnesses who obtained, or

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot* ; doc. viii, p. 322.



may have obtained their information from John Cabot himself; and the evidence supplied, directly or indirectly, by his son Sebastian.

The first class of data, that is—which emanates from John Cabot, comprises three documents :

1. An extract from a letter addressed from London, August 23rd, 1497, by Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers at Venice.<sup>1</sup>
2. A dispatch sent from London, August 24th, 1497, by Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.<sup>2</sup>
3. Another dispatch from and to the same parties, London, December 18th, 1497.<sup>3</sup>

The second class of documents consists of the evidence supplied directly by Sebastian Cabot. It comprises the following :

1. A description given by Pietro Martire d' Anghiera (usually called simply "Peter Martyr"), in his third Decade.<sup>4</sup>
2. An account from some anonymous informer, usually designated as "the Mantuan Gentleman," who furnished it to Ramusio.<sup>5</sup>
3. An engraved map dated 1544 bearing on its face a legend to the effect that it is the work of Sebastian Cabot.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Copia de un capitolo scrive in una lettera Ser Lorenzo Pasqualigo fio di Ser Filippo, da Londra adi 23 Agosto, a Ser Alvise e Francesco Pasqualigo suo fradeli in Veniexia. Rixposta adi 23 Settembre 1497.* In RAWDON BROWN, *Ragguali sulla vita e sulle opere di Marin Samuto*; Venezia, 1837, 8vo, part i, p. 99; *Calendar*, vol. i, p. 262, No. 752; Marin SANUTO, *Diarii*, Venet., 1879, 8vo, vol. i, p. 806; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i, p. 260, No. 217. *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322.

<sup>3</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. x, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> ANGLERIUS, *De rebus Oceanicis et Orbe novo Decades tres*; Basileæ, 1533, folio, fo. 55 B.

<sup>5</sup> RAMUSIO, *Discorso sopra varii Viaggi*, in *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venezia, 1563, folio, fo. 374 B.

<sup>6</sup> There is a fac simile of the portion of the map which interests us just now, in *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, and in the following chapter xii. For a full description of the planisphere, see at the end of the present work, *Syllabus*; No. lxi.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### JOHN CABOT'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

ACCORDING to Peter Martyr and the Mantuan Gentleman, who obtained their information from Sebastian Cabot in person, and to Gomara and Galvão, both of whom, however, have simply copied Peter Martyr, the first expedition was composed of two ships, with a crew of three hundred men.

The letters patent of 1496 authorized the employment of five ships, equipped at the cost of the grantees :

“Five ships of what burthen or quality soeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the sayd ships, vpon their owne proper costs and charges.”

But we have the positive statements of Lorenzo Pasqualigo and Raimondo di Soncino, who repeat what they themselves heard John Cabot say in London, immediately upon his return in the first week of August 1497, that he accomplished his discovery with only one ship :<sup>1</sup> “con uno naviglio de Bristo,” which is even reported by them to have been a small craft, with a crew of but eighteen men : “cum uno piccolo naviglio e xviii persone.” It is true that an English chronicle written soon after, and which we propose to discuss at length further on, says that with the ship, stated therein to have been equipped by the

<sup>1</sup> We read in the *History of Bristol* of Wm. BARRETT, Bristol 1789, 4to, p. 172 : “In the year 1497, the 24th of June, on St. John's day was Newfoundland found by Bristol men, in a ship called the *Matthew*.” It has been impossible

to find in Bristol or elsewhere that manuscript, the authenticity of which, owing to BARRETT'S intercourse with CHATTERTON, is extremely doubtful. See the London *Athenæum*, No. of June 8th, 1889

King, went three or four Bristol vessels sent by English merchants. But we expect to demonstrate that these details refer only to the second voyage (1498).

As we have just said, the expedition consisted of only "one small ship, manned by eighteen men, nearly all Englishmen from Bristol:—uno piccolo naviglo e xviii persone, quasi tutti inglesi, e da Bristol."<sup>1</sup>

We do not possess the date when John Cabot sailed out of Bristol.<sup>2</sup> The words "departed from the West Cuntrey in the begynnyng of somer," in the Cottonian manuscript, and "departed from Bristowe in the beginning of May," in Hakluyt, after Fabyan, which we once thought applied to the voyage of 1497, concern only the expedition of 1498. But as Pasqualigo, when describing, on the 23rd of August 1497, the arrival in England of John Cabot, which had just taken place, says that the voyage lasted three months: "e stato mexi tre sul viazo," we must infer that he set sail about the middle of May 1497. This date coincides to some degree with the expression of Soncino, who, writing August 24th, 1497, says: "They sailed from Bristol, a western port of this kingdom, a few months since:—Partitisi da Bristo porto occidentale de questo regno, sono mesi passate."<sup>3</sup>

When the vessel had reached the west coast of Ireland, it sailed towards the north, then to the east (*sic pro west*), when, after a few days, the North star was to the right: "Passato Ibernia più occidentale, e poi alzatosi verso el septentrione,

<sup>1</sup> PASQUALIGO'S and SONCINO'S second dispatch.

<sup>2</sup> The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. iv, p. 350 (art. *Bristol*), says that the *Matthew* sailed from Bristol, May 2nd, and returned August 6th, according to a MS. in the possession

of the FUST family, of Gloucester. Unfortunately, as we have already said, Bristolian MSS. are not always to be trusted. See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> SONCINO, second dispatch.

commenciò ad navigare ale parte orientale, lassandosi (fra qualche giorni) la tramontana ad mano drita."<sup>1</sup>

After sailing for seven hundred (or only four hundred) leagues, they reached the mainland: "dice haver trovato lige 700 lontana de qui terra ferma," says Pasqualigo. "Lontane da linsula de Ingilterra lege 400 per lo camino de ponente," reports Soncino.

Technically speaking, all that geographers can infer from those details is that Cabot's landfall was north of  $51^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude; this being that of the southern extremity of Ireland. Ireland, however, extends to  $55^{\circ} 15'$  lat. N. From what point between these two latitudes did he sail westward? Supposing that it was Valencia, and that he continued due west, he would have sighted Belle Isle or its vicinity. But Cabot is said positively to have altered his course and stood to the northward. How far, and where did he again put his vessel on the western tack? We are unable to answer this important question, and can only put forward suppositions based upon the following data:—

The place where he landed was the mainland: "captioe in terra ferma."<sup>2</sup>

He then sailed along the coast 300 leagues: "andato per la costa lige 300."<sup>3</sup>

As to the country visited, we find it described as being perfect and temperate: "terra optima et temperata." It is supposed to yield Brazil-wood and silk: "estimanno che vi nasca el brasilio e le sete," whilst the sea bathing its shores is filled with fishes: "quello mare è coperto de pessi."<sup>4</sup>

The country is inhabited by people who use snares to catch game, and needles for making nets: "certi lazi ch'era tesi per prender salvadexine, e uno ago da far rede e a trovato certi albori tagiati."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SONCINO, first dispatch.

<sup>2</sup> SONCINO, second dispatch.

<sup>3</sup> PASQUALIGO.

<sup>4</sup> SONCINO, second dispatch.

<sup>5</sup> PASQUALIGO, dispatch of Aug. 23, 1497, *Syllabus*, No. vii.

The waters (tides) are slack, and do not rise as they do in England: "le aque e stanche e non han corso come aqui."<sup>1</sup>

Barring the gratuitous supposition about the existence of dye-wood (unless it be sumach), and silk, and taking into consideration that the country was discovered in summer, Cabot's description could apply to the entire northern coast of America.

The same may be said concerning the remark about slack tides. It was natural that John Cabot should have been surprised at seeing tides which rise only from two and three quarters to four feet, whilst in the vicinity of Bristol they rise from thirty-six to forty feet; but this diminutiveness is peculiar to the entire coast from Nova Scotia to Labrador.<sup>2</sup>

There is another detail, however, which is of importance. Cabot on his return saw two islands to starboard: "ale tornar aldreto a visto do ixole."<sup>3</sup>

Those two islands were unknown before, and are very large and fertile: "due insule nove grandissime et fructiffere."<sup>4</sup> The existence of islands in that vicinity is further confirmed by the fact that Cabot gave one to a native of Burgundy who was his companion, and another to his barber: "uno Borgognone compagno di mess. Zoanne . . . . li ha donato una isola; et ne ha donato una altra ad suo barbero."<sup>5</sup>

What were these large islands? This question we propose to examine later.

"La è terra optima et temperata."

The headlands clad in the pale green of mosses and shrubs, may have conveyed at a distance to a casual observer the idea of fertility. As to the

<sup>1</sup> PASQUALIGO, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Henry MITCHELL, *Survey of the Bays of Fundy and Minas*, for the United States Coast Survey (1877?), quoted by Mr. KIDDER.

<sup>3</sup> PASQUALIGO.

<sup>4</sup> SONCINO, first dispatch.

<sup>5</sup> SONCINO, second dispatch, December 18th; *Syllabus*, No. x.

climate, it was in June and July that Cabot visited those regions. Now, in Labrador, "Summer is brief but lovely."<sup>1</sup>

He did not see any inhabitant, and therefore we have no specific details enabling us to identify the race of men who inhabited the country. But the needle for making nets, and the snares for catching game, indicate the regular occupation of the Eskimo, whose proper home is from Cape Webeck to Cape Chudleigh; whilst the ingenuity which the making of such implements presupposes, agrees perfectly with that race said "to have been able in the manufacture of their tools to develop mechanical skill far surpassing that of savages more favourably situated." Nor should we forget "that judging from the traditions they must have maintained their present characteristic language and mode of life for at least 1,000 years." The Eskimos of Cabot's time may therefore be judged by those of to-day.

But there is a circumstance in John Cabot's conversation with the Milanese ambassador which is still more convincing. It is evident that the Venetian adventurer and his companions were greatly struck with the enormous quantity of fish which they found in that region. It surpassed anything of the kind they had ever seen, even in the Icelandic sea, where cod was then marvellously plentiful. He dwells at length and with evident complacency on that fortunate peculiarity :

"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 laqua . . . dicono che portaranno tanti pessi che questo regno non havera più bisogno de Islanda, del quale paese vene una grandissima mercantia de pessi che si chia-

<sup>1</sup> See the excellent article on French [by SELLIUS] of Henry ELLIS' Labrador, in the last edition of the *Voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage*; Paris, 1749, 12mo, vol. ii, *Encyclopedia Britannica*; Prof. HIND, *Explorations of the Labrador Peninsula*, 1863; and translation into p. 164.

manno stochfissi:—That sea is covered with fishes, which are taken not only with the net, but also with a basket, in which a stone is put so that the basket may plunge into water . . . . They say that they will bring thence such a quantity of fish that England will have no further need of Iceland, from which a very great commerce of fish called stockfish is brought.”<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that the existence of vast quantities of cod is a circumstance which is applicable to the entire transatlantic coast north of New England. Yet, however plentiful that species of fish may be on the banks of Newfoundland, the quantity is surpassed near the entrance of Hudson's Strait. Modern explorers report that, there, cod and salmon “form in many places a living mass, a vast ocean of living slime, which accumulates on the banks of Northern Labrador;”<sup>2</sup> and the spot noted for its “amazing quantity of fish,” is the vicinity of Cape Chudleigh, which the above details and other reasons seem to indicate as the place visited by John Cabot in 1497.

<sup>1</sup> SONCINO, second dispatch.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. HIND, *op. cit.*

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE YEAR OF JOHN CABOT'S FIRST VOYAGE.

WE have stated that the first transatlantic voyage of John Cabot was accomplished in the year 1497. Several writers have believed, and others still assert, that it was in 1494. They rely for their opinion exclusively on a date set forth in one of the inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of Sebastian Cabot's planisphere of 1544, which inscription is as follows:—

“No. 8. Esta tierra fue descubierta por Ioan Caboto Veneciano, y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Saluador Iesu Christo de M.CCC.XCIIII. a ueinte y quatro de Iunio por la manana . . .”

“No. 8. Terram hac olim nobis clausam, aperuit Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, necnō Sebastianus Cabotus eius filius, anno ab orbe redempto 1494. die uero 24. Iulij [*sic*], hora 5, sub diliculo. . .”

“No. 8. This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ M.CCCC.XCIIII, on the 24th of June in the morning.”

In the above we have made our translation from the Spanish, because that is the language in which all these tabular inscriptions were originally written, and because they contain fewer errors than their Latin version. In the above, for instance, the Spanish says that the country was discovered “June 24th,” the Latin, “July 24th.” The latter

<sup>1</sup> That planisphere contains a series of twenty-two legends inscribed on two columns, one on the right, the other on the left of the reader. The legends, which bear the numbers 1-17,

are both in Latin and Spanish; that is, the columns set forth first a legend in Spanish, and then a translation into Latin. There are also legends in the body of the map.



is in contradiction to the legend which states that Cabot named then and there an adjacent island "the island of St. John," because it was discovered on the same day when they made their landfall. The custom of the old navigators to name their maritime discoveries after the saint on whose day the discovery occurred is well known. The day of St. John the Baptist always falls not on the 24th of July, but on the 24th of June. Another difference worth noticing is that the Spanish says it was "in the morning," whilst the Latin is more precise: "hora 5. sub diliculo:—at the hour of five, at day-break."

The date of "1494" contradicts all the authentic records of the time and is clearly an anachronism, which can be easily demonstrated.

Let us first examine the chronology of the facts.

On the 21st of January 1496, Dr. Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in London, informs Ferdinand and Isabella that an individual "like Columbus" has just submitted to Henry VII. a project for transatlantic discoveries.<sup>1</sup>

Their Majesties reply, on the 28th of March following,<sup>2</sup> and in terms implying that the idea was a novelty in England.

On the 5th of April 1496, Henry VII. grants letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons, none of them until then ever mentioned in English documents. By that act, they are authorized "to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, *which before this time have been unknown to all Christians.*"

<sup>1</sup> That dispatch is referred to in doc. v, p. 315; BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, vol. i, p. 88.  
 Ferdinand and Isabella's reply of March 28th, 1496. *Jean et Séb. Cabot*,  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

The expedition does not sail, however, until May 1497. Why, we do not know.

A dispatch from Raimondo di Soncino confirms the time of the year, and the year above given; as under the date of August 24th, 1497, he writes to the Duke of Milan, that the King of England had sent the Venetian navigator on his voyage of discovery a few months before: "alcuni mesi," and "sono mesi passate."<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of August 1497, Henry VII. gives £10 as a reward "to hym that founde the new isle."<sup>2</sup> That is the first direct allusion existing, so far as known at present, in the English documents relative to transatlantic discoveries ever accomplished by an English expedition.

On the 23rd of August 1497, a Venetian established in England, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, writing to his brothers in Venice informs them of the return of their countryman "Zuam Calbot," and that the English King, on account of his successful voyage, has given him money wherewith to amuse himself: "fazi bona ziera."<sup>3</sup>

The next day, August 24th, Raimondo di Soncino, confirms Cabot's recent arrival in England, and adds that he has returned from the voyage undertaken a few months before.<sup>4</sup>

All these facts form a well-connected chain, showing that the events positively occurred between March 5th, 1496, when the Cabots first petitioned for leave to go in search of countries "heretofore unknown to all Christians," and August 1497, which is the time of John Cabot's return to England after having succeeded in his undertaking.

In opposition to this undeniable chronology, the

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Harris NICOLAS, *Excerpta historica*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> PASQUALIGO, *ubi supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. ix, p. 323.

believers in the date of 1494, in preference to that of 1497, only quote the following passage from the letter of Pedro de Ayala, already cited :

“The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year, two, three, or four caravels, in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the ideas of this Genoese [*i.e.* John Cabot].”

In the first place, the words in the original Spanish : “con la fantasia,” do not mean, or imply that John Cabot either led, or took part, personally, in the expedition. They convey no other meaning than that of his having suggested or prepared the venture, “after his own fancy.”

It is also well to recollect that efforts of the kind were not unfrequent in those days. We have cited in another work<sup>1</sup> authentic documents referring to eighteen similar enterprises projected or attempted, between the years 1431 and 1492 ; that is, anterior to the memorable voyage of Columbus. Ayala refers to attempts of this kind annually renewed, and of which the expedition sent out from Bristol by John Jay junior in July 1480, under the command of Thomas Lloyd,<sup>2</sup> gives us a pretty clear idea. John Cabot doubtless advised, and may even have laid out plans for such voyages of discovery, between 1490, which we suppose to be the date of his first coming to England to settle, and the close of 1495, when he submitted his plans to Henry VII. But it is impossible to see in the perfectly successful voyage described by Ayala and other contemporary authorities, as having been accomplished in 1497, an expedition dating so far back as 1494. When that diplomatist, for instance, again asserts, July 25th, 1498, on the subject of the fleet which had been equipped a few months before in consequence

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, pp. 655-661.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, in the *Chronology of Voyages*, No. xiii, p. 659.

of the successful issue of the voyage of 1497, that the object now in view is to "verify<sup>1</sup> certain islands and continents which he was informed some people from Bristol . . . had found last year [1497]:—hallaron . . . . . año pasado;"<sup>2</sup> and when Henry VII. grants new letters patent to John Cabot, February 3rd, 1498, "to take at his pleasure vi Englishe shippes, and them convey and lede to the Londe and Isles of late founde by the seid John," impartial historians cannot but admit that the attempts mentioned in Ayala's letter came to a successful issue in 1497, and not three years before!

Nor is this all. The first letters patent granted to John Cabot in 1496, specify as their sole object, as we have already said, the discovery of "Provincias, gentilium et infidelium in quacumque parte mundi positas, quæ christianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerunt incognitæ." If John Cabot had already discovered such countries, the fact would be recorded in the act, just as the discovery of 1497 is recalled in the letters patent of 1498, and doubtless in the terms which we have quoted; for these constitute a formula prompted by legal parlance not less than by mere common sense. Cabot therefore, in 1497, does not *return* to countries and islands formerly discovered by himself. The wording of the letters patent of 1496, shows that on the contrary, he goes in search of transatlantic regions unknown to him as well as to all other Christians, whatever may have been his notions on the subject at any time before 1497.

As Biddle, who was an able jurist, justly observes:

"The patent of 1496 would be inapplicable to any region previously visited by either of the Cabots, and confer no right.

<sup>1</sup> The word "descubrir," in the text, has also in Spanish the sense of *inspicere*, and *prospicere*. (DE SEJOURNANT, *Dictionnaire Espagnol-Français*, 1775.) The word "hallaron," in the same sentence, shows that the above is the meaning.

<sup>2</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 329.

Assuming, what is obviously absurd, that the discovery could have been made without becoming at once universally known, yet the patentees must have been aware that they exposed themselves, at any moment when the fact should come out, to have the grant vacated on the ground of a deceptive concealment."<sup>1</sup>

It remains now to examine the date of 1494 paleographically, that is, as the reader finds it inscribed in one of the legends pasted on Sebastian Cabot's planisphere of 1544.

We have demonstrated in a former work,<sup>2</sup> that those geographical additions were not written by Cabot, but by a Dr. Grajales, living in 1544 at the Puerto de Santa Maria, in Andalucia. They were composed there, in the Spanish language and translated as well as printed apparently in the Netherlands, where the map itself was engraved, and consequently at a time and in a country excluding the probability that the proof sheets were corrected by Cabot or by Grajales.

The date is in Roman numerals, viz. : M.CCCC.XCIII. Paleographers will not hesitate, when considering the documentary proofs which we have adduced in favor of the date of 1497, to explain the discrepancy between M.CCCC.XCIII, and M.CCCC.XCVII, by a *lapsus calami*,<sup>3</sup> on the part of Dr. Grajales, produced by the outside stroke in the V having been separated from the inside stroke in that numeral. In such a case, particularly in manuscripts, where the strokes intended to depict Roman numerals are frequently of equal thickness, VII may well have been taken for III.

The fact that the date in the Latin translation is given in Arabic numerals, viz. "1494," is no argument to the contrary, as the translation was made

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE, *Memoir*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Discovery of North America*, p. 640.

*English discovery of the American Continent under John and Sebastian Cabot*, London, 1870, 4to, p. 17, and

<sup>3</sup> MAJOR, *The true date of the Archæologia*, vol. xliii.

out of Spain, and from the Spanish manuscript containing the alleged slip of the pen.

Our explanation is so much the more plausible that in the issue of the Cabotian planisphere which was edited in London by Clement Adams in 1549, the date is not 1494, but 1497. Now Adams held an office at the Court of England, where he certainly met Sebastian Cabot who had then been living in London for two years. It may be inferred therefore that the correction is due to Cabot himself. At all events, the date of 1497 substituted for that of 1494, under such circumstances, and in a country where all the original documents were then at hand, confirms the evidence gathered from the dispatches of the Spanish and Italian Ambassadors.

We conclude therefore that the continent of North America was discovered by John Cabot, sailing under the British flag, in the year 1497.

## CHAPTER X.

### JUNE NOT THE MONTH OF THE LANDFALL.

THE date when land is said to have been first sighted, viz. : June 24th, is to be found only in the legends of the Cabotian planisphere of 1544, which, as we have shown, were not written by Sebastian Cabot, but are the work of one Dr. Grajales, who, however, doubtless received his information from Sebastian himself at Seville.

After rejecting the year set forth in that map, we apprehend that the month and day must be rejected likewise.

The landfall was made, it is stated, on the 24th of June. The documents show that Cabot was already in London on the 10th of August following ; which implies that he reached Bristol about five days before. This leaves only forty-two days between the arrival of Cabot within sight of the New World, and his return to England. Now, we must assume that Cabot and his small crew of eighteen men, after an alleged voyage of more than fifty-two days (since they left England in the beginning of May) rested a while, and devoted some time to refit or repair their diminutive craft, as well as to take in wood and water, and renew the stock of victuals, which could only be done by hunting and salting game on the mainland. Besides, Pasqualigo states that they skirted three hundred leagues of the coast ; which is corroborated in a manner by Ayala's statement that he saw the map which John Cabot made of the newly discovered lands. In those days, particularly

when coasting in unknown regions, anchor was cast at sundown, and sailing renewed again only with daylight the next morning. This, in the present instance, was so much the more necessary that in June and July, navigation all around Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence is impeded by fogs, icebergs, and under currents. How can all this have been accomplished in the limited space of time which the alleged landfall on June 24th leaves to Cabot before returning to England? If we suppose that owing to the westerly winds and gulf-stream he effected the homeward voyage in one third less time than was required for the same passage when outward bound, that is, thirty-four days instead of fifty-two, as he was already back in Bristol on the 5th of August, he would have taken the necessary rest, made the indispensable repairs, effected landings, renewed his provisions, and coasted nine hundred miles, all within eight days!<sup>1</sup>

If we now submit to the test of analysis and discussion the accounts of that voyage ascribed to Sebastian Cabot himself, directly or indirectly, the date of June 24th is again not only highly improbable, but altogether impossible.

We possess three such accounts.<sup>2</sup> The first is Peter Martyr's, written in 1515, in Spain, which from his frequent intercourse and personal intimacy with Sebastian Cabot, we must believe to have been derived from the latter's own lips. Furthermore, it was published at Alcala, whilst Cabot was frequent-

<sup>1</sup> Thirty-four days preceding August 5th give July 2nd for the day of CABOT's sailing out from America homeward bound. And as he had first landed in the New World June 24th, only eight days (June 24th-July 2nd) were left for his accomplishing all that which we enumerate.

<sup>2</sup> We have not taken into considera-

tion the accounts of GALVÃO and of GOMARA; because, in our estimation, GALVÃO, who wrote in 1550, has derived his data from the Cabotian planisphere of 1544, whilst GOMARA, whose work bears the date of 1553, gives only an amalgam of PETER MARTYR with GALVÃO. Compare the texts, in *Jean et Séb. Cabot*.



ing the court, that being the time when Ferdinand of Aragon granted him gratuities, and emoluments. It is as follows :

“Cabot directed his course so farre toward the northe pole, that euen in the mooneth of July he founde monstrous heapes of Ise swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day lyght. Yet sawe he the lande in that tracte, free from Ise. Thus seyng suche heapes of Ise before hym, he was enforced to tourne his sayles and folowe the weste, so coastyng styll by the shore, that he was thereby broughte so farre into the southe hy reason of the lande bendyng so muche southward that it was there almoste equall in latitude with the sea cauled *Fretum Herculeum*, hauynge the north pole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sayled lykewise in this tracte so farre towarde the weste, that he had the Ilande of Cuba on his lefte hande in maner in the same degree of longitude.”<sup>1</sup>

The next account we find in Ramusio, who first says that Cabot ranged the north coast, from the Codfish country to a latitude stated in one place to be 67,<sup>2</sup> and in another,  $67\frac{1}{2}$ ,<sup>3</sup> and then gives, as coming from Sebastian himself, the following details :

“And he told me that having sayled a long time west and by North beyonde these Ilands unto the latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe under the north Pole, and, at the 11 day of June, finding still open Sea without any manner of impediment, hee thought verily by that way to have passed on still the way to Cathaio, which is in the East.”<sup>4</sup>

Finally, there is the well-known conversation held at Seville between Sebastian Cabot and the Mantuan Gentleman after 1533 and before 1547, reported by Ramusio, who heard it repeated by the interlocutor himself, and used quotation marks when stating Cabot's own words, in this wise :

“His Majesty the King [Henry VII.] . . . fitted out two caravels for me with everything needful. This was in 1496, in the commencement of the summer. I began to navigate towards

<sup>1</sup> ANGHIERA, *Decad.* iii, book vi, fo. 55, D, of the edition of Basil, 1533. ARBER'S edit., p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. iii, recto of fo. 417.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, Preface, verso of Aiiij.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*.

the west, expecting not to find land until I came to Cathay, whence I could go on to the Indies. But at the end of some days, I discovered that the land trended northwards, to my great disappointment; so I sailed along the coast to see if I could find some gulf where the land turned, until I reached the height of  $56^{\circ}$  under our pole, but finding that the land turned eastward, I despaired of finding an opening. I turned to the right to examine again to the southward, always with the object of finding a passage to the Indies, and I came to that which is now called Florida. Being in want of victuals, I was obliged to return thence to England.”<sup>1</sup>

Those accounts, although written at different times, as much as eighteen and twenty years apart, and in different countries, agree in the main. They contain impossibilities, but that is not the fault of the witnesses, two of whom at least we know to have been men of intelligence and reliable, whilst the confidence placed in the third by such a writer as Ramusio, entitles him also to great credit. The reader may rest assured that he has here what Sebastian Cabot actually reported relative to his alleged discovery of the continent of North America, and almost in his own words. Nor can the discrepancy be explained away by supposing that Sebastian meant to embrace in his statements the results not of the first voyage only, but of the second likewise. Nowhere does he mention having then twice crossed the Atlantic; the wording, too, betrays on his part a desire to convey the impression that he discovered the entire region, from about  $36^{\circ}$  to  $65^{\circ}$  north latitude, in the course of the first transatlantic expedition carried out under the auspices of Henry VII. Finally, we have the positive date given by the Mantuan Gentleman that “this was in 1496, in the commencement of summer:—*fu del mille quatrocento novanta sei nel principio della state.*” This is only the date of the letters patent; but as the voyage was undertaken in the spring of

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. i, fo. 414.

1497, it is near enough, in general conversation, to identify it with the first voyage in preference to any other. Moreover, the date is corroborated by the further statement that when Cabot returned home from his voyage of discovery, he "found in England great popular tumults among the rebels, and a war with Scotland." This coincides with the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck, as the battle of Blackheath was fought on the 22nd of June 1497, and the truce between Henry VII. and James IV. was not negotiated until September following;<sup>1</sup> that is, when Cabot had been back in England for more than a month.

What must be particularly noticed in these accounts, is the series of circumstances, implied or expressed, which they involve. According to Sebastian Cabot's narratives, he found himself, in the month of July, in a region where there was "continuall daylight." This implies an exploration of Davis' Strait to at least 65° latitude. He then "turned his sayles," and ranged the coast southward as far as the parallel of the Strait of Gibraltar, about 36° latitude. From that point he recrossed the Atlantic and returned home. In other words, he sailed in longitude from about 80° to 5°. As John Cabot was in Bristol again early in August, it follows that in six or seven weeks at most, for at times he must have tarried on the American coast, he would have navigated over twenty-nine degrees of latitude and seventy-five of longitude. Who will ever believe that a small ship, manned by eighteen men, in the 15th century, in regions theretofore unknown, ranging half the time a dangerous coast, and impeded by fogs or icebergs, sailed over six thousand miles in less than forty-two days!

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar of Venetian Documents*, vol. i, Nos. 754, 760, 766, pp. 264, 266, 267.

Yet such is the logical and necessary inference to be drawn from Sebastian Cabot's own allegations, when examined in connection with the date of the landfall inscribed on the planisphere. Admirers of that navigator may endeavour to explain away the impossibility by presuming that he meant to cover in his accounts the results both of the first and second voyages. His own statements do not admit of such a palliative. They expressly embrace all those details within the period assigned for the expedition of "1496" (*sic pro* 1497). We must take Sebastian Cabot's description as it stands, regardless of its impossibility; for that is what he meant to convey to his hearers. If historians feel bound to reject such vainglorious fables, so much the worse for his memory.

Either the landfall in 1496 (*i.e.* 1497) was not effected on the 24th of June, or, contrary to Sebastian Cabot's asseverations, both cartographical and descriptive, only a very limited portion of the coast of the New World was visited on that occasion.

In a succeeding chapter we shall endeavour to ascertain the origin and reason of that spurious date.

## CHAPTER XI.

### JOHN CABOT'S ALLEGED LANDFALL.

THE documents of the time, geographic and historical, which have come down to us, fail to mention the locality of John Cabot's landfall in his first transatlantic voyage. We can only presume, but with great probability, that it was on some point of the north-east coast of Labrador.

No graphic data on the subject are to be found until forty-seven years after the event, and it is again in the Cabotian planisphere, where, on the extremity of a large peninsula of the north-east coast of the New World, we read these words: "Prima tierra vista:—the first land seen." This cartographical assertion is repeated in the 8th longitudinal legend, to which reference is made in an inscription placed across the continent, west of the words above quoted.<sup>1</sup> It begins, as we have already stated, with these words:—

"Esta tierra fue descubierta por Ioan Caboto Veneciano, y Sebastian Caboto su hijo:—This land was discovered by John Caboto, a Venetian, and Sebastian Caboto, his son."

That locality was doubtless intended to represent the region which we now call Cape Breton island, north of Nova Scotia, and at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But it is very inaccurately depicted. In that planisphere, instead of a regular island, we see only a continental promontory bending eastward, the apex of which is on a line with 48° 30' north latitude, according to the scale

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, fac simile of the North American portion of that map.

inscribed on the map, instead of  $47^{\circ} 5'$  latitude. The longitude is also erroneous, viz. :  $63^{\circ}$  west, instead of  $59^{\circ}$ . The outline likewise presents great differences. Then, in the gulf there is a large island, to the north-west of the peninsula, the north coast of which corresponds with the  $50^{\circ}$  latitude on the map, and bears the designation: "I. de s. Juan." If intended for our Prince Edward Island, the latitude would be almost  $4^{\circ}$  too high. At all events, it is the island alleged to have been discovered on the same day as the landfall; which is a point that we propose to discuss hereafter.

The positions in that map contradict, as we claim to have shown, the authentic assertions of John Cabot, who states that in the voyage of 1497, he sailed from the west of Ireland (which implies a starting point no farther south than  $51^{\circ} 15'$  lat. N.), and that so far from having steered thenceforth in a southerly direction, he held first a northward, and then a westward course. Now, the above alleged landfall is not less than  $5^{\circ}$  farther south than it must have been in reality.

At the outset, we must proceed to show that the latitudes, longitudes, profiles and other characteristics ascribed in the planisphere of 1544 to the Cabotian discoveries, which discoveries the reader must consider to be synonymous with those made in these regions by the English at that time, are completely at variance with the very explicit statements which mark on all previous maps the countries discovered under the British flag on the north-east coast of America, and, as a necessary consequence, with the cartographical declarations set forth previously by or under the direct responsibility of Sebastian Cabot. We allude to the nautical charts which were designed by the cosmographers of Charles V., and to all maps derived more or less

directly from the same. But before describing their North American delineations and legends, it is necessary to give an account of what may be termed the Hydrographical Bureau at Seville, where, in the 16th century, those charts originated.

Pilotage and Hydrography were taught in Andalusia at a very early period, especially by Biscayan mariners. An ordinance from Ferdinand and Isabella, dated March 18th, 1500, confirms the regulations which until then had been followed in a school of Basque pilots established at Cadiz. The document declares the origin of the school to be so ancient that "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary:—que de tanto tiempo acá que memoria de hombres non es en contrario."<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th of January, 1503, their Catholic Majesties created in Seville the *Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias*.<sup>2</sup> It was a vast State establishment which embraced everything pertaining to the administration, laws, trade and maritime affairs of the New World. The *Casa* had its own pilots and cartographers, as well as professors of cosmography, and a technical office where charts were designed or authenticated.

Cosmography and chart-making were nevertheless freely taught beyond the walls of the institution, and the probability is that in all the ports of Andalusia there were pilots who made their living by drawing nautical maps, which they sold openly and without being interfered with by the Spanish Government.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Real cédula de 18 de marzo de 1500 dada en Sevilla por los Reyes Don Ferdinando y Doña Isabel, confirmando las ordenanzas del colegio de pilotos vizcaínos establecido en Cadiz.* Cited by NAVARRETE, *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Náutica*; Madrid, 1846, 4to, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> VEYTTIA LINAGE, *Note de la con-*

*tratacion*, Seville, 1672, folio, lib. i, cap. i, p. 2, and *Primeras Ordenanzas para el establecimiento y gobierno de la Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias*; NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de los Viages*, vol. ii, doc. cxlviii, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima* in our *Discovery of North America*.

But to avoid the dangerous consequences arising from too great a multiplicity of sailing charts, it was ordered, August 6th, 1508, that an official pattern, called *Padron Real*, should be established.<sup>1</sup> For that purpose a commission was named, and composed of the ablest pilots in the kingdom. Americus Vespuccius, for whom the office of Pilot-Major had been expressly created,<sup>2</sup> became its president. According to Herrera,<sup>3</sup> Juan Diaz de Solis and Vincente Yañez Pinzon were then appointed Royal Pilots for the purpose of securing their services in that useful undertaking.

The model which those able mariners were directed to create was to include "all the land and isles of the Indies theretofore discovered and belonging to the Crown." This general map was to be considered as official, and all pilots were prohibited from employing any other, under a penalty of 50 doubloons. They were also enjoined to mark on the copy which had been used on their voyages, "all the lands, isles, bays, harbours and other new things worthy of being noted;" and, the moment they landed in Spain, to communicate the chart so amended or annotated to the Pilot-Major.<sup>4</sup>

Whenever the Pilot-Major received new geographical data, these were communicated to the Crown cosmographers, with whom, twice a month, he discussed the expediency of inserting the same in the *Padron Real* or *General*.<sup>5</sup> But maps or copies of that royal pattern were not issued by the *Casa de Contratacion* as they are, for instance, by the English Admiralty, or the U. S. Coast Survey.

<sup>1</sup> *Real titulo de Piloto mayor*; NAVARRETE, vol. iii, doc. ix, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. vii, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* i, lib. vii, cap. 1, p. 177; where the act is erroneously mentioned under the year 1507.

<sup>4</sup> NAVARRETE, doc. ix, vol. iii, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> "A enmendar el Padron." *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de Indias*, Madrid, 1750, folio, *ley* vii, *titulo* iii, fo. 286.



The Pilot-Major and certain Crown pilots, by special appointment, took or caused to be taken copies of the *Padron General*, which they sold for their own benefit, according to a tariff fixed by the *Casa*.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the elements which served for making the first model, they were borrowed from maps then current in Spain, and not from special or actual surveys, even for the New World. And we may take it for granted that this official map presented entire sections which remained for a century or more totally unaltered, though sometimes erroneous in many respects. But there were also configurations furnished by the Crown pilots or cosmographers, and derived from their own stock of information. Mariners, and cosmographers of Portuguese or Italian origin, like Americus Vespuccius and the Reinels, must have furnished data of that kind.

Now, Sebastian Cabot filled in Spain the office first of Crown pilot, from August 15th, 1515, and then of Pilot-Major from February 5th, 1518, until October 25th, 1525, and from 1533 until at least October 1547.<sup>2</sup> Nor should we omit to state that not only was Sebastian by virtue of his office supervisor of the Chair of Cosmography in the *Casa de Contratacion*, and filled the professorship of nautical and cosmographic science in the institution,<sup>3</sup> but he was a member of the commission of pilots and geographers who in 1515 were required by King Ferdinand to make a general revision of all maps and charts.<sup>4</sup>

Under the circumstances, it would prove highly

<sup>1</sup> "Por privilegios firmados á 12 de Julio de 1512, se concedió á Juan Vispuche [*sic.*] y á Juan de Solis que pudieran sacar traslados del padron general de las Indias, y venderlos á los pilotos al precio que dijesen los oficiales de la Casa de Contratacion." Muñoz MSS., vol. xc, fo. 105, v.

<sup>2</sup> For all those dates, see our *Dis-*

*covery of North America*, pp. 706-708.

<sup>3</sup> NAVARRETE, *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Náutica*, p. 134, mentions Sebastian Cabot first on the list of the professors of Cosmography in the *Casa de Contratacion*.

<sup>4</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* ii, lib. i, cap. xii, p. 18.

interesting to compare some Sevillian official map made while Sebastian Cabot held the office of Pilot-Major, with the Cabotian planisphere of 1544. Unfortunately, they have all disappeared. The following fact also complicates the question.

Although the *Padron General* was the object of much solicitude from the government, we find in the ordinances enacted by Charles V., proofs of negligence on the part of the pilots and cosmographers to whom it had been entrusted. They were charged with failing to maintain the hydrography of the New World at the required standard. On the other hand, the sort of monopoly enjoyed first by Solis, then by Juan Vespuccius (Americus' nephew), who alone could dispose of copies of the *Padron*, induced unauthorized pilots to make and sell clandestine duplicates, which were necessarily inferior to the original, and probably introduced additional errors. The chief pilots complained, as far back as 1513, of those repeated infringements, but no remedy was applied for several years, although the counterfeits not only departed greatly from the *Padron General*, but even presented different scales of degrees,<sup>1</sup> and, consequently, a variety of latitudes. At last, Charles V., not in the pecuniary interest of his cosmographers or to increase the revenue of the State, but to render navigation more secure, determined to remedy the evil.

On the 6th of October, 1526, Fernando Columbus was commissioned to order Diego Ribero and other competent cosmographers<sup>2</sup> to construct a sailing

<sup>1</sup> *Coloquio sobre las dos graduaciones diferentes que las cartas de Indias tienen*. Muñoz MSS., vol. xlv, ascribed to Fernando COLUMBUS.

<sup>2</sup> *Real Cedula a Don Hernando Colon*, in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, p. 512. This ordinance, dated May 20th, 1535, refers to the one previously issued by the Emperor, in 1526. That junta

not only comprised the Pilot-Major and His Majesty's cosmographers, but more than one hundred experienced pilots, besides other members versed in nautical science: "Más de cien pilotos, muchos de ellos antiguos en la navegacion de las Indias, y otras personas peritas en el arte," says the *Coloquio*. See also HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. x, cap. xi, p. 294.

chart comprehending all the islands and the continent discovered and to be discovered: "una Carta de navegar en la qual se situen todas las Islas e Tierra firme que estoviesen descubiertas e se descubriesen de ay adelante."<sup>1</sup>

This royal order nevertheless remained a dead letter for nine years. At last, Queen Isabella of Portugal, during the absence of her husband Charles V. in Italy, May 20th, 1535, enjoined Fernando Columbus to cause that all-important map to be executed at once: "lo acabeis con toda la brevedad, e sinon, entendais luego en que se efetue."<sup>2</sup> We do not know at what time it was completed; but when ready, the Emperor confided the chart to the president and judges of the *Casa de Contratacion*, and ordered the Pilot-Major and cosmographers belonging to that institution to verify it twice a month. Charles V. went further. He authorized all professional cartographers residing at Seville, to design and sell maps of the New World, with no other restriction than that of causing the same to be first approved by the Pilot-Major and the cosmographers of the *Casa*. He even permitted the Pilot-Major himself, not only to sell copies of the *Padron General*, but also maps and globes of his own making, provided that the trade in such articles was not carried on within the city of Seville.<sup>3</sup>

This chart, known thenceforth under the name of *Padron General*, was not a complete innovation, and could be considered only as the *Padron Real* improved. We possess no copy of that standard map; but it is no doubt revived in the description which Oviedo has given<sup>4</sup> of the chart made by Alonso de

<sup>1</sup> *Real Cedula* above quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*; Madrid, 1681, section

*Del Piloto Mayor y Cosmografos*, lib. ix, tit. xxiii, leyes iii, viii, xii, &c.

<sup>4</sup> OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxi, cap. x, vol. ii, p. 148 seq.

Chaves in 1536.<sup>1</sup> As Ribero died August 16th, 1533,<sup>2</sup> Chaves, who then stood so high as a cartographer, must have been entrusted with the task of continuing the work.

The commission to revise the *Padron* was appointed in 1526. On the other hand, Sebastian Cabot, as captain-general of the fleet intended to visit the Moluccas, sailed from San Lucar de Barrameda April 3rd of that year,<sup>3</sup> and returned to Spain only on July 22nd, 1530. The maps designed in Seville or copied from the *Padron Real* between those two dates, were therefore commenced and finished whilst Sebastian Cabot was on the Rio de la Plata. It is necessary nevertheless to examine them with the view of determining the character of their north-eastern configurations, and of ascertaining whether these must not be attributed to Sebastian Cabot, or at all events, considered as containing data furnished by him while he filled the office of Pilot-Major.

It is not until a quarter of a century after Juan de la Cosa made his celebrated planisphere (1500), that we find an engraved Sevillian or Spanish map exhibiting the north-eastern American regions. This is the mappa-mundi on an equidistant polar projection devised by Juan Vespuccius, engraved in Italy, and of which two editions are known.<sup>4</sup> As the second edition is dated "1524," the map was originally constructed before that year, and at Seville, while Sebastian Cabot still held and exercised there the functions of pilot-major, Juan Vespuccius being designated therein under the title of "Pilot to the King," an office<sup>5</sup> of which he was not deprived until

<sup>1</sup> *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*, in the *Discovery*, No. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Muñoz MSS., vol. lxxvii, fo. 165, verso.

<sup>3</sup> HERRERA, Decade iii, lib. ix,

cap. iii, pp. 259, 260; NAVARRETE, vol. v, p. 440.

<sup>4</sup> *Cart. Amer. Vetust.*, Nos. 147, 148.

<sup>5</sup> NAVARRETE, *Coleccion*, vol. iii, p. 306, note.

March 18th, 1525. Now, in that extremely curious map, the *Tera del Bachaglia*, or Codfish Country, is placed in the extreme north, bordering the Arctic circle, at 55° N. latitude according to its own scale. There are no further designations, but as the northern configurations are all above 55° N. latitude, we must view this parallel as the southern limit (according to the map of Juan Vespuccius), of the countries which Sebastian Cabot claimed to have discovered in that part of the New World.

The next map is the one which was engraved at Venice for the readers of the *Libri della historia delle Indie occidentali*, published in that city by Ramusio in 1534;<sup>1</sup> but the map itself, or, rather, its prototype, is of an earlier date.

The map states that it was made from two nautical charts designed in Seville by the pilots of His Majesty (Charles V.): "cauata da due carte da' naicare fatte in Sibia da li piloti della Maiesta Cesarea." One of those charts is said in the *Libri* to be the work of Nuño Garcia de Toreno, who ranked among the most renowned Spanish cartographers of his time,<sup>2</sup> and to have been the property of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, who died in 1526. As the *Padron General* was ordered in that year, and required considerable time and labour before it could be ready for use, we may fairly consider the map of the *Libri* as exhibiting data anterior to that year, and derived from the *Padron* as it existed when Sebastian Cabot was still Pilot-Major. But it is not much older, as the name *Steuã gomez* (Estevão Gomez), inserted at 45° latitude north, carries us to November, 1525, which is the date of the return of that navigator.

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 190. quoted by Andrès GARCIA DE CESPEDES, *Regimiento de Navegacion*,

<sup>2</sup> Pedro Ruiz DE VILLEGAS, as Madrid, 1606, folio, fo. 148.

It is but an extract, evidently abridged, and makes no explicit mention of the discoveries accomplished by the English in the northern regions of the New World. This omission would be sufficient to thrust it out of our inquiry, if it did not exhibit the configurations of the north-east coast precisely as we find them in all subsequent Sevillian maps, and, for that matter, as they must have been given in the charts copied at the *Casa de Contratacion* when Sebastian Cabot filled the office of Pilot-Major, and revised or endorsed all such copies.

We now proceed to examine manuscript charts which doubtless reproduce the configurations of the *Padron Real*, being the acknowledged works of Royal Cosmographers belonging to the Seville Hydrographic Bureau.

Three such maps yet exist, the first :

*Carta Universal, en que se contiene to do lo, que del Mundo se a descubierto fasta aora hizola un cosmographo de Sv Majestad Anno MDXXVII. en Sevilla.*<sup>1</sup>

Here, the configuration of the north-east coast is identically that of the preceding map of Garcia de Toreno, except that where we read *Lauorator* only, the inscription bears in full: *Tierra del laborador*, but with no allusion whatever to English voyages. The legend relating to that region is also placed at 60° north latitude, although the land extends south to 56° N.

The second map is :

*Carta Universal en que se contiene todo lo que del mundo Se ha descubierto fasta agora, Hizola Diego Ribero Cosmographo de su magestad: Año de. 1529.*<sup>2</sup>

This likewise exhibits the same configurations of

<sup>1</sup> KOHL, *Die Beiden Altesten general large folio ; Jean et Sébastien Cabot, Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860, No. ii, pp. 172-175. <sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

the north-east coast, placing the Labrador inscription at 60° lat. N., but with the highly important additional remark that it was discovered by the English: "*Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses.*"

Finally, we possess a duplicate of that map, made by Ribero himself, which presents identical configurations in the same latitudes, but in which the inscription reads as follows: "*Tierra del Labrador la qual descubrieron los Ingleses DE LA VILLA DE BRISTOL.*"<sup>1</sup> This latter specification is certainly a reference to the voyage made by John Cabot in 1497, as the vessel was manned chiefly by Bristol men: "sono quasi tutti inglesi et da Bristo," and sailed from that port:—"partitosi da Bristo."<sup>2</sup>

Now, what is the latitude ascribed by Ribero to those English discoveries? From 56° to 60° N.

The maps made by Vesconte de Maggiolo in 1527,<sup>3</sup> Hieronymo Verrazzano<sup>4</sup> in 1529 and the Wolfenbüttel map B,<sup>5</sup> are, in these particulars, derivatives from Sevillian planispheres, more or less direct. They also placed the English discoveries at 56°–60°, in Labrador; the Wolfenbüttel chart referring likewise explicitly to the "Yngleses de la vila de Bristol."

We shall now complete this cartographical proof by another legend in the latter chart, viz.:

"E por que el que dio el lauiso della era labrador de las illas de los acares le quedo este nombre:—And as the one who first gave notice [of the country] was a labourer of the Azores islands, they gave it the name [of Labrador]."

Considered by itself, this statement does not seem

<sup>1</sup> THOMASSY, *Les Papes géographes*, Paris, 1852, 8vo, pp. 118. The original is preserved at the Propaganda, at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> PASQUALIGO, *ubi supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cartographia*, sub anno, 1527.

<sup>4</sup> J. CARSON BREVOORT, *Verrazano the Navigator*, New York, 1874, 8vo;

Henry C. MURPHY, *The Voyage of Verrazzano*, New York, 1875, 8vo; Cornelio DESIMONI, *Intorno al Fiorentino Giovanni Verrazzano*, Genova, 1881, 8vo, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Cartographia Americana Vetus-tissima* No. 195, p. 580.

to have any bearing on the point in question. The case, however, is quite different when we study it in connection with a passage of the manuscript *Islario* of Alonso de Santa Cruz, who was Sebastian Cabot's companion for many years, particularly in Seville, where he filled the high office of Cosmographer-Major. Describing, in Cabot's lifetime, the septentrional regions of North America, Santa Cruz speaks as follows :

"Fue dicha tierra de labrador per que dio della aviso e yndicio un labrador de las yslas de los açores al Rey de ynglaterra quando elle embio a descubrir por Antonio Gabot piloto yngles y padre de Sebastian Gabot piloto mayor que oy es de V. Magt. :—It was the country of Labrador [so called] because it was disclosed and indicated by a labourer from the Azores islands to the King of England, when he sent [on a voyage of] discovery, Anthony (*sic*) Gabot, an English pilot, and the father of Sebastian Gabot, at present Pilot-Major of Your Majesty."<sup>1</sup>

All we wish to retain in this quotation, is that in the opinion of Santa Cruz, Labrador was visited by John Cabot when Henry VII. sent him westward on a voyage of discovery.

The chain is almost complete, and shows that in Seville the cosmographers of Charles V. never located the first transatlantic discoveries accomplished under the British flag, at 45° north latitude, or at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence close to Cape Breton Island. On the contrary they marked those discoveries ten degrees at least further north, along the region which cartographers then called Labrador.

Reverting to the manuscript Sevillian charts, it is true that the direct agency of Sebastian Cabot in the making of these maps has not yet been shown, inasmuch as he was absent from Spain when they were

<sup>1</sup> *El yslario general de todas las yslas por Alonso de Santa Cruz, su Cosmo-del mundo endresçado ala S. C. C. Magt. grafo maior.* MS. of the Besançon del Emperador y Rey nuestro Señor, Library; fo. 56, recto.



made. But with respect to the north-east coast, the cartographers of Seville cannot but have acted constantly on information derived from him; as we shall endeavour to show.

What those northern configurations were on the *Padron Real* when Americus Vespuccius and Dias de Solis supervised it, we can only guess; but the reader may rest assured that if they differed from Sebastian Cabot's notions, he did not hesitate to correct them, as his duty required. When he first came to Spain, in 1512, Ferdinand of Aragon engaged his services chiefly on account of the exclusive knowledge which he claimed to possess concerning "la navegacion à los Bacallos";<sup>1</sup> that is, to the north-east coast of the New Continent. Is it not therefore evident that the first use which he made of his special experience was to make the northern regions in official maps tally with the charts which he or his father had brought from these transatlantic expeditions? It is not less certain that during the whole time he had charge of the *Padron Real*, the Baccalaos regions must have been the object of particular attention on his part. Why should his successors in office alter those configurations, or place them in a different latitude? Between the Anglo-Portuguese navigation of 1505, and John Rut's voyage of 1527, there were no English expeditions from which any Spanish cosmographer might have derived data unknown to Sebastian Cabot. Even if, perchance, John Rut had discovered any lands, the legends in the maps which we have just described could not apply to that navigator, as he was from Ratcliffe and sailed from

<sup>1</sup> "Sabeis que en Burgos os hablaron de mi parte Conchillos i el Obp. de Palencia sobre la navegacion à los Bacallos e ofrecistes servirnos," wrote King FERDINAND OF ARAGON, then

regent of Castile, to Sebastian Cabot, September 12th, 1512. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. xiv, p. 331; HERRERA, *Decad.* i, lib. ix, cap. xiii, p. 254.

Portsmouth;<sup>1</sup> whilst Ribero and his followers state positively that those northern regions were first seen by mariners from Bristol.

As to the inscription which ascribes the discovery simply to "*los Ingleses*," without specifying the port they came from, we must recollect that the Sevillian cartographers of 1527 were not the originators of it, and that the expression only conveys a matter of universal belief at the time. For instance :

The map of Juan de la Cosa is headed as follows :

"Juan de la Cosa la fizo en el puerto de S : ma<sup>a</sup> en año de 1500 :—Juan de la Cosa executed it at the Port of Sancta Maria in the year 1500."

That celebrated seaman and cartographer sailed for the New World with Alonso de Hojeda, May 18th, 1499; returned to Spain in the first fortnight of April 1500; left again with Rodrigo de Bastidas in October following, returning to Cadiz in September 1502. His map was therefore constructed after the 15th of April 1500, and before the close of that year; embracing consequently the regions previously discovered under the British flag. Now, in that map, the row of English flags on the coast line bearing the legend "*Mar descubierta por Inglese*," begins with a *Cauo de ynglaterra* which, when represented approximately on our modern charts, corresponds with a point almost as far north as the entrance to Davis' Strait. Humboldt<sup>2</sup> places the *Cauo de ynglaterra* near the Strait of Belle-Isle, which is at 53°, whilst Kohl<sup>3</sup> reduces it to "about 50° N." In either case it is farther north than the point given by Sebastian Cabot for his landfall in 1497.

<sup>1</sup> J. S. BREWER, *Calendar*, No. 3203. Letter from Albertus DE PRATO, in PURCHAS, vol. iii, p. 809.

*des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*; Nürnberg, 1853, 4to, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. KOHL, *Documentary History of the State of Maine*; Portland, 1869, 8vo, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> In F. W. GHILLANY, *Geschichte*

In the portolano of Vesconte de Maggiolo, made in 1511, there is a "*Terra de los Ingres*" (*sic*), which that celebrated cartographer has placed about ten degrees<sup>1</sup> even farther north than his *Terra de Lavorador de rey de Portugall*, which brings the "Lands of the English," certainly nearer to the North Pole than to Cape Breton Island.

In *The forme of a Mappe sent 1527 from Sivil in Spayne by maister Robert Thorne marchaunt to Doctor Ley Embassadour for King Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour*,<sup>2</sup> we notice on the same line with *Noua terra laboratorum dicta*, or Labrador, a legend which reads as follows: "Terra hæc ab Anglis primum fuit inuenta:—This land was first discovered by the English." It is inscribed at about 60° north latitude.

So far as we know, the Ribero map is the first in which the legend goes beyond stating merely that the discovery of Labrador was accomplished by the English, and specifies that they were Englishmen from Bristol. This detail, which must be taken as a direct allusion to the Cabot expedition of 1497, was doubtless derived from Sebastian himself. Diego Ribero, as one of the Crown cosmographers entrusted specially with the making of nautical instruments,<sup>3</sup> held daily intercourse with him at Seville from the year 1523. He was also his colleague at the famous council of Badajoz in 1524,<sup>4</sup> where the voyages to the north-east coast of the New World must have been frequently discussed, as the intended expedition of Estevão Gomez in search of the North-West passage depended greatly on the ruling of that

<sup>1</sup> D'AVEZAC, *Atlas hydrographique de 1511*; Paris, 1871, 8vo, p. 13. 1582, 4to, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 93 and 176.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 173,

<sup>3</sup> HAKLUYT, *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America and the lands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by an Englishman*; London,

174, 184, note.

<sup>4</sup> NAVARRETE, *Coleccion*, vol. i, p. 124; HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. vi, cap. 6, p. 184.

junta. The cartographical information concerning the northern latitudes had to be furnished to the members of the council by Ribero. Is it not certain that he never communicated a map to the Spanish or Portuguese commissioners without first submitting it to Sebastian Cabot who sat by his side, and who, in the capacity of Pilot-Major, was his superior? Hence, naturally, the details about the agency of British mariners, from the conversations between these two cosmographers relative to the history of the voyages made by Cabot to that north-east coast.

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 or through his professional instrumentality, and that for almost half-a-century he placed his landfall many degrees farther north than the *Prima vista* of the Cabotian planisphere of 1544.

## CHAPTER XII.

### A FRENCH MAP COPIED BY SEBASTIAN CABOT.

RELYING upon a statement of Sir Humphrey Gilbert,<sup>1</sup> certain critics are inclined to believe that the discrepancies which we have shown to exist between the Cabotian planisphere and all Sevillian maps concerning the north-eastern regions, or the absence in the latter of details relative to Cabot's alleged discoveries in the vicinity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, were due to positive orders from the Spanish government. They assume that Charles V. was apprehensive of furnishing information to the English and French regarding the imaginary North-West passage. Surely, the English who had discovered the north-east coast, and who with the Norman, Breton and Portuguese fishermen continued to frequent the fishing-banks, and even to make discoveries in that region,<sup>2</sup> had nothing to learn from the Spaniards, who, even as late as the middle of the 16th century, had only reached as high as 41° north latitude.<sup>3</sup>

The cause of these blanks and omissions in that class of maps is much more simple, and can be easily ascertained from Oviedo, who, in his descrip-

<sup>1</sup> "The Spaniards and Portugals . . . have commanded that no pilot of theirs upon paine of death should plat out in any sea-card, any thorow passage." GILBERT, *Discoverie*, in HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 23. See note 3, p. 72, in *Jean et Seb. Cabot*.

"Carta de privilegios concedidos a Diogo DE BARCELLOS, pelos serviços de Pedro DE BARCELLOS no descobrimento do norte; de 7 de junho de 1508." *Arquivo dos Açores*, vol. xii (1894), No. 72, p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> OVIEDO, *Historia General*, vol. ii, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> See the document lately published,

tion of Chaves' *Padron general*, or official pattern, says, concerning the vicinity of our Nova Scotia,

"We scarcely possess any details relative to the gulfs in those northern parts, and the data collected by Chaves do not seem to be reliable. That is the reason why we notice such great contradictions between the maps and cosmographers as regards the northern coasts."<sup>1</sup>

Oviedo's remark well shows that the defective character of Spanish charts in the first half of the 16th century, as regards the northern regions of the New World, should be ascribed solely to the fact that the cartographers of Spain, although under the immediate control of Sebastian Cabot for thirty years, possessed no adequate geographical knowledge of those parts, and not to an alleged intention of their government to conceal, for political motives or otherwise, any details on the subject.

We have still to account for the more exact delineations of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the adjoining country depicted in the Cabotian planisphere. These have no other origin than the French maps which were constructed in Dieppe after the second or third voyage of Jacques Cartier, as can be readily shown.

From very early times the fishermen of the northern Atlantic coasts of Europe have gone to the northern seas, in search of cod and haddock, and it may be that the Germans were the first to name those fish, which are not to be found in the latitudes of Spain and Portugal. Yet, we are not prepared to say that the German word *backljau*<sup>2</sup> is the prototype of the terms *bacailhaba*, *bacalhao* and

<sup>1</sup> OVIEDO, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kabbeljowwe*, or *Cabliawwe*, transposed in *Backljau*, whence *Bacalhao*, and *Baccala* (KOHL, *Discovery of Maine*, p. 199, who sees in the word a derivative of "bolch," = fish. *Belche*, *balche*, figures already as name of a

fish, in a St. Gall register of 1360, but as meaning a salmon. The supplement of the *Mittel Deutsches Wörterbuch* of SCHILLER and LUBBLER, Bremen, 1880, quotes instances of *Kabelow* and *Kabblaw* in the year 1381.

*baccala*,<sup>1</sup> used in the Basque, Portuguese and Spanish languages to designate the cod-fish.

Whether it was John Cabot or Gaspard Corte-Real who made known the existence of the Newfoundland banks, it is certain that the fishermen of Brittany, Normandy, Portugal and Biscay frequented those fishing grounds as early as the beginning of the 16th century,<sup>2</sup> and have continued to do so without interruption. To dry or salt the fish required constant landings; hence the need of stations which must have been distinctly marked on their maps, crude as they doubtless were. At a somewhat later period, but before 1544, the profits of the expeditions to the Banks led to the formation of companies. These, having command of larger capital, could secure the services of more skilful pilots, who certainly brought home geographical data, which may have come to the knowledge of professional cartographers. The information, however, must have been obtained surreptitiously, as it is unlikely that the parties interested would have communicated such practical and valuable information to rival fishermen. These data, as we suppose, were, moreover, limited to separate parts of the coast,<sup>3</sup> graphically unconnected with the adjoining regions, and, on that account, calculated to mislead both as to form and position. This is, without doubt, the cause of the disparity to be noticed in the profiles of the north-east coast in the early portolani. The most cosmopolitan and competent pilots for New-

<sup>1</sup> "*Baccalarius, baccallao, bacheljaw, Kabbijaw*," in the *Bibliographia critica portugueza*, Porto, 1873-75, vol. i, p. 373-74. In LITTRÉ'S opinion (voc. *Cabillaud*), *Kabeljaauw* is a derivative "par renversement," of *bacailhaba*, which is the Basque word for cod-fish, "whence the Spanish *bacalao*, and the Flemish *bakkeljaw*." PEDRO MARTYR says that it is an Indian word:

"certeyne bigge fysshes much lyke vnto tunies (which the inhabitantes caule *Baccalaos*") *Decad.* iii, book vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 75, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The map which Jacques CARTIER had with him, for instance, in 1534, cannot have depicted the main entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. See *infra*, p. 90, note 1.

foundland at that time were the Portuguese,<sup>1</sup> and it is to their charts that we must look for graphic descriptions enabling us to ascertain the extent of geographical information possessed in those days relative to the north-east coast of America.

A valuable document of this kind is the map of the Lusitanian cosmographer Gaspar Viegas,<sup>2</sup> dated October 1534, which is the year of Cartier's first voyage, constructed, however, before the results of that expedition were known. It exhibits the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but very inaccurately, both as regards form and extent. Nor is there any island within it, and Newfoundland is still joined to the coast, as if it were an integral part of the continent.

For many years after the making of Viegas' portolano, all the maps continued to reproduce the incomplete or erroneous delineations of the Sevillian Hydrography for the north-east shores, although the explorations of Jacques Cartier could have furnished new and more reliable data concerning those countries. The Dieppe cartographers alone seem to have availed themselves of the geographical information gathered by the celebrated French navigator in the course of his first voyage, which may be briefly sketched as follows:—

Sailing from St. Malo, April 20th, 1534, Cartier made his landfall on the north-east coast of Newfoundland, at about  $47^{\circ} 30'$  latitude. Thence he sailed north and north-west, as far as the passage at the northern extremity of Newfoundland (Belle Isle

<sup>1</sup> Portuguese from Vianna colonised Cape Breton so early as 1521. *Discovery of North America*, art. FAGUNDES. Sir Humphrey GILBERT speaks of very ancient Portuguese establishments at the Ile de Sable, on the coast of Nova Scotia.

The leading pilots in Magellan's

expedition: Estevam GOMEZ, Vasco GALLEGRO, João DE CARVALHO, João Rodriguez DE MAFRA, were Portuguese. See also Diego RIBERO, the FALEIROS, the REINELS, Diogo HOMEM, Andreas HOMO, &c. &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Discovery of North America*, p. 599, No. 214.



Strait). Entering the channel, he ranged its western border (Labrador), as far as a harbour of the Gulf of St. Lawrence which he named "Brest." From this point he darted across the Gulf westward to a cape on the south-west coast of Newfoundland, at about  $49^{\circ} 40'$ , and followed this shore almost to the south-western end of the island. He then crossed over to a group of islands, the first of which he named "Ille de Bryon," after the Admiral, and thence to our Magdalen islands, the entire string of which he followed on the westward side along their shoals and sandbanks, from north to south. From the south-easternmost point of that little archipelago, he sailed southward, about forty leagues, until he reached what he *took to be the mainland*, but which was in reality the north-west coast of Prince Edward island. He skirted it westward, and when at its extremity, crossed over to what we call New Brunswick, believing that it was a continuation of the same firm land, separated by some gulf from the point where he then stood. He then coasted along the eastern borders of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to a bay at about  $48^{\circ} 40'$ , from which he crossed to some point of the south-east coast of Anticosti (not suspecting that it was an island), rounded what seemed to him a mere promontory, skirted the coast westward, then followed the coast of Labrador to the place which he named "Cap Thiennot," and crossed due east to Newfoundland, whence he sailed homeward by the Strait of Belle Isle, returning to St. Malo on September 5th, 1534.

The original account of that voyage is<sup>1</sup> sufficiently explicit to enable us to reconstruct the map, now lost,<sup>2</sup> which Cartier made of that expedition, or, rather, of the periplus accomplished by him in 1534.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, p. 2. in existence at the close of the 16th

<sup>2</sup> These maps of CARTIER were still in existence at the close of the 16th century. HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 236.

If, to render it clearer, he delineated a portion of the north-east coast, we must assume that it was borrowed from one of the maps then current; as at that time he possessed no knowledge of his own concerning the regions south of  $47^{\circ} 45'$ . It might have been a chart akin to that of Viegas, but this is doubtful, as his account leads us to believe that he knew nothing of the eastern entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> As to the new and original delineations, they consisted of a rough tracing of the north-east of Newfoundland (which he did not approach sufficiently near to sight its numerous bays and headlands); the west coast of that island down to about  $47^{\circ}$ ; the Magdalen group in an elongated form, preceded by "Ille Bryon," and terminating with "Allezay" at the west; the north-western extremity of Prince Edward island, but fused with the mainland of New Brunswick; a break; then the continental shore, deeply indented for "la Baye de Chaleur"; a new break at about  $48^{\circ} 40'$ ; a long and wide promontory projecting eastward, which, in fact, was a considerable portion of the island of Anticosti, represented, however, as belonging to the mainland; and, finally, the east coast of Belle Isle. Among the new names inscribed, were "Brest," "Le cap Thiennot," "La ripuiere de Barcques," and "le cap dez sauuaiges."

That map, consequently, exhibited, for the first time, the Strait of Belle Isle, and, in the Gulf, to the west or north-west of Cape Breton island, which was not separated therein from the south-western extremity of Newfoundland, two or three islands, surrounded by sandbanks, which, in a rough sketch

<sup>1</sup> "Je présume mielx que aultrement, à ce que j'ay veu, qu'il luy aict aulcun passage entre la Terre Neuffue et la terre des Bretons. Sy ainsi estoit se seroit une grande abreuiacion, tant pour le temps que pour le chemyn."

*Relation originale*, p. 20. This unexpected ignorance of the main entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the part of CARTIER in 1534, leaves us at a loss as regards the map which he had with him in his first voyage.

may have assumed the shape of a large triangular mass. This is not, as yet, the chart which furnished all the elements for the representation of Newfoundland and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the Cabotian planisphere of 1544.

Let us now examine Cartier's second voyage.

Leaving St. Malo May 19th, 1535, he made his landfall on the coast of Newfoundland at about  $48^{\circ} 50'$ , entered the Strait of Belle-Isle, followed the south-east coast of Labrador, came to a port which he named "La baye Saint Laurens," sighted again "Brest," "cap Thiennot," and a place called "Honguedo," rounded for the second time the eastern extremity of Anticosti, and crossed over to the mainland, which he still believed to be a continuation of Anticosti. Continuing to follow the shore, he came to the river which he named "La riuere de Saguenay," passed by it, entered the estuary of the river St. Lawrence and sailed up as far as a locality to which he gave the name of "Mont Royal." He then retraced his steps following the same coast northward, but this time passed between the mainland and Anticosti, which he thus discovered to be an island. From a point of the mainland he crossed over to Brion island, explored again the Magdalens, but more carefully, and on the eastern side, naming that cluster of islands, islets and sandbanks, "Les Araynes,"<sup>1</sup> from the Portuguese word "Arena," gallicised, like other terms borrowed from Lusitanian charts, or pilots. From the easternmost point of that archipelago, he went, for the first time, to Cape Breton island, apparently altogether unknown to him. He entered the broad channel, skirted the south-east coast of Newfoundland to a

<sup>1</sup> "Nous tranersasmes à vne terre et de Bryon enuiron huit lieues. Et sablon de basses araynes, qui de pareillement les dictes Araines estre meurent au Surouaist de la dicte yslle ysls." *Bref récit.*, fos. 45<sup>b</sup>, 64<sup>a</sup>.

point beyond Cape Race, and finally sailed homeward, arriving at St. Malo on July 6th or 16th,<sup>1</sup> 1536.<sup>2</sup>

The map which Cartier made to exhibit this voyage is also lost, but may be easily imagined. It must have represented the Gulf of St. Lawrence, such as we see it in several of the Dieppe charts, and not very different from what we see in our modern maps. That is, there was the course of the river St. Lawrence traced as far as Montreal; Anticosti delineated as an island, and the Magdalen cluster stretching from north to south, and encumbered with signs for reefs and sandbars, which may have imparted to the group the form of a solid mass. This group or mass was "Ille de Bryon" at the north-east, "Allezay" at the south-west, and in the middle, bore the inscriptions "Les Araynes." On the other hand, Prince Edward island was still joined to the mainland, remaining so on all charts *for more than sixty years afterwards*. As to the nomenclature, it repeated, of course, the names in the chart of Cartier's first voyage, with a number of others, among which were "La baye Saint Laurens" (which should not be taken for the gulf), "Honguedo," and "La riuere de Saguenay."

The nomenclature and delineations for Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the Cabotian planisphere of 1544, show that they were borrowed from a map constructed after the first two voyages of Jacques Cartier, and with cartographical information brought for the first time by that navigator.

<sup>1</sup> "Tellement que le vjm iour de Juillet sommes arriuez au hable de Saint Malo." MS. 5644, fo. 57, verso. The 6th is also the date given in ROFFET'S edition, Paris, 1545, and in RAMUSIO, iii, fo. 453 B.

<sup>2</sup> "Tellement que le seiziesme jr. de Juillet sommes arriuez au hable de Saint Malo." MS. 5653, fo. 56, recto, and 5589, fo. 62, recto. This is

also the date given by LESCABOT: "le seizième jour de juillet," 1612, p. 394. The date of the 16th must be the correct one, for CARTIER can scarcely have sailed from the Baie des Trépassés to St. Malo in eighteen days. Yet, in his first voyage, leaving Belle Isle, August 15th, he arrived at St. Malo on September 5th, notwithstanding contrary winds.

First, as to the nomenclature. The following names, although greatly disfigured, betray their Cartieran origin, inasmuch as the *locus* is the same in Cabot's map, and in Cartier's original account :

CARTIER	CABOT
<i>Brest</i>	Brest
<i>Toutes Isles</i> <sup>1</sup>	todo yslas
<i>Cap de Thiennot</i> <sup>2</sup>	C <sup>o</sup> de tronot
<i>Sallynes</i> <sup>3</sup>	Salinas
<i>Baye Saint Laurens</i>	Baya de S. loreme
<i>La ripuiere Saint Jacques</i>	} Jaqui
<i>Hable Jacques Cartier</i>	
<i>Honguedo</i> <sup>4</sup>	Onguedo
<i>Riviere d'eau douce</i> <sup>5</sup>	la duce, rio duce
<i>Ripuiere de Saguenay</i> <sup>6</sup>	Rio de S. quenain
<i>Ripuiere de Barques</i>	Rio de paris
<i>Le cap des Sauuaiges</i> <sup>7</sup>	Saluayos
<i>Isles d'angoulesme</i>	golosme
<i>Lac dangoulesme</i> <sup>8</sup>	laaga de golesme
<i>Stadacone</i> <sup>9</sup>	estadas.

Furthermore, Cabot even records (unconsciously) in his planisphere the mishap of Jacques Cartier when on the 28th September 1535, he was unable to cross with his ship the western extremity of the Angouleme or St. Pierre lake, and was compelled to continue the voyage in boats. For the legend in Cabot's planisphere "pora quinopde pasar (*i.e.* :

<sup>1</sup> *Isles* (DESLIENS); *Tout ys* (DESCELIERS).

<sup>2</sup> *Tienot* (DESLIENS); *C. Trenot* (VALLARD).

<sup>3</sup> *Sallynes* (DESLIENS); *Salinas de Thiennot* (DESCELIERS).

<sup>4</sup> *Honguedo* (DESLIENS).

<sup>5</sup> *Eau Douce* (DESLIENS); *Rio douce* (DESCELIERS).

<sup>6</sup> *R: de Sagnay* (DESLIENS).

<sup>7</sup> *Sauuages* (DESLIENS); *Sauhuages* (DESCELIERS).

<sup>8</sup> *Lago do golesme* (VALLARD). *Angoulesme* does not figure in CARTIER'S accounts; but it is a name which was given by him. See *infra*.

<sup>9</sup> *Estadacoe* (VALLARD). It was the residence of the chief DONNACONA.

por aqui no puede pasar :—here it is not possible to pass),” does not refer, as Kohl says,<sup>1</sup> to Cartier’s “premier sault :—first rapids,” but to the lake St Pierre, or d’Angouleme, which, as already said Cartier could not traverse, owing to shallow water at its western extremity.<sup>2</sup>

The delineations in Cabot’s map are not less striking. We find them almost identical with those in all the Dieppe maps of the time which have come down to us; particularly in the oldest one which bears the inscription: FAICTE A DIEPPE PAR NICOLAS DESLIENS. 1541. This map was certainly derived from the same prototype as Cabot’s planisphere for that portion of the north-eastern regions. The reader is referred to the accompanying facsimiles of these two maps.

The points to be noted are,—the island on the west coast of Labrador, also the one to the west of Cape Breton called there “y<sup>e</sup> des arenos”; Newfoundland represented as an archipelago,<sup>4</sup> and the absence of the imaginary isle of St. John, which on so many of the early maps, and even in Dieppe ones of a later period, flanks the east coast of Cape Breton island.

The date of 1541 inscribed on that map of Desliens precludes its containing data later than Cartier’s second voyage. But we know that Desliens continued to draw maps for at least twenty-five years, and with nearly the same north-eastern configurations. There is one of these in the Paris National Library. It bears the inscription: “Dieppe, par

<sup>1</sup> KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> CARTIER, *Bref récit.*, fo. 20, verso.

<sup>3</sup> This valuable map is preserved in the Dresden Royal Library (Geogr. A. 52. m.), and was first made known by Dr. Sophus RUGE; *Die Entwicke-*

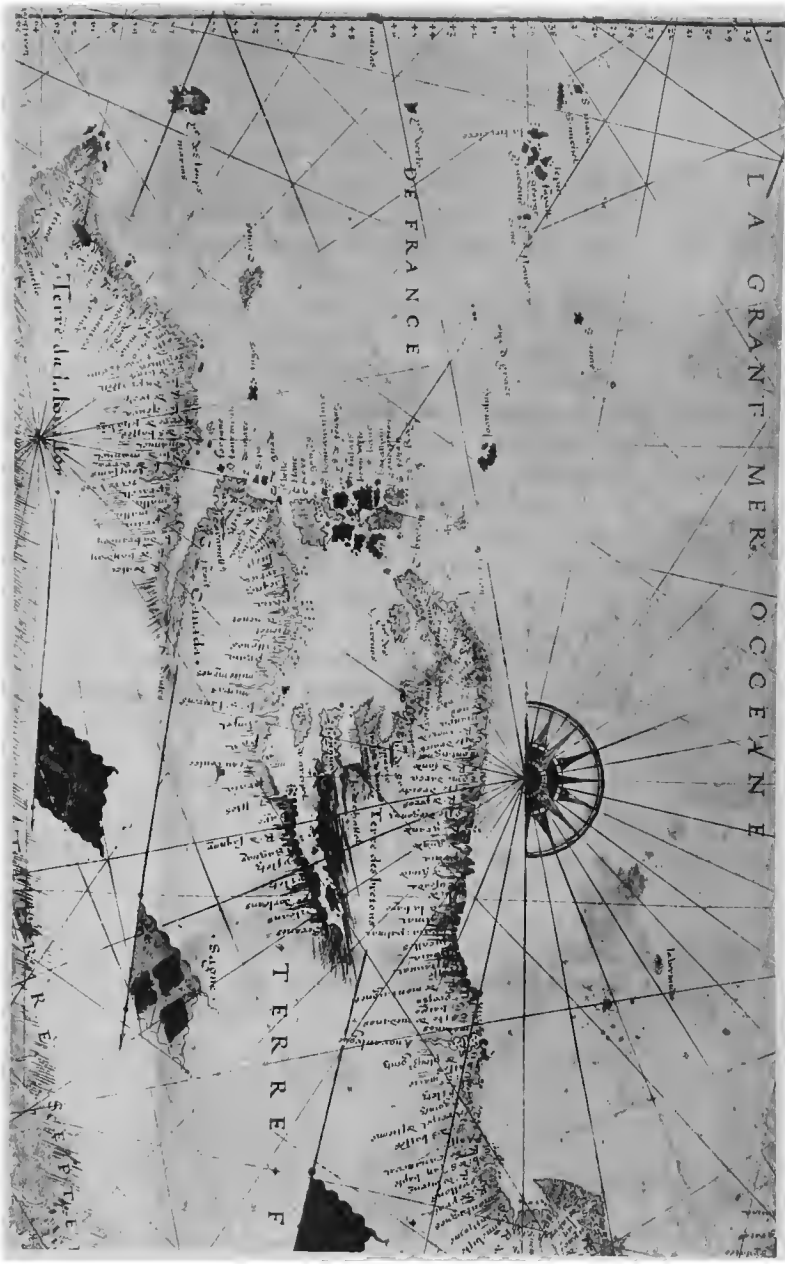
*lung der Kartographie von Amerika bis 1570.* In supplement No. 106 of *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, 1892.

<sup>4</sup> We call the attention of our readers particularly to the shapes and different tinges given to the fragments constituting that archipelago in Desliens’ map and in Cabot’s.









EXTRACT FROM NICOLAS DESLIENS' MAPPAMUNDI OF 1541.



Nicolas Desliens, 1566," and differs but little from the one of 1541, except as regards Newfoundland, which, as might be expected at such a date, is represented as one compact island. These two maps of Desliens, and others akin, indicate a school of Dieppe cartographers different from that of Desceliers, and remaining faithful for the most part to the above given profiles.

There can therefore be no doubt that it was a chart of that class which, directly or indirectly, supplied Cabot with the cartographical data exhibited in his planisphere of 1544. Yet, that Dieppe chart cannot have been of an earlier date than 1536, owing to the inscription in Cabot's planisphere: "laaga de golesme," which is the lake "d'Angouleme" of Vallard and of Hakluyt, whilst the single word "golosme," close to it, is the "y<sup>e</sup> dangoulesme" of Pierre Desceliers. The widening of the river St. Lawrence where those names occur in Cabot's map, as well as the names themselves, correspond with the anonymous extent of water afterwards called "Lac St. Pierre."<sup>1</sup> But as Cartier visited that region both in 1536 and 1542, the name "Angoulesme" may have been given only in the course of the third voyage, and figured for the first time in maps made when he returned from the latter expedition. If so, Cabot's prototype was a derivative of some Desliens map constructed in 1542 or 1543, from which he borrowed both the configurations and nomenclature for the entire basin of the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence.

<sup>1</sup> Abbé FAILLON, *Histoire de la* i, p. 16, and BELLIN's map in CHARLE-  
*Colonisation française en Canada*, vol. VOIX's *Nouvelle France*.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT'S SAN JUAN ISLAND IMAGINARY.

IT will certainly seem strange that a professional cartographer like Sebastian Cabot, who claimed to have found and explored the north-east coast of the New World, and the Bacallaos in particular; who owed his position in Spain, so far back as 1512, to the special knowledge which he was supposed to possess of their geography; and who, as pilot-major, had to supply, for many years, the cartographical information required for the charts issued by the Spanish government, should have been obliged to borrow in a servile fashion all his topographical data from a French map made half a century after his alleged discovery. Yet, this, of itself, would not be sufficient to charge him with mendacity. We can easily realise how he might have selected a later, more complete, or more exact chart than the one he had himself originally drawn, and inscribed thereon his pretended landfall. Just so Stanley, for instance, might to-day insert certain names and legends on some map made since his return by explorers who had surveyed more fully the regions discovered by him several years before.

Such a manipulation on the part of Cabot acquires, however, great importance when brought in connection with other circumstances. We have shown in the preceding chapters that the alleged landfall at Cape Breton island contradicts all the data furnished by John Cabot,—the real discoverer,—and reported by auricular witnesses of unimpeached veracity.

We have also demonstrated that the place designated by Sebastian Cabot in the planisphere of 1544, differs entirely, both as to characteristics and latitude, from the locality set forth by all cartographers of the time, including those who worked under his direction, to mark the English, or Cabotian discoveries in North America. These probatory data can be further strengthened by correlative evidence derived from a study of that portion of Cabot's map under another aspect, viz.: its graphic description of the surroundings of the alleged landfall at Cape Breton.

In his planisphere, the legend for the landfall contains the information that after sighting the new region, in the morning of June 24th, Cabot discovered, on the same day, a large island close to the land which on the map bears the inscription "Prima tierra vista" (that is, the northern extremity of Cape Breton island), and that he named the so discovered isle: "Sant Ioan."

At the outset, it must be stated that there is no island, either large or small, in the immediate vicinity of the northern shores of Cape Breton Island. The nearest is a mere islet (St. Paul), at a distance of fourteen miles, which, being to the north-east of Cape North, Cabot would have sighted before reaching the alleged landfall. Besides, he places his "Sant Ioan," to the north-west, far within the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

After doubling the cape, and entering the Gulf, he had to sail north-westward before meeting with any island; and then it could only be one of the Magdalens, the nearest point of which after leaving Cap North is at a distance of not less than fifty-four miles (Point Old Harry in Coffin Island). The description, therefore, is inadmissible.

We now turn to the topographical data, and find in the planisphere, to the north-west of Cape Breton,

a very large island, the northern shore of which Cabot marks at  $50^{\circ}$  north latitude, and denominates "I. de S. Juan." This is, evidently, his alleged insular discovery, although in reality, the parallel would take us to Labrador.

Looking around for a large island to correspond in some degree with Cabot's allegation, Kohl and others, ourself included, thought that it could only be Prince Edward island. But, so far as we are concerned, we gave at the same time reasons showing the impossibility of reconciling that interpretation with Sebastian Cabot's own statements.

For instance, the landfall was made in the morning: "por la manñana," and the aforesaid large island was discovered on the same day: "el mismo dia," necessarily very soon after the landfall, since the island is said to be "par de la dicha tierra," that is, close to the same.<sup>1</sup> Now, from Cape Nord, which is the landfall when coming from the north-east, to East Cape, which is the first sighting of Prince Edward island when coming from the north-west extremity of Cape Breton, the distance is one hundred and twenty-nine miles!

On the 24th of June 1494 and 1497, in the latitude of Cape Nord, the sun rose at ten minutes past four, and set at eight. Cabot, therefore, must have crossed that great distance within sixteen hours, and even less if we follow the Latin text of the legend, viz.: "hora 5. diliculo." Taking all the facts in the case, it is an impossibility.

The ship was a small one with a very small crew (eighteen men). She left Bristol at the beginning of May, some say on the 2nd, and reached, we are told, on June 24th, a locality which corresponds with

<sup>1</sup> "PAR, adverb. Auprès, près, JOURNANT, *Dictionnaire espagnol-proche, joignant, tout contre.* Lat. *français et latin, Paris, 1775, vol. i, Juxtà, Propé, Secundum.*" (DE SE- p. 731.)

Cape Nord, the extremity of Cape Breton looking towards Newfoundland. The distance between Bristol and that Cape Nord is 2243 miles. The passage therefore averaged about 42 miles per day, which is less than two knots per hour. How can Cabot have crossed the 129 miles which separate Cape Nord from Prince Edward island between sunrise and sunset, that is, in less than sixteen hours, when his sailing in the open sea, during the previous eight weeks, only averaged 30 miles for sixteen hours? Even if we place Cabot's departure from Bristol a week earlier, we find figures, which relatively speaking, are quite as improbable.

Another fact which must be taken in consideration is that the Cabotian legend describes the alleged Isle St. John, as being a very sterile country: "es tierra muy steril," with many white bears: "ay en ellos muchos orsos blancos (*sic*)." On the contrary, Prince Edward island is noted for the beauty of its hills covered with vegetation and clusters of fine trees. As to white bears, particularly at the end of June, they are unheard of. The inscription also says that the natives go about clad in skins of wild animals, and describes no fewer than six species of weapons used by them in war:

"La gente della andan uestidos de pieles de animales, usan en sus guerras arcos, y flechas, lanças, y dardos, y unas porras de palo, y hondas:—the people of [that island] go about clad in skins of animals; use in war bows, arrows, lances, and spears, wooden clubs and slings."

How could Sebastian have acquired that information when we have the positive assertion of Raimondo di Soncino that John Cabot described the country as very fine and temperate: "Et dicono che la è terra optima et temperata," and of Pasqualigo that although the crew went ashore, they did not see any

human being in course of the voyage : " e desmontato e non a visto persona alguna " ?<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be therefore Prince Edward island which Cabot discovered on the same day that he made his landfall, and named " Isla de San Juan." Yet this large and well-known island of the Gulf of St. Lawrence (with due allowance for the errors in form and position so frequent in the early charts), answers at first sight to the isle of great size denominated " I. de S. Juan " in Cabot's planisphere. This conformity misled us all. But we are at last in a position to account for the delusion.<sup>2</sup>

Cabot's " Isla de San Juan," as he depicts and describes it in the planisphere of 1544, so far from being Prince Edward island, is an *imaginary configuration*, borrowed, like all the rest of his north-eastern profiles and localities, from the French map which directly or indirectly, served him in delineating those parts.

It is unquestionable that the Gulf of St. Lawrence was visited by fishermen long before Cartier, and explored as far back as 1521; at all events, by João Alvarez Fagundes.<sup>3</sup> Maps were doubtless made then of certain points at least of that region, but they have not come down to us. And, judging from the profile of the north-east coast, south of Newfoundland, in the charts of Maggiolo, Verrazano, Nuño Garcia de Toreno, the Weimar maps, and even Viegas,<sup>4</sup> it is certain that few, if any, of the geographical data relative to the Gulf of St. Lawrence collected before Cartier's voyages, were known or

<sup>1</sup> PASQUALIGO, *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> This demonstration was first made by Mr. W. F. GANONG, in his excellent memoirs *Jacques Cartier's First Voyage*, and *The Cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence*, inserted in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of*

*Canada*, sect. ii, 1887, and sect. ii, 1889. See also Mr. GANONG's article in *Canadiana*, No. of May 1890, which is a just revindication of that scholar's claims and original investigations.

<sup>3</sup> *Discovery of North America*, pp. 181-188.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 599-601.



utilised by professional cartographers. What we possess in that respect, so far as the details of the interior of the Gulf are concerned, in maps constructed before the year 1546, has no other origin than the tracings brought by Cartier on his return to France from the second expedition in 1536.<sup>1</sup> His own cartographical data have long since disappeared, but they can be reconstructed by the light of the accounts which he wrote of the first and second voyages, and by comparing his geographical descriptions with the Dieppe maps of the time which we still possess, such as Desliens', that of Rotz (*i.e.* Jehan Rose), and Desceliers'. This comparison shows conclusively that Prince Edward island was not discovered to be an island until long after the Cabot planisphere had been constructed,<sup>2</sup> as we propose to demonstrate presently. But there is in the Gulf of St. Lawrence a large island, which observers rarely fail to assume to be, *prima facie*, Prince Edward Island, and which the critic who rejects such an assumption is bound to account for.

If that island had appeared in Cabot's planisphere for the first time, we might infer that it was a datum of his own, which he inserted to complete the French map he was copying. But it is found in Dieppe charts of a prior date, like Desliens' of 1541. Nor can it be said that Desliens borrowed it from some older map of Cabot, because if such a Cabotian map had been in existence, Sebastian would not have copied a French one,—as we have shown he has,—its nomenclature, as well as its configurations, when making his planisphere of 1544.

What then is that island in reality? Nothing else than a crude, conglomerated representation of the Magdalen group.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Sib. Cabot*, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> GANONG, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem.*

Here is the proof for this assertion :

On the 25th of June, 1536, Cartier sailed from some south-west cape of Newfoundland, went north-west by west seventeen and one-half leagues, and then south-west twenty leagues, which brought him to his "Ille de Bryon." At a distance of four leagues from Bryon, he sighted the headland to which he gave the name of "Cap du Daulphin," belonging to another island, which he coasted until he came to another one which he named "Allezay." That insular region is, unquestionably, the small Magdalen archipelago, encumbered with its belt of reefs, shoals and sand-bars. Then the glowing description given by Cartier of the Isle de Brion, which, on account of its fertility he named after his protector Admiral de Brion, and of "Cap du Daulphin pour ce que c'est le commencement des bonnes terres,"<sup>1</sup> shows that those islands must have occupied a prominent place in his own original maps.

Now if we consider that in the early Dieppe charts, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the region of Cape Breton, contains only one island, which solitary isle is named "des arenos" in the Desliens chart of 1541, "Alezey," in the Harleian, and both "brion" and "alezay," flanking a semicircular cluster of reefs and sandbanks, in Desceliers, and that nowhere in the descriptions of Jacques Cartier do we find the least intimation of the existence of another island in that part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, still less of one of such immense size as Prince Edward, it is evident that the isles so represented in the Dieppe maps and in their derivatives, are intended for the Magdalens. Nay, the identification is absolute when we compare Cabot's "Isla de S. Juan" with the island in the same place and of similar shape as well as relative

<sup>1</sup> CARTIER, *Relation originale*, pp. 19, 20.

size in Desliens' map of 1541 and notice that the latter bears the name of "Y<sup>e</sup> des arenos" (*sic pro* des Araynes), which was given to the largest of the Magdalen group by Jacques Cartier, on Thursday, May 26th, 1536.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, neither Cartier, nor any cartographer for half a century after his voyages to Canada, even suspected the insular character of Prince Edward island,<sup>2</sup> as we shall proceed to show.

When Cartier ranged the northern coast of Prince Edward island, or, rather, a small portion of its north-western shore, which he did but once, he certainly thought it was a continental land, and, necessarily, the west side of the "Terre des Bretons" (our New Brunswick and Nova Scotia), so named and depicted in all preceding maps for at least twenty years. Nor do we find in any chart made before, or for half a century after Cartier's discoveries, or any where in the writings of the period, the least mention of a channel answering to the Strait of Northumberland. Reverting to his own accounts, it will be seen that the knowledge which he possessed concerning that region was altogether limited to a few leagues of the north-west coast of Prince Edward island, then and to the last, believed by him to be part of the mainland.

We left Cartier at the western extremity of the southernmost Magdalen island ("Allezey"). Here is his own description of the course taken immediately afterwards :

"The next day (June 29th), the wind blew towards S. and  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.W. We sailed westerly until Tuesday morning (June 30th), without sighting or discovering land at all, except in the evening, when we saw two islands, W.S.W., at a distance of about nine or ten leagues. We continued sailing westwardly, until the next morning at sun rise, something like forty leagues. In so doing,

<sup>1</sup> CARTIER, *Bref récit*, fo. 45<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> GANONG, *op. cit.*

we found that the land which appeared to us like two islands, was the mainland, lying S.S.E. and N.N.W.”<sup>1</sup>

A mere glance at any map, ancient or modern, will show that a land said to be situate forty leagues<sup>2</sup> south of Allezay can only be the northern shore of Prince Edward island; whilst the term “terre ferme,” proves that in Cartier’s opinion it was not an island, but, on the contrary, continental territory. The sailing continued westward by northward. Unfortunately, when Cartier reached the west end of Prince Edward island, instead of ranging the coast in a southerly direction, which would have led him to the western opening of the Strait of Northumberland and enabled him to see that his “terre ferme” was only an island, he darted across, this time, to the real mainland (New Brunswick), and judged that the space between the two points was a bay, precisely as he did again, shortly afterwards, when crossing from Gaspé over to the south-east coast of Anticosti. Here are his own words :

“The next day, on the 2nd of July, we sighted, to the north of us, a land connected with that which we had ranged, and knew that it was a bay with a depth of about twenty leagues, and as much of breadth. We named it the bay of Saint Linaire (St. Leonarius).”<sup>3</sup>

Neither Cartier nor any of his immediate followers ever visited that locality again, at all events previous to the making of Cabot’s planisphere. He returned to France from his first voyage by the Strait of Belle Isle, not suspecting even the existence of the Cape Breton outlet. In his second voyage, he again explored the Magdalens, when crossing over

<sup>1</sup> CARTIER, *Relation originale*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> “Et celuy jour fismes à Ouaist jusques au lendemain, sollail à l’Est, enuiron quarante lieues; Et faissant chemyn, eusmes la connoissance de la

dite terre que nous auoit aparut comme deux iles, que c’ estoit terre ferme que gissoit Su Suest et Nort Norouaist,” *Relat. originale*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.

from the Labrador coast, on his way home, visiting the little archipelago on the east, and thence issuing due east into the Atlantic through the Cape Breton channel, which he then saw for the first time.

Cartier returned a third time to Canada, on the 23rd of May 1541, and made his landfall on the north-east coast of Newfoundland. As the main object of that expedition was to explore the Saguenay, and we find him at Sainte Croix, in the region of the St. Lawrence river on the 23rd of August following, we assume that he entered the Gulf by the Strait of Belle Isle. On the 2nd of September 1541, he sent his brother-in-law (Jalobert), and his nephew (Noel) to France. But they could carry with them no other geographical data than such as may have been gathered about Cape Rouge and Charlesbourg Royal. Cartier spent the entire winter of 1541-42 in the latter place. In the spring, he determined to return to France, and crossed over to the north-west coast of Newfoundland, where, near Cape Double, he waited for Roberval, whom he met there, apparently in September. Nothing indicates that during that time Cartier explored the south-west coast of Newfoundland, or that he visited either Cape Breton or Prince Edwards island. The probability is that after meeting Roberval, he returned again by Belle Isle Strait to St. Malo, where we find him in October 1542,<sup>1</sup> necessarily bringing not any new geographical information except as regards the river St. Lawrence beyond Montreal.

No vessel returned to France until Senneterre was sent to La Rochelle by Roberval in 1543. Here again, if his pilots possessed new cartographical data, they could only relate to the river St. Lawrence, where Roberval remained, until he went back to France, in May 1544.

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 214.

It follows from this series of facts that all the configurations of the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence near or about Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, whether depicted in the Dieppe maps of Desliens, Desceliers, Rotz, and the like, of a date prior to 1544, or in Sebastian Cabot's planisphere, have and can have no other origin than the cartographical data collected by Jacques Cartier, or his pilots, in the course of the voyages made by him in 1534, 1536, and 1542.

It also follows that Sebastian Cabot's "Isla de S. Juan," which he claims to have discovered on the 24th of June 1494 (*sic pro* 1497), is only one of the small islands of a group first found and depicted by the French navigator, and named by him "the Isles of sand," the configurations of which Sebastian Cabot has borrowed wholly from the Carterian prototype used by Nicolas Desliens for his map of 1541.

Another noticeable consequence of this appropriation is that Cabot's delineation of the said island of St. John, does not represent a really existing island. What he has thus depicted and named, is only a cartographical distortion, an amalgam of islets, sunken rocks, shoals and sand bars, conglomerated by mistake, to which some French cartographer ascribed the shape of a regular compact island of considerable dimensions, and which Cabot actually believed to be, as such, in existence; thus perpetuating an egregious geographical error.

It remains to account for the name "Isla de San Juan," given by Sebastian Cabot (or by Dr. Grajales) to that delineation in the Cabotian planisphere.

The legend states that it was so named because Cabot discovered it on the 24th of June, which is St. John's day. If, as we claim to have shown,<sup>1</sup> a land-fall made at such a late date as June 24th is not

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, chapter x, pp. 63-68.

compatible with Sebastian Cabot's alleged doings and movements immediately after sighting the New World that name is just as spurious as the rest.

Our belief is that the date of June 24th was invented, either by Sebastian Cabot or by Dr. Grajales, to tally with the name of "St. John," then existing in maps of that region.

As the reader will see even at a glance, when comparing our two facsimiles, the north-eastern configurations in Cabot's planisphere and those in the Desliens map of 1541, proceed from the same prototype; but Cabot's have very probably passed through an intermediary derivative. The Spanish and Portuguese forms of the original French names, indicate in Cabot's map a Lusitanian or Spanish model, made after Desliens' prototype, but which may have introduced certain cartographical peculiarities of the Spanish and Portuguese charts. One of these is another imaginary "Island of St. John."

So far back as the map constructed by Pedro Reinel in 1504 or 1505, we find to the east of the peninsula of Cape Breton, in the latitude of 49° (according to its scale), a large isle denominated "Sam Johã." This island, which, as such, is fictitious, may owe its cartographical origin to a misconception of the great peninsula which stretches into the Atlantic from the southernmost or Sydney region of Cape Breton island, to which it is joined only by an extremely narrow isthmus. We find it in all Lusitanian maps and their derivatives, including those of Dieppe, and with the names of "I<sup>a</sup> de S. Joan" (Maggiolo of 1527). "Y. de S. Juhan" (Wolfenbüttel B), nameless in Viegas, but "Y<sup>e</sup> de St. Jehã" in the Harleian, and "Sam Joam" in Freire's portolano.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That island should not be mistaken for another imaginary one near it. viz. : "Juan estevez," which co-exists in nearly all the maps of the time.

Its position is not exactly the same in all maps, although in every instance the island is located in the vicinity of Cape Breton. Some maps have it more to the north, and even like Wolfenbüttel B<sup>1</sup> and Verrazano's mappamundi, inside the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

If Cabot's north-eastern configurations were not exactly the same as Desliens' Dieppe map, we should at once ascribe the insertion of the island and name of St. John in the Cabotian planisphere to the fact of their being borrowed from some Lusitanian chart, but the resemblance is too great. This constrains us to infer that Cabot's model map, which we assume to have been a Portuguese derivative of a Cartieran map, also had its Cape Breton peninsula flanked by the imaginary Atlantic St. John. We may presume that, like Wolfenbüttel B, for instance, it inserted the "I. de S. Juan," configuration, name, and all, to the west, instead of to the east of Cape Breton. Cabot, then, if the blending of the two insular configurations did not already exist in his model, may have merged it with the delineation originally intended by the Dieppe designer of the prototype to represent the Magdalen group of Cartier.

Our interpretation of the origin of the name leads to what might be termed a reflex consequence. Dr. Grajales, if not Cabot himself, fully aware of the almost constant practice of naming islands after the saint on whose day they were found, may well have coined the date of June 24th, which is that of the festival of John the Baptist, on seeing the island labelled "I. de San Juan."

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, No. 195, pp. 580-581. Wolfenbüttel B is a Sevillian map, of about the year 1531, but completed with Portuguese

data, as certain names, and particularly the legend relating to the origin of the term "Laborador" amply show.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### IS THE CABOTIAN MAP GENUINE?

THE conclusion to be drawn from our analysis is that Sebastian Cabot's statements as regards the first landfall on the continent of North America, are in absolute contradiction to the legends and delineations of the planisphere of 1544, and that these, in their turn, are based entirely on the discoveries made by Jacques Cartier in 1534 and 1536 and not at all on Cabot's.

If in connection with these facts, we recollect that for forty-four years previous to the making of his planisphere, all the maps locate expressly, or by implication, the first discoveries of the English in the north-east of the New World, including necessarily John Cabot's transatlantic voyages under the British flag, ten degrees farther north; and that witnesses of undoubted veracity and entirely disinterested testify to having heard John Cabot declare that he sailed westward from Ireland, without alluding to a change southward in the course of the ship, at any time during the voyage, we feel constrained to place his *prima tierra vista*, in 1497 beyond  $51^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude.

Taking moreover into consideration that, according to the same contemporary and unimpeached evidence, not only did John Cabot not sail in his first expedition towards the south after he had proceeded westward from a point which was at or above  $51^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude, but on the contrary stood thence to the northward, and afterwards steered in a due

westerly direction, the critic must place the landfall on some point of the north coast of Labrador, probably between Sandwich Bay and Cape Chudleigh.

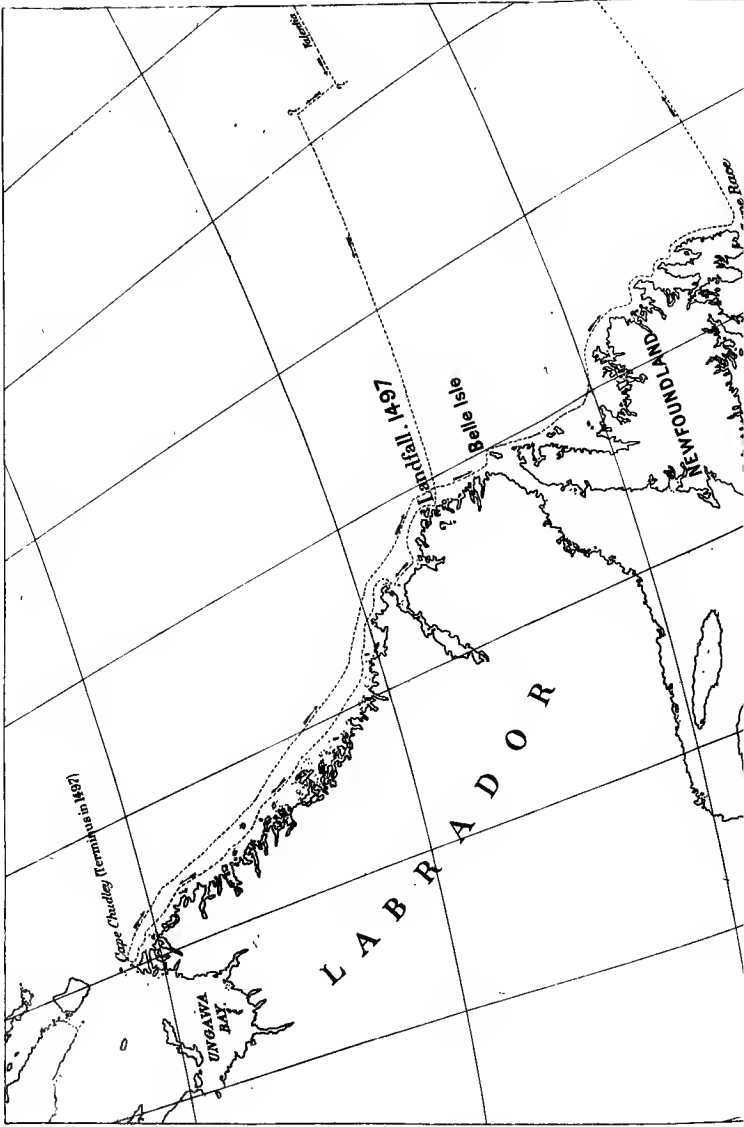
Such an interpretation permits us to comprise within a possible space of time the necessary rest, and the exploration of the newly discovered country, as related by eye-witnesses of John Cabot's return to England in 1497. Withal, the date of the landfall should be set back two or three weeks before June 24th. This would leave about seventy days for the voyage to and fro, and twenty-five for the stay, repairs, and exploration of the coast. As to the two islands of considerable size which, when homeward bound, John Cabot is said to have seen to the starboard, they admit of the following explanation.

Pasqualigo does not specify the character of those islands, as he says only: "al tornar aldreto a visto do ixole." Soncino is more explicit. "The two islands were extremely large:—due insule grandissime." According to Professor Hind, that coast of North Labrador "is fringed with a vast multitude of islands;"<sup>1</sup> but in nautical charts of the district, no large islands are marked except at the entrance of Hudson's Strait. Of the two in Ungava Bay, one Akpatok, is very large, the other, Green, is rather small. Then, according to this hypothetic route, John Cabot when reaching the headland of Cape Chudleigh, would have launched into what must have looked to him to be the open sea (as between Chudleigh and Resolution Island the strait is 45 miles wide), instead of hugging the shore and doubling the cape, which, owing to his small craft and lack of provisions, he would have been induced to do in preference. It is probable, then, that after following up his supposed landfall in Labrador (some-

<sup>1</sup> CHAPPELL, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's bay*; London, 1817, 8vo.



Plate I.





FIRST VOYAGE OF JOHN CABOT  
(1497)



where about Sandwich Bay or Invuctoke), as far west as Cape Chudleigh, he turned his prow to the south-eastward, and when on the east shore of Newfoundland, mistook for islands the peninsulas which project on that side from the main body of the isle.

The latter hypothesis is the more plausible since the east coast of Newfoundland is indented with bays running, in some instances, 80 or 90 miles inland, and at no great distance from each other.<sup>1</sup> The peninsula of Avalon, pointing south-east, is almost severed from the principal portion of the island, the connection being a narrow isthmus, in one place but three miles wide.

In fact, it was this deceptive profile which caused all cartographers of the first half of the sixteenth century to represent Newfoundland as an archipelago.<sup>2</sup> Even in the Cabotian map of 1544, the isle is still broken up into eleven large fragments. We should also recollect that its bays have their shores clad in dark green forests to the water's edge; and, as Cabot himself says that he merely sighted those islands<sup>3</sup> without circumnavigating them, the supposed mistake is perfectly accountable.

If so, the accompanying map would represent the route of John Cabot in the expedition of 1497.

All this, however, we put forward as a mere hypothesis, yet the best that can be proposed to explain Sebastian Cabot's contradictory assertions. These contradictions are so manifest that they have prompted the inquiry whether he was really the author of the planisphere which bears his name.

It must be repeated here that the legends in

<sup>1</sup> Rev. M. HARVEY, *Ency. Br.* xvii, 382.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the number of fragments is almost a test to ascertain the antiquity of the configurations ascribed to Newfoundland in the Dieppe maps of the 16th century.

<sup>3</sup> "E al tornar aldreto a visto do ixole ma non ha voluto desender per non perder tempo che la vituaria li mancava." Letter of Lorenzo. PASQUALIGO, *Jean et S<sup>th</sup>. Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322.

Cabot's map were not written by him, but are the work of one Dr. Grajales, who wrote them at the Puerto de Santa Maria, half a century after John Cabot's first voyage;<sup>1</sup> while the translation into Latin seems to have been made by some Dutch or German pedant<sup>2</sup> of the place where the planisphere was engraved. The cartographical data, however, which served as a basis for those tabular explanations, were certainly furnished by Sebastian Cabot, or published with his assent, particularly as regards the configuration of the north-east coast of the American continent, and the alleged landfall at Cape Breton.

In 1544, Charles V. reigned over both Germany and the Netherlands; and whether we consider the Cabotian planisphere as having been published in Spain, at Antwerp, or at Augsburg, it is not likely that anyone would have ventured to palm off on the Emperor's Pilot-Major a forgery of that character, or add to the plate the Imperial arms. Besides, the genuineness of the publication is proved by its existence and circulation in England while Sebastian Cabot lived and held an official position in that country. The importance of this fact makes it incumbent on us to produce our authorities for the statement.

As to the first assertion, we must recall the circumstance that Sebastian Cabot was still living in 1557; and that Eden, before 1555, which is the date of the first edition of his English translation of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, published in that work certain

<sup>1</sup> See in the appendix of the first part of the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*, the note entitled: *Alleged map of Columbus' navigations*, and, *infra*, *Synopsis*, No. lxi.

<sup>2</sup> The self-laudatory expressions which also lead us to think that CABOT did not write the legends, viz. :

"navigandi arte astronomiaque peritissimus . . . . astrorum peritia navigandique arte omnium doctissimus . . . . fida doctissimaque magistra;" all three of which are in the Latin version of the legend xvii, do not exist in the Spanish text, whether printed, or in the manuscript copy.



“notable thynges as tovchinge the Indies,” which, he said, were “translated owt of the bookes of Franciscus Lope [Gomara] . . . and partly also owt of the carde made by Sebastian Cabot.”<sup>1</sup>

The Cabotian planisphere could be seen at Westminster. Purchas, after referring to the voyage of 1497, sums up the eighth tabular legend, and adds: “These are the wordes of the great Map in his Maiestie’s priuie Gallerie.”<sup>2</sup> There was also a copy in the castle of the Earl of Bedford: “Cabot’s table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheynies,” says Richard Willes.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the map was reissued in 1549 for Clement Adams who re-edited the legends, once, as we propose to show,<sup>4</sup> with modifications most probably suggested by Cabot himself, and Hakluyt says that “the copye of Gabote’s map sett out by Mr. Clemente Adams was in many marchants houses in London.”<sup>5</sup>

It is impossible that the wily Venetian should not have been aware of the existence of those maps; and if he had no part in such publications, or if he disapproved of their cartographical statements, we should find traces of protest and disclaimer in the works of Eden<sup>6</sup> and of Hakluyt;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> EDEN, *Decades*; London, 1555, 4to, f. 324.

<sup>2</sup> PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimage*; London, 1625, folio, vol. iii, p. 807.

<sup>3</sup> WILLES’ edition of EDEN’s *History of Travayle*; London, 1557, 4to, f. 232.

<sup>4</sup> *Syllabus*, No. lxi, § iii.

<sup>5</sup> HAKLUYT, *Westerne Planting*, written in 1584, and published for the first time in vol. ii of the *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Portland, 1870, 8vo, p. 126. As CLEMENT ADAMS did not die till 1587, and HAKLUYT, born *circa* 1553, lived until 1616, they must have known one another; owing to their living in the same social circle, and their devotion to mutually congenial studies.

<sup>6</sup> EDEN, who was personally acquainted with Sebastian Cabot, and

derived information from him concerning his voyages (*The Decades of the New Worlde*, London, 1555, preface, leaf c 1 and fol. 249, 255, 268), had seen that map and, as we have already said, actually republished one of its legends.

<sup>7</sup> HAKLUYT also reprinted a legend taken from the same chart, a copy of which he saw hung up “in her Maiesties’ priuie gallerie at Westminster” (*Principall Navigations*, 1589, p. 511, and 1599, vol. iii, p. 6), and besides, from his language, he must have consulted “all of Sebastian Cabote’s ‘own mappes and discourses drawne and written by himselfe,’ which, he is the first to say, ‘are in the custody of Master William Worthington who is very willing to suffer them to be overseene.’”—*Divers voyages*, 1582.

while they would neither have quoted nor used the map.

What then could be Sebastian's object in placing at the southern entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence a landfall which for so many years previous had rightly figured, though it be only by implication, in all charts and portolani, as on the north-eastern coast of Labrador? Was it his personal interest to do so, and have we any reason to consider him as capable of making wilfully untruthful statements? These grave questions require the critic to examine with care and impartiality the real character of Sebastian Cabot.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE CHARACTER OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

SEBASTIAN Cabot was a man capable of disguising the truth, whenever it was to his interest to do so.

The account of the discovery of the north-east coast of the New World, given by Peter Martyr, is exclusively from communications by Sebastian Cabot, when the latter was his guest: "Familiarem habeo domi Cabottum ipsum, et contubernalem interdum."<sup>1</sup> Yet, it contains no mention whatever of John Cabot, and the merit of the discovery is ascribed solely to Sebastian :

"Scrutatus est eas Sebastianus Cabotus . . . Duo is sibi navigia propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, et primo tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad septentrionem . . . :—These northe seas haue byn searched by one Sebastian Cabot . . . He therefore furnisshed two shippes in England at his own charges: And fyrst with three hundreth men, directed his course . . . ."<sup>2</sup>

Had he ever mentioned his father's name to Peter Martyr in connection with that discovery, the latter would certainly have inserted it in his *Decades*.

Again in Sebastian's own words as reported by the Mantuan Gentleman, it was he alone who accomplished the first voyage, his father being said by him to have been dead when Henry VII. granted the required authorization to undertake it :

"Mori il padre in quel tempo che venne nona che'l signor don

<sup>1</sup> ANGHIERA, *De rebus Oceanicis*,  
*Decad.* i, lib. vi, leaf 55 D.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, leaf c, and EDEN'S translation.

Christopher Colombo Genoese havea scoperta la costa dell' Indie, et se ne parlava grandemente per tutta la corte del Re Henrico vij, che allhora regnava . . . subito feci intender questo mio pensiero alla Maestà del Re, il qual . . . mi armò due caravelle . . . et cominciai a navigar . . . in capo d'alquanti giorni la discopersi . . . &c.:—When my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Columbus Genoese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of King Henry the Seventh, who then raigned . . . I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my devise, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things . . . and *I began* therefore to saile . . . After certaine dayes I *found* . . . &c.”<sup>1</sup>

In an Italian paraphrase of Peter Martyr,<sup>2</sup> which we have elsewhere shown to be the work of Ramusio,<sup>3</sup> who corresponded with Sebastian Cabot, and from whom he received information which we must assume to be embodied in that publication, the above statement is even enlarged, in this wise :

“Fu [Cabot] menato da suo padre in Inghilterra, da poi la morte del quale trouandosi ricchissimo, et di grande animo, deliberò si come hauea fatto Christoforo Colombo, voler anchor lui scoprire qualche nuoua parte del mondo, et à sue spese armò duoi nauili:—He was taken by his father to England, where, after the latter's death, finding himself extremely rich, and being high-spirited, he determined, as Christopher Columbus had done, to discover some new part of the World, and at his own cost, he equipped two ships.”<sup>4</sup>

Now, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, who was an eye-witness of the navigator's return, and Raimondo di Soncino, who interviewed him at the same time, and was, moreover, his personal friend,<sup>5</sup> both name him “Zoanne Caboto,” and never mention Sebastian. John Cabot, so far from being dead when the expedition was fitted out, received, personally, from Henry VII. on the 13th of December, 1497, a pension

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliot. Americana Vetustissima*,  
No. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa*

*vie, ses voyages*; vol. i, pp. 92-94.

<sup>4</sup> RAMUSIO, *Raccolta*, 1565, vol. iii,  
fo. 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Jean. et Séb. Cabot*, pp. 322, 326.

as a reward for the discovery which he had just accomplished.<sup>1</sup> Further, there was only one discoverer on that occasion, at least, and not several, as the English King, August 10th, 1497, (that is, immediately upon the return of the expedition,) gave from his privy purse £10 "to *hym* that found the New Isle."<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt about the identity of the discoverer whom Henry VII. meant, as in his second letters patent, dated February 3rd, 1498, he says that "the Londe and Isles of late found," were discovered "by the seid John Kabotto, Veneciane."<sup>3</sup>

Sebastian's disregard of truth is maintained in his repeated explanations that his father was only a sort of itinerant merchant, who had come to England solely to sell his goods or engage in mercantile pursuits: "Uti moris est Venetorum, qui commercii causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites:—hauyng occasion to resorte thether for trade of merchandies, as is the maner of the Venetians . . ." do we read in Peter Martyr's *Decades*.<sup>4</sup> "Andato à stare in Inghilterra à far mercantie:—to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises," Sebastian told the Mantuan Gentleman.<sup>5</sup> His hearers could not but see in such unfilial and insidious remarks, a confirmation of his boast that he had himself discovered Newfoundland.

It is not certain even that Sebastian accompanied his father to the New World, although he is one of the grantees mentioned in the letters patent of March 5th, 1496.

We are first struck with the expression in Pasqualigo's letter of August 23rd, 1497, already quoted :

<sup>1</sup> Collection of Privy Seals, No. 40, quoted by Mr. Charles DEANE, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, Cambridge, 1886, 8vo, p. 56, and our *Syllabus*, No. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Excerpta Historica*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> BIDDLE, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> ANGHIERA, *Decad.* i, ii, chapt. vi.

<sup>5</sup> RAMUSIO, *loc. cit.*

“E ali dato danari fazi bona ziera fino a quel tempo e con so moier veneziana e con so fioli a Bristo:—The king has given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then; and he is now at Bristol with his Venetian wife, *and with his sons.*”

May not this be interpreted in the sense that John Cabot's wife and sons remained in Bristol while he was accomplishing the voyage of 1497 and that upon returning to England, he went to join them in Bristol? If not, how can we account for Pasqualigo's silence regarding Sebastian, who was by birth a Venetian like himself, if his young countryman had participated in that great discovery?

Peter Martyr, notwithstanding the fact that he was on friendly terms with Sebastian Cabot, and not prone to disparagement, confesses that there were Spaniards who denied his having been the discoverer of the Bacallaos region, or that he ever sailed so far westward:

“Ex Castellanis non desunt, qui Cabothum primum finisse Baccalaorum, repertorem negent tantumque ad occidentem tetendisse minime assentientur:—Some of the Spanyardes denye that [Sebastian] Cabot was the fyrst fynder of the lande of Baccallaos: and affirme that he went not so farre westwarde.”<sup>1</sup>

What is more, in March 1521, the twelve great Livery Companies of London having been required by Henry VIII. to furnish a heavy contribution towards fitting out ships of discovery to be placed under the command of Sebastian Cabot, the drapers, who had undertaken to settle the terms and amount for all the parties, made representations to the King, the Lord<sup>o</sup> Cardinal (Wolsey) and the Council, against the projected expedition. Their principal reason was that the intended commander, Sebastian Cabot, could not be trusted, given in these very significant words:

“And we thynk it were to sore avent<sup>r</sup> to joperd V shippes w<sup>th</sup> men

<sup>1</sup> ANGHIERA, *loc. cit.*

and goods vnto the said Iland [the Newe found Iland] vppon the singuler trust of one man callyd as we vnderstond Sebastyan, whiche Sebastyan as we here say was neu<sup>r</sup> in that land hym self, all if he maks reports of many things as he hath hard his Father and other men speke in tymes past . . . trusting to the said Sebastyan, we suppos it were no wysdom to avent<sup>r</sup> lyves and goods thider in suche man . . .”<sup>1</sup>

Cardinal Wolsey, to whom these severe objections were particularly addressed, was twenty-six years old when the first English transatlantic expedition sailed from Bristol and by his position at that time in the Marquis of Dorset's family, must have known the circumstances attending that voyage, the results of which created such a great sensation in London.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Sebastian Cabot was in England<sup>3</sup> when these representations were lodged in the hands of the competent authorities. That under such circumstances the Livery Companies should have ventured to make so bold a statement, officially, to the King, to Wolsey, and to the Council, is a matter worthy of notice. It proves, at all events, that if Sebastian ever played any part in those expeditions, it must have been very insignificant.

In the conversation with the Mantuan Gentleman, Sebastian ascribed his leaving England and seeking employment in Spain to the “great tumults among the people, and preparation for the war to be carried into Scotland,” and mentioned the King and Queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, as having entertained him at that time :

“Dove giunto trovai grandissimi tumulti di popoli sollevati, et della guerra in Scotia . . . per il che me ne venni in Spagna al Re Catholico, et alla Regina Isabella, i quali mi raccolsero.”

<sup>1</sup> *Wardens Accounts of the Drapers Company, London*, MSS., vol. vii, fo. 87. This important document was first made known by the late William HERBERT, in his highly valuable *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 1837, 8vo, vol. i, p. 410. The present text is taken

from a copy of the original records, kindly secured at our request by Miss MARY TOULMIN SMITH.

<sup>2</sup> For the complete document, see the *Discovery of North America*, pp. 747-750.

<sup>3</sup> HOLINSHED, *Chronicles*, London, 1586, folio, vol. ii, p. 781.

He goes so far as to add that the Catholic Kings sent him to discover the coast of Brazil :

“Mi diedero buona provisione faccendomi inavigar dietro la costa del Bresil, per volerla scoprire.”

It would be difficult to throw into a few sentences a greater number of erroneous statements and anachronisms. The great tumults among the people can only be the irruption of the Scots and inroads of the Cornish rebels, who “neere incamped to the citie.”<sup>1</sup> This occurred in the spring of 1497, as the battle of Blackheath was fought on the 22nd of June, 1497.<sup>1</sup> At that time, Cabot was on the coast of Labrador. When he returned to England in August following, the “preparation to carry war into Scotland” had long been over, as, according to Holinshed, “King James had retired without proffer of battle,” and Pedro de Ayala<sup>2</sup> was negotiating the truce which was finally concluded in the month of January following.<sup>3</sup> Cabot, far from proposing to remove to Spain, was then soliciting a new licence from Henry VII., who granted it February 3rd, 1498; and preparations were immediately made for the expedition which set out from Bristol in May next ensuing.

On the other hand, Sebastian Cabot told a different story to Peter Martyr. According to this, it was upon the death of Henry VII. that he abandoned the service of England, and removed to Spain: “Vocatus namque ex Britannia à rege nostro catholico post Henrici maioris Britanniae regis mortem.”

This declaration is just as untrue as the other.

<sup>1</sup> HUME, *History of England*, Boston, 1854, 8vo, vol. ii, p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> The English historians call him “Hialyas.”

<sup>3</sup> “Peace with the King of Scotland is in course of negotiation” (Sept. 9th, 1497). “The ambassador from

the King of Scotland has arrived to conclude a truce” (Novemb. 28th).

“Affairs with the King of Scotland are well nigh pacified” (January 11th, 1498). RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i, Nos. 754, 760, 763.



Henry VII. died April 22nd, 1509, and Sebastian Cabot was still in the employ of the English government, on May 12th, 1512,<sup>1</sup> and in England with his wife and home, "su mujer i casa," on the 20th of October following.<sup>2</sup>

As regards his statement that he was sent by Ferdinand and Isabella to make discoveries on the coast of Brazil, it is well to mention that Isabella died November 26th, 1504, and his name appears in connection with projected Spanish voyages for the first time, March 6th, 1514. As to expeditions actually carried out under his leadership, or in which he took part under the flag of Spain, there is only one, and, as we intend to prove, it did not sail before April 3rd, 1526, when both Ferdinand and Isabella had long been dead.

As we have seen in a preceding chapter, when speaking to Italians, Sebastian Cabot claimed to be a Venetian by birth, who had been brought over to England as a child: "Genere Venetus, sed a parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus . . . transportatus penè infans," he said to Peter Martyr. Ten years later, he declares to Gasparo Contarini that he was born in Venice, but reared in England: "Per dirve il tutto, io naqui a Venetia ma sum nutrito in Ingelterra." To the Mantuan Gentleman he stated, on the contrary, that, so far from having left Venice when he scarcely knew yet how to speak "pene infans," he had already received most of his classical education: "era assai giovane non gia però che non havesse imparato et littere d'humanità, et la sphaera." But when twenty-five years afterwards we find him settled in England, receiving or expecting new favours from Edward VI., and speaking to

<sup>1</sup> J. S. BREWER, *Calendar domestic and foreign*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 1456. 1512; *Jean et Sebastian Cabot*, doc.

<sup>2</sup> Dispatch from FERDINAND of xviii, p. 332.

Englishmen, he declares just as positively that he is their countryman: "Sebastian Cabote tould me that he was borne in Bristowe," Richard Eden relates.

We could cite a number of other untruthful statements made by Sebastian Cabot.<sup>1</sup> At first, we were inclined to believe that they should be ascribed to his interlocutors; but the conversation which he had with Contarini in 1522, and which this most truthful witness reported verbatim immediately afterwards to the Senate of Venice in an official dispatch, shows that it was Sebastian's usual manner of speaking, vainglorious and erratic.

Such proofs of constant mendacity demonstrate, as we asserted at the outset, that Sebastian Cabot was capable of swerving from the truth whenever it might profit him.

What then were the interested motives which could prompt him in 1544 to locate at the southern entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence a landfall which in reality had been effected ten degrees further north? The absence of documents, and the difficulty of scrutinizing a man's motives, compel us to answer this question only by resorting to hypothesis.

In 1544, a great change had taken place relative to the importance of the more northern coast of the new continent. The seas which bordered those regions were no longer a mere common fishing ground frequented by the smacks of Portugal, Biscay, Brittany, Normandy, and England. The successful explorations accomplished by Jacques Cartier, from 1534 until 1543, had been followed by the planting of French colonies. The region selected was not Labrador, on which, in all the maps of the time, was inscribed the uninviting legend: "No ay en ella cosa de provecho:—Here there is nothing of advan-

<sup>1</sup> See *Sébastien Cabot, navigateur vénitien*, in DRAPEYRON'S *Paris Revue de Géographie*, No. of March 1895.

tage,"<sup>1</sup> but around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the island of Cape Breton, which the reports of Cartier and Roberval to Francis I. represented to be a beautiful and fertile country, with rich copper mines, fine ports and the most navigable rivers in the world. Gomara, in a work written before 1551 and addressed to Charles V., says of that region: "The French are settling or will settle the country, for it is just as good a land as France:—Dicen que [los Franceses] pueblan allí ó que poblarán, por ser tan buena tierra como Francia."<sup>2</sup>

The voyage of Master Hore in 1536 favoured by Henry VIII. was doubtless prompted by the news of Cartier's first successful results; and although it was not followed, so far as we know, by other English expeditions, Sebastian Cabot's cartographical statement, as embodied in the planisphere of 1544, may well have been a suggestion of British claims, and a bid for the King of England's favour. To place within the Gulf of St. Lawrence the landfall of 1497, was tantamount to declaring that region to be English dominion, as the discovery had been accomplished by vessels sailing under the British flag: "sub banneris vexillis et insigniis nostris," and whose commander, by virtue of a royal commission, had actually planted that flag when landing on those shores for the first time.<sup>3</sup> Nor was the hint conveyed at an unseasonable time, Henry VIII. being then at war with Francis I., and continuing so until 1547. At all events, it is certain that "the Title which England has to that part of America, which is from Florida to 67 degrees northward," is or was

<sup>1</sup> "Labrador, the land allotted by God to Cain," as CARTIER writes. *Relation originale*, fo. 11a.

<sup>2</sup> GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Henry VII., in his letters patent

of February 3rd, 1498, says that the "Londe and Iles were founde by the seid John [Kabotto] in oure name and by oure commandement." Letters patent of 3rd February, 1498, in BIDDLE, *Memoir*, p. 75.

derived "from the letters patent granted to John Cabote and his three sons," to use the language of Hakluyt.<sup>1</sup>

Such underhand dealings were also in keeping with Sebastian Cabot's natural disposition, as we shall soon show him constantly engaged in plotting and corresponding in secret with foreign rulers to advance his own interest. The planisphere was designed in 1544: "hizo esta figura . . . anno de MDXLIII.;" and the fact of it being engraved at a great distance from Seville, where Sebastian then lived, may have retarded its publication until a year or eighteen months after that date. Now there is in the Council Register of Edward VI., a £100 warrant, dated October 7th, 1547, "for the transporting of one Shabot (*sic.*), a Pilot, to come out of Hispaine to serve and inhabit in England."<sup>2</sup> This individual is unquestionably Sebastian Cabot, inasmuch as in 1549, we see Charles V. sternly requesting the English ambassador to cause the return to Spain of "one Sebastian Gabote, his generall pilot, presently in England."<sup>3</sup> The warrant and order were only the results of a series of efforts and intrigues on the part of Sebastian to leave the service of Charles V. and obtain a better position in England. Further on, we shall give positive proofs that so early as 1538 he was intriguing to influence Sir Thomas Wyatt, the resident ambassador at the Court of Charles V., to recommend his services to Henry

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, *Divers Voyages*; London, 1582, in the dedication to Sir Philip SYDNEY. The earliest assumption of that character which we have found, is in the long argument written in 1580, by John DEE, on the back of his map of America (British Museum, *MSS. Cott. Aug.* i, i art. 1), where he bases on the discoveries or voyages of CABOT, Robert THORN and Hugh ELIOT or ELLIOT, "the Quenes Maiesties Title Royale to

these foreyn Regions and Islands."

<sup>2</sup> *Jean et Sebastien Cabot*, doc. xxxiv, p. 358. An imperfect transcription of the name (*viz.* : *S. Cabot* misspelled *Shabot*) easily accounts for the above erroneous spelling, or *lapsus pena*.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes and Queries*, London, 3rd Series, vol. i, p. 125, where the Emperor's demand is carefully printed from the original text by Mr. Clement HOOPER.

VIII., which, in fact was done when Sir Philip Hoby returned to London. The time required for his efforts and correspondence brings us very near the date when the planisphere must have reached England. It is difficult to see a mere coincidence between these facts; and they constitute important elements in ascertaining the motives of Sebastian Cabot for placing the landfall of the English in a fertile country, which was then being colonized by a rival nation.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### JOHN CABOT'S SECOND EXPEDITION.

JOHN Cabot returned to Bristol from his first voyage early in August, since we see him in London on the 10th of that month, when he received from the King a gratuity of £10, "to have a good time:—fazi bona ziera," as Pasqualigo says.<sup>1</sup> On the 13th of December following, he also obtained the grant, during the royal pleasure, of a pension of £20 per annum, which was made a charge upon the customs of the port of Bristol,<sup>2</sup> and to date "from the feast of thanunciacion of our lady last passed," that is, from the preceding 25th of March. But he found some difficulty in collecting it, since on the 22nd of February 1498, Henry VII. was obliged to issue a warrant reciting that His Majesty had been "enformed the said John Cabote was delaied of his payement because the customers of the poorte of Bristowe had no sufficient matier of discharge for their indempnitie to be yolden at their accompt before the Barons of the Eschequier."<sup>3</sup>

The news that John Cabot had discovered the island of Brazil, the Seven Cities, and the kingdom of the Grand Khan, produced the deepest impression in England. "He is styled the great admiral, vast honour is paid to him, he dresses in silk, and

<sup>1</sup> PASQUALIGO, *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Charles DEANE, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Warrants for Issues of the 13th of

Henry VII. See, *infra*, our *Syllabus*, No. xii. We are indebted to M. OPPENHEIM, Esq., for that document and a number of others from the same source.

Englishmen run after him like mad people," we also read in Pasqualigo's letter to his brothers.<sup>1</sup>

Relying upon the relative success of the expedition, John Cabot applied for new letters patent, which were granted on the 3rd of February 1498.

According to Pasqualigo, the King did more, for he promised to equip ten ships, and allowed to Cabot as many prisoners, except such as were confined for high treason, as he required to man the fleet. Raimondo di Soncino swells the number of vessels intended for that voyage from fifteen to twenty. Yet, the new patent gives licence to take six ships only, being of the burden of two hundred tons or under, "paying for theym and every of theym as and if we [the Crown] should in and for our owen cause paye and noon otherwise."<sup>2</sup> We do not think, therefore, notwithstanding the expressions used by Puebla and Ayala, "El Rey de Inglaterra embio cinco naos," that Henry VII., whose avarice was notorious, equipped the expedition at his own cost. But Cabot had no difficulty in finding men to accompany him, judging from the following remark of Pasqualigo :

"Tanti quanti navrebe con li e etiam molti de nostri furfanti :— He can enlist as many Englishmen as he pleases, and many of our own rascals besides."

There is no ground whatever for the assertion, frequently repeated,<sup>3</sup> that John Cabot did not command this second expedition, or that it was undertaken after his death by his son. The name of Sebastian Cabot, who, let it be said, was not one of the grantees in these new letters patent, appears for the first time in connection with these voyages, in Peter Martyr's account, printed twenty years after

<sup>1</sup> PASQUALIGO, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> BIDDLE, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> BIDDLE, *op. cit.*, chapter x, pp.

80-89; George BANCROFT, in *Appleton's Encyclopædia*, art. Cabot, &c. &c.

the event,<sup>1</sup> and taken exclusively from Sebastian's own lips, which, as we have shown, is not a recommendation. In England, his name reveals itself as regards the discovery of the New World at still a later period, in John Stow's *Chronicle*, published in 1580.<sup>2</sup> And although both that historian and Hakluyt<sup>3</sup> quote as their authority for the statement a manuscript copy of Robert Fabyan's *Chronicle*, the name of Sebastian Cabot, as have hinted already, is a sheer interpolation.<sup>4</sup>

Those two writers may have derived the details which are given in their chronicles, from some Fabyan manuscript no longer to be found; but the description itself certainly originated in a document which we shall proceed to describe.

Among the Cottonian manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, there is one which bears the following title: *Cronicon regum Angliæ et series maiorum et vicecomitum Civitatis London ab anno primo Henrici tertium ad annum primum. Hen. 8<sup>vi</sup>.*<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Gairdner, of the Public Record Office, who kindly re-examined that manuscript at our request in 1881, and who is one of the highest authorities on such historical matters, reported that the *Cronicon* is a perfectly trustworthy source of contemporaneous information, its earlier portion derived from a common source with several other London chronicles,—such as Gregory's,<sup>6</sup> whilst the latter part has something in common with Fabyan, but containing a good deal for the reign of Henry VII. not to be found any where else in print. So much for the intrinsic and paleographic proofs of its authenticity.

<sup>1</sup> ANGHIERA, *De Orbe Novo Decades*, Alcala, 1516, fol., *Decad.* iii, lib. vi, fo. 56, verso.

<sup>2</sup> *The Chronicle of England, from Brute unto the present yeare of Christ* 1580, London, 4to, p. 862.

<sup>3</sup> HAKLUYT, *Divers Voyages*, Lond., 1582, 4to, p. 23 of the reprint.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, chapter iii, pp. 21-25.

<sup>5</sup> *M.S. Cott. Vitellius*, A xiv, f. 173.

<sup>6</sup> Published by Mr. GAIRDNER, in the *Collections of a London Citizen*.



As we have already stated, the oldest English account known of the voyage which we are discussing is the one inserted in this chronicle; but it sets forth certain dates and details, which require to be carefully examined.

The *Cronicon* places the event "In anno 13 Henr. VII." The date of Henry the Seventh's accession to the throne is the 21st or 22nd of August 1485. The thirteenth year of his reign corresponds with 22nd August 1497—21st August 1498. Now, we have shown conclusively that the first voyage of John Cabot required from the beginning of May until the beginning of August 1497; that is, one year previous to the 13th year of the reign of Henry VII.

The author of the *Cronicon*, or of its prototype, speaking in the present tense, ends his account with the statement that the fleet "departed from the West Cuntrey in the begynnyng of Somer, but to this present moneth [?] came nevyr knowledge of their exploit."

Whatever that month may be, it necessarily applies to a date which is posterior to August 22nd, 1497. How are we to reconcile it with the fact that John Cabot had already returned to London on the 10th of August 1497, as is shown by the gratuity of £10, granted to him on that date by Henry VII.?

Further, the wording shows that the account refers partly to the first voyage of Cabot, since it gives as the motive of the expedition: "to *seche* an Iland wheryn the said straunger [or conditor of the fleet] *surmysed* to be grete commodities." No such language would be used if the object of the enterprise had been to return to a country already discovered.

One interpretation of these conflicting statements is that the chronicler has blended in the same para-

graph the first and the second voyage. This is indicated in the various expressions used.

The *Cronicon* describes the expedition as being composed of four or five vessels: "w<sup>t</sup> which ship by the Kynges grace so Rygged went 3 or 4 moo owte of Bristowe."

Ruy Gonzales de Puebla, and Pedro de Ayala, referring in July 1498 to the second voyage, also say that the new expedition was composed of five ships: "fueron cinco naos." True it is that both state the number of ships "sent by the King to be five:—el Rey de Inglaterra embio cinco naos," whilst, according to the *Cronicon*, there was only one furnished by His Majesty, the other three or four being equipped at the cost of private individuals. But we must bear in mind that two witnesses, Pasqualigo and Soncino, each separately, and from information derived from John Cabot himself, in their description of the first voyage, speak of one vessel only: "uno naviglio." Soncino even says that it was a small ship, manned by a crew of eighteen men: "cum uno piccolo naviglio e xviii persone." The above details concerning the number of vessels which composed the fleet, apply therefore not to the first, but to the second expedition exclusively.

The squadron sailed early in the spring of 1498, and at the end of July following the first news relative to its progress was received in England, as is shown by Ayala's letter of the 25th of that month and year. This still comes within the 13th year of the reign of Henry VII.; and to make the statement agree with the passage in the *Cronicon*: "this present moneth came nevir knowledge," we have only to presume that the writer of the latter chronicle made the entry in his chronicle in July 1498, but before the 25th.

Reverting now to the account of the voyage, or rather, of the preparations, such as we find them described in Stow and in Hakluyt, it can be easily shown that the *Cronicon* has been the prototype of the Fabyan chronicle from which Stow and Hakluyt derived their information concerning Cabot's voyage :

CRONICON (1498).

"This yere the Kyng at the besy request of a Straunger venisian, which made hym self expert in knowyng of the world caused the Kyng to manne a ship w<sup>t</sup> vytail and other necessaries for to seche an Ilande whereyn the said Straunger surmysed to be grete commodities . . . . &c., &c."

STOW (1580).

"Thys yeare one Sebastian Gabato professing himselfe to be experte in knowledge of the circuite of the worlde . . . caused the King to man and victual a shippe . . . to search for an ilande whiche he knewe to be replenished with rich commodities . . . &c., &c."

HAKLUYT (1582).

"This yeere the King (by meanes of a Venetian) which made himselfe very expert . . . in knowledge of the worlde . . . caused to man and victuall a shippe . . . to search for an Ilande, which hee saide hee knewe well was riche and replenished with rich commodities . . . &c., &c."

In comparing these three extracts, the reader will notice an important difference. Where Stow ascribes the discovery to "Sebastian Gabato," the *Cronicon* describes the "Conditor of the saide Flete," simply as "a straunger venisian," and omits the name of Sebastian Cabot altogether. So it is true, does Hakluyt, in his text; but he shares Stow's error in that respect, as the heading of the account in his *Divers voyages* is "A note of Sebastian Gabotes Voyage of Discoverie, taken out of an Old Chronicle." Notwithstanding the interpolation made by him in 1589, of the name of John Cabot, and the contradiction it involves when compared with the heading prefixed by him to the notice taken from Fabyan, it is clear that those two historians believed, and meant to convey the impression that Sebastian Cabot was the sole discoverer of the continent of North America. This we have proved to be erroneous. So is the interpretation of the

statement of the *Cronicon* by his modern admirers, when they ascribe to Sebastian the merit of having led the second British expedition westward.

Pasqualigo<sup>1</sup> and Soncino<sup>2</sup> specify John Cabot, and no one else, as the person to whom Henry VII. intended to entrust the fleet for the second voyage. Also, in his application John Cabot tacitly excluded his own children from the enterprise, since he did not, as in the petition of 1496, pray for letters patent to him and his heirs. It begins as follows :

“Please it your Highnesse of your most noble and habundaunt grace to graunte to John Kabotto, Venecian, your gracious Lettres Patents in due fourme to be made accordyng to the tenor hereafter ensuyng . . .”

As to the grant itself, it is in these words :

“We have geven and graunten, and by theis Presentis geve and graunte to our welbeloved John Kabotto, Venecian, sufficiente auctorite and power, that he, by him his Deputie or Deputies sufficient, may take at his pleasure vi Englysshe Shippes . . . paying for theym and every of theym . . .”

This grant passed no rights to Sebastian or any one else except John Cabot, and expired with the expedition itself.

Then we see that John Cabot explained in person to Soncino his plans for the second voyage;<sup>3</sup> and on July 25th, 1498, Puebla and Ayala<sup>4</sup> announced officially to their sovereigns that the vessels had actually sailed out “with another Genoese like Columbus:—con otro Ginoves como Colon,” which

<sup>1</sup> “El re le ha promesso a tempo novo navil x. e armati come lui vorà. . . . El qual se chiama Zuam Talbot.” PASQUALIGO, in our *Jean et Sébastian Cabot*, doc. viii.

<sup>2</sup> “La Maesta de Re questo primo bono tempo gli vole mandare xv. in xx. navili.”—SONCINO, in *op. cit.*, doc. ix. “Chiamato Zoanne Caboto;” doc. x.

<sup>3</sup> “Et dice . . . Et fa questo argu-

mento . . . Et dicello per modo . . .” SONCINO, doc. x.

<sup>4</sup> “El Rey de Inglaterra embio cinco naos armadas con otro ginoves como colon . . . . dizen que seran venydos para el setiembre.” PUEBLA, doc. xii. “El ginoves tiro su camino . . . . El Rey de Ynglaterra me ha hablado algunas vezes sobre ello.” AYALA, doc. xiii.

description certainly does not apply to Sebastian, but to John Cabot, as we know from corroborative evidence already stated.

The expedition was composed of five vessels, fitted out at the expense of John Cabot, or of his friends, according to the terms of the letters patent : "paying for theym and every of theym as and if we should in or for our owen cause paye and noon otherwise," which means also that the price was not to be higher than for vessels chartered by the King himself. Yet if, as we have just endeavoured to demonstrate, the details given in the *Cronicon* apply to the second voyage, one ship had been equipped at the King's cost, whilst three or four were vessels sent out by merchants. This is shown by the following statement :

"A Straunger venisian . . . caused the Kyng to manne a ship w<sup>t</sup> vytaill and other necessairies . . . w<sup>t</sup> which ship by the Kynges grace so Rygged went 3 or 4 moo owte of Bristowe . . . wheryn dyuers merchauntes as well of London as Bristow adventured goodes and sleight merchaundises . . ."

We find in the alleged Fabyan chronicle, as copied by Stow and Hakluyt, an account, apparently borrowed originally from the above, judging from the following phrase :

"To man and victual a shippe at Bristowe, in which diverse merchauntes of London aduentured smal stockes, and in the company of this shippe sayled also out of Bristow three or foure smal shippes fraught with slight and grosse wares as course cloth, Capes, Laces, points and such other. . . ."

We have not the exact date when the fleet sailed. It was certainly after April 1st, 1498, as on that day Henry VII. loaned £30 to Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkill, "going to the New Isle."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Excerpta Historica*, p. 116 ; DES- *altre regioni dell' Alta America*, p. 61 ; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 102, 256.  
IMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto* 61 ; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 102, 256.  
*genovese scopritore del Labrador e di*

The *Cronicon* only says : "which departed from the West Cuntrey [Bristol] in the begynnyng of Somer."

A more explicit date can be derived from Hakluyt's quotation of Fabyan. This, in whatever form it has reached us, we have shown to be a direct derivative of the *Cronicon*, and consequently, to apply partly to Cabot's second voyage. A further proof is the sentence in Hakluyt's version : "and so departed from Bristow . . . of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings." That Mayor was William Purchas, who held the office in London from October 28th, 1497, to October 28th, 1498; and the reader will recollect that John Cabot had already returned from his first voyage on the 10th of August 1497. Now, in Hakluyt's above mentioned extract, the dots in our quotation are filled with the sentence : "departed from Bristowe in the beginning of May."

The only direct news concerning that expedition after it left Bristol is comprised in this short sentence of Pedro de Ayala's dispatch of July 25th, 1498 :

"Del armada que hizo que fueron cinco naos . . . ha venido nueva, la una en que iba un otro Fai [*sic pro* Fray?] Buil aporto en Irlanda con gran tormento rotto el navio :—News has been received of the fleet of five ships. The one in which was another Brother [?] Buil, put into Ireland owing to a great storm and broken ship." <sup>1</sup>

Puebla states that the fleet was expected back in the month of September 1498 : "Dizen que seran venydos para el Setiembre;" yet, the vessels had taken supplies for one year : "fueron proueydas por hun año." But we do not know when they returned to England, nay, whether John Cabot survived the expedition, or where it went. Our only information is that Launcelot Thirkill, who owned, or commanded one of the ships, was in London June 6th, 1501.

<sup>1</sup> BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, vol. i, No. 210, p. 176; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii, p. 329.

At that date he repaid a loan of £20 made to him by Henry VII. Mr. Desimoni justly presumes<sup>1</sup> that it may have been the one of March 22nd, 1498, received from the King while fitting out a ship for the voyage.

It is only by inference that we can form an opinion relative to the regions which John Cabot visited in the course of his second expedition. The data for such an estimate are to be found in the map of the world drawn by Juan de la Cosa in the year 1500,<sup>2</sup> after the month of February, as before that time the great Biscayan pilot was with Alonso de Hojeda, exploring the Gulf of Paria and the Venezuelan coast.

At the outset, it is well to bear in mind that the Cabotian expeditions of 1497 and 1498, are the only ones which, in the 15th century, ever sailed to the New World under the auspices of the King of England, and in fact, the only transatlantic voyages known to have been then accomplished by Englishmen. Every American region the discovery of which is attributed to the English in any map constructed before the year 1501, comprises therefore the results of John Cabot's maritime efforts beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

In the celebrated chart of Juan de la Cosa, above mentioned, there is, in the proximity, and to the west of Cuba, an unbroken coast line, delineated like a continent, and extending northward to the extremity of the map. On the northern portion of that seaboard, the Basque pilot has placed a row of British flags, commencing at the southern end with the inscription: "Sea discovered by the English:—Mar descubierta por ingleses," and terminating at the north with "Cape of England:—Cauo de ynglaterra."

<sup>1</sup> DESIMONI, *Intorno*, above quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Discovery of North America*, No. 33, pp. 412-15.

Unfortunately, those cartographical data are not sufficiently precise to enable us to locate the landfalls with adequate exactness. Nor is the kind of projection adopted,<sup>1</sup> without explicit degrees of latitude, of such a character as to aid us much in determining positions. We are compelled, therefore, to resort to inferences.

The north-western portion of La Cosa's map sets forth twenty inscriptions, seven of which are the names of capes, whilst one refers to a river (*r<sup>o</sup> longo*), another to an island (*isla de la trinidad*), and a third to a lake (*lago fore?*). Although many of these designations convey no meaning to us (apparently on account of imperfect transcriptions), and are not to be found on any other map, they must be considered as proving that the coast had been actually visited before 1500. On the other hand, the northernmost names certainly represent the points marked by Cabot during his first voyage, whether we place them on the north coast of Labrador or on the eastern shores of Newfoundland. But as the row of English flagstaffs covers a space by far too extensive for the voyage of 1497, which lasted only three months, the legends further south necessarily apply to the expedition of 1498.

When preparing to return to the newly discovered regions, John Cabot told Raimondo di Soncino that his intention was to pursue the undertaking as follows:—

“Messer Zoanne ha posto l'animo ad maggior cosa perche pensa, da quello loco occupato andarsene sempre a Riva Riva più verso el Levante, tanto chel sia al opposto de una Isola da lui chiamata Cipango, posta in la regione equinoctiale:—From the place already possessed [discovered] he would proceed by constantly following the shore, until he reached the east, and was opposite an island called Cipango, situate in the equinoctial region.”<sup>2</sup>

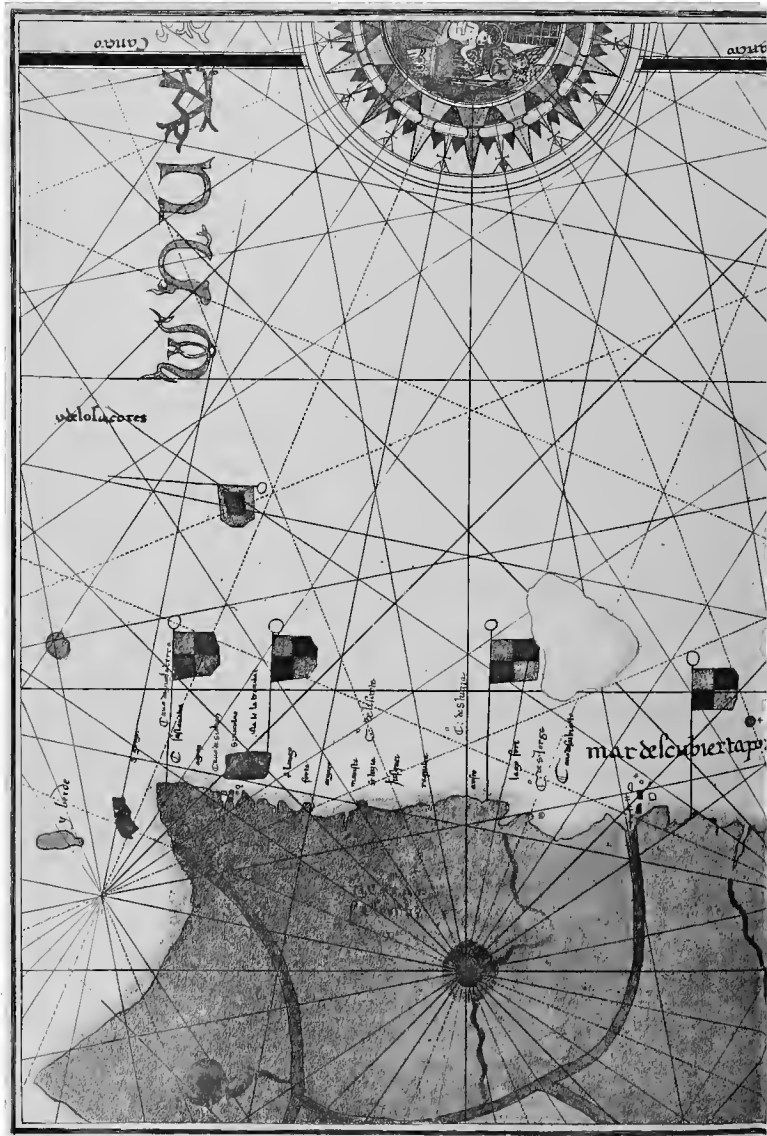
<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima*, vol. i, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. x, p. 325.





Plate II.





THE NORTH-EAST COAST IN THE MAP OF LA COSA

(1500)



All that is clear in this vague description, and to be retained just now, is that John Cabot's ultimate object, when he set out from England in 1498, was an equatorial or southern region :—"la regione equinoctiale," situate south of the point reached by him in 1497. To this interpretation must be added the fact that the line of British flags in La Cosa's map, corroborates such an intention, as it indicates plainly a southward coasting.

How far south then did John Cabot go in 1498? Taking the distance from the equator to the extreme north in La Cosa's map as a criterion for measuring distances, and comparing relatively the points named therein with points corresponding for the same latitude on modern planispheres, the most southerly English flagstaff seems to indicate a vicinity south of the Carolinas.

This hypothetical estimate finds a sort of corollary in Sebastian Cabot's account, as reported by Peter Martyr. In describing his alleged north-western discoveries, Sebastian said that icebergs having compelled him to alter his course, he steered southward, and followed the coast until he reached about the latitude of Gibraltar : "Quare coactus fuit, uti ait, vela vertere et occidentum sequi tetendique tamen ad meridiem, littore sese incurvante ut Herculei freti latitudinis ferè gradus . . ." <sup>1</sup> This statement was made at the latest in 1515. <sup>2</sup> Several years afterwards, Sebastian Cabot again mentioned the matter in his conversation with the Mantuan Gentleman ; but this time he extended the exploration five degrees further south, naming Florida as his terminus, and the point whence he sailed homeward : "Venni sino à quella parte che chiamano al

<sup>1</sup> PETER MARTYR, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> In the same decade, PETER MARTYR, alluding to a projected expedition in search of the North-West Passage,

says : "Martio mense anni futuri MDXVI. puto ad explorandum discessurum." *De rebus Oceanicis, Decad.* iii, lib. vi, fo. 56 A.

presente Florida, et mancandomi già la vettovaglia, presi partito di ritornarmene in Inghilterra.”<sup>1</sup>

It is true that assertions from Sebastian Cabot, particularly when calculated to enhance his merits in the eyes of others, must always be taken with a mental reservation; but, excepting his unfilial custom of ascribing to himself a credit which belonged to his father, we see no good reasons for rejecting his description in this instance; particularly as it is confirmed by an authentic map of the time. The statement confirms John Cabot's project as disclosed to Soncino, and is justified by the importance of the expedition of 1498, which was on a much greater scale than that of 1497.

It is also corroborated by Ferdinand and Isabella's order to Alonso de Hojeda, when he was on the eve of sailing for the Caribbean Sea to stop the progress of the English in their exploration of the newly-found continent.<sup>2</sup> “Para que atages el descubrir de los ingleses por aquella via.” The letters patent which contain this injunction are dated June, 1501; that is, three years after Their Catholic Majesties had been informed by Puebla and Ayala of the results of John Cabot's first voyage, and at a time when there had as yet been no other expeditions under the British flag across the Atlantic, except that of 1497, and the one of 1498 now under consideration.<sup>3</sup>

We must mention, however, a circumstance which at first sight might militate against Sebastian Cabot's accuracy in this respect. Twenty years after his conversation with Peter Martyr, he was summoned as a witness on behalf of Luis Columbus, who had brought an action against the Crown, in vindication

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. iii, fo. 374.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, chap. vi, pp. 116-122.

<sup>3</sup> The first expedition of WARD, ASHEHURST and others, by virtue of letters patent granted March 19th,

1501, can scarcely have sailed from England soon enough to have been seen in time to enable FERDINAND and ISABELLA to mention it in their cedula of June 8th, 1501.

of certain rights acquired by his grandfather Christopher. Sebastian then declared, under oath before the Council of the Indies, December 31st, 1535, that he did not know whether the mainland continued northward or not from Florida to the Bacallaos region: "que desde el rio de Santi Spiritus [the delta of the Mississippi] en adelante, la Florida e los Bacallaos, no se determina si es todo una tierra firme ó no."

The last phrase may be literally construed as implying that Sebastian Cabot possessed no information whatever relative to the countries south of his alleged first landfall; which, however, could not be the case if, as he averred, he had followed the coast "littore sese incurvante," down to the latitude of Gibraltar, or to that of Florida. Sebastian might nevertheless give a dubitative answer in case the American coast surveys of his time still left a gap, however insignificant, between the Gulf of Mexico and 36° latitude north. His answer, therefore, does not, in the main, absolutely contradict the statement reported by Peter Martyr. Withal, it is difficult to reconcile its general bearing with facts which Sebastian Cabot, by virtue of his official position, was bound to know, to record, and to disseminate. Thus in 1535, which is the time when his deposition was taken, he could not be ignorant of the nature of the coast which lines the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico, as in the Seville map of 1527 that region bears the legend: "*Tierra que aora va a poblar panfilo de narvaes* :—This is the land which Pamphilo de Narvaez is going to settle;" whilst on Ribero's (1529), we also read: "*Tierra de Garay*," which locates the exploration accomplished by Alonso Alvarez Pineda in 1519. Besides, he had certainly been informed of the sailing of Antonio de Alaminos who was despatched from Vera Cruz by Cortes

in the same year, and which must have doubled Cape Sable and hugged the Florida coast at least as high as Georgia, considering that when in the Bahama Channel, Alaminos "metiendo se al norte."<sup>1</sup> He must also have been familiar with the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon in 1513 from 29° to 30° north latitude,<sup>2</sup> and then south to 25°. Nor could he fail to be aware of the sailing of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon in 1526, along the Carolina and Virginia coasts.<sup>3</sup> Finally, he was cognizant of the discoveries accomplished by Estevão Gomez in 1525, which ranged from 40° to 42° 30' north latitude,<sup>4</sup> and established, at all events, the connection between Ayllon's and John Cabot's own explorations. This continuous coast line was so well known to exist that it is specifically marked on the very maps entrusted to Sebastian Cabot, and which were not permitted to be drawn or copied without having been first approved by him as Pilot-Major. How could he then depose and say in 1535 that he did not know whether the region extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Nova Scotia, or to Labrador, formed part of a continent? We suspect in Sebastian's dubious answer some interested motives, as usual, but which the documents do not permit us yet to fathom. It can at least be proved that Cabot did not long maintain such an opinion, as his planisphere of 1544 presents an unbroken coast line from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan.

Be that as it may, these contradictions are not of

<sup>1</sup> Bernal DIAZ, *Historia Verdadera*; Madrid, 1862, lib. LIV, p. 48; HERRERA, *Decad.* ii, lib. v, cap. xiv, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> PESCHEL, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, Stuttgart, 1858, 8vo, p. 521.

<sup>3</sup> "Cien leguas mas al Norte de la Florida."—HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib.

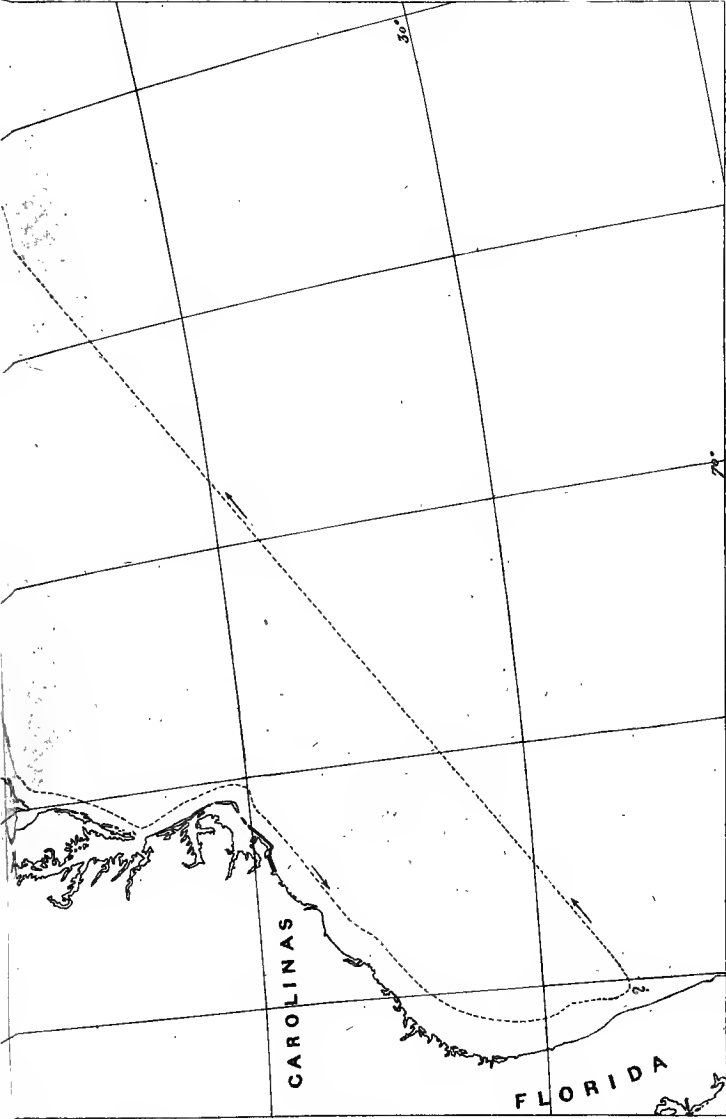
viii, cap. viii, p. 241. "Treinta y cinco, y treinta y seis, y treinta y siete grados norte-sur." NAVARRETE, vol. iii, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> "Desde quaranta é un grados hasta quarenta é dos y medio." OVIEDO, *Historia General*, vol. ii, lib. xxi, cap. x, p. 147.









SECOND VOYAGE OF JOHN CABOT  
(1498-1499 ?.)



such a character as to compel the critic to reject the statements made by Sebastian Cabot to Peter Martyr, and to the Mantuan Gentleman, concerning the coast which his father visited during a voyage which was necessarily accomplished in 1498-1499. The accompanying map exhibits the route probably followed on that occasion.

What nevertheless remains an enigma is the silence of the English and other Chroniclers of the time regarding the results of that voyage. In the accounts of the first expedition they speak only of icebergs, white bears and of bleak regions, the inhabitants of which were never even seen. In 1498, on the contrary, Cabot could not range the American coast down to the 36° latitude without noticing the beautiful entrances to the Hudson, Delaware and Potomac. Those regions were relatively well peopled, with a fine, stalwart race of Indians, who possessed curiously wrought metal objects, and boats in which they navigated off the coast. The native products of the soil, particularly the maize or Indian corn, were calculated to attract the attention of the English, and it is difficult to understand why there should be no traces left of the accounts which they must have brought to England. On the other hand, it may be that the expedition having proved an absolute failure, as its main object was to find a north-west passage and bring home spice, silks and pearls from the East India islands, the Bristol adventurers pocketed their loss, and no more was said about the enterprise.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE ALLEGED THIRD VOYAGE OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

THE pretended third transatlantic voyage of Sebastian Cabot under the British flag is only an inference drawn, exclusively, and gratuitously, from another remark ascribed to Fabyan, and reported by Stow as follows :

“18. Henr. VII. Thys yeare, were brought vnto the Kyng three  
A.D. 1502.<sup>1</sup> men taken in the new founde Ilands by *Sebastian Gabato*, before named in Anno 1468 [*sic pro* 1498] these men were clothed in Beastes skinnes, and eate raw Flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them, of the which three men, two of them were seene in the Kings Court at *Westminster* two yeares after, clothed, like *Englishmen*, and could not bee discerned from *Englishmen*.”<sup>2</sup>

The eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VII. embraces from August 22nd, 1502 to August 21st, 1503. According to Stow, then, the arrival of those Indians took place during that time; and, were we to admit that it was Sebastian Cabot who brought them over to England, this alleged voyage would have been accomplished before the end of the summer of 1503, and initiated scarcely more than one year previous.

Hakluyt, on two different occasions, also reports the circumstance, which he likewise says, is “mentioned by the foresaid Fabyan.” But he does not give it on both occasions under the same date.

<sup>1</sup> In the London edition of 1605 of STOW'S *Chronicle*, which is the last one published in his lifetime, we read in the margin “*Rob. Fabian An. reg. 18.*”  
<sup>2</sup> STOW, *Chronicle*, 1580, p. 875.

When speaking of those savages for the first time, in 1582, the event is related in these words :

“Of three sauage men which hee [Sebastian Gabote] brought home and presented vnto the King in the 17th yeere of his raigne.

This yeere also were brought vnto the King three men, taken in the new founde Iland, that before I spake of in William Purchas time being Maior. These were clothed in beastes skinnes, and ate rawe fleshe, and spake such speech that no man coulede understand them, and in their demeanour like to bruite beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres past after I saw two apparelled after the manner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which at that time I coulede not discerne from Englishemen, till I was learned what they were. But as for speech, I heard none of them vtter one worde.”<sup>1</sup>

That is, he places the arrival of those Indians between August 1501 and August 1502, one year earlier than Stow, although both quote, as their sole authority for the statement, the same Fabyan MS.

But when relating that event the second time, in 1599-1600, the date is no longer 1501-1502. It is 1498-1499, as the item is headed thus :

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

He then repeats the sentence :

“This yeere also were brought vnto the King three men taken in the new found Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior.”<sup>2</sup>

The language of Hakluyt, in this instance, is not precise. He may mean to say that these Indians were brought from the newly discovered islands of which he had previously spoken, and that they came while Purchas held the office of Mayor. If so, their arrival in London occurred between October 28th, 1497 and October 27th, 1498, that being Purchas' term of office. Hakluyt may also have intended to

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*, 1582, and HAKLUYT Society reprint, *loc. cit.*      <sup>2</sup> HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, 1599-1600, vol. iii, p. 9.

convey the meaning that the said savages came from the island which was discovered during Purchas' term of office, but that they arrived in London during the 14th year of the reign of Henry VII., viz., from August 1498 to August 1499.<sup>1</sup> In either case, the event would relate to Cabot's second voyage, which was initiated in May 1498. This was evidently Hakluyt's belief and his reason for altering his first date of "the xvii yeere" of Henry VII.'s reign, to "the foureteenth."<sup>2</sup> Thus far, therefore, he cannot be quoted in support of the opinion that Sebastian led in 1502 a third expedition to the New World.

If now we revert to Hakluyt's first date: "in the xvii yeere" of the reign of Henry VII., or to Stow's "18 Henr. VII.," that is, respectively, 1501-1502 and 1502-1503, we encounter another and still greater difficulty.

The patent of 1496, which is the only one that conveyed rights to Sebastian Cabot, expired with the expedition of 1497. As to the second patent, it was granted solely to John Cabot, and, as before, the privilege conveyed thereby ceased after the voyage of 1498. Henry VII., on March 19th, 1501, consequently issued new letters patent, embracing the privileges heretofore conceded to the Cabots, but this time the grantees were Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst, and John Thomas, of Bristol, and João Fernandez, Francisco Fernandez, and João Gonzales,<sup>3</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> As to supposing that the circumstance refers to the first expedition, it is evident that if CABOT then had brought Indians with him, the Spanish and Italian ambassadors would have mentioned such a remarkable circumstance. Instead of this, Lorenzo PASQUALIGO states positively that John CABOT saw none of the natives: "non a visto persona alguna," *Syllabus*, No. vii.

<sup>2</sup> BIDDLE, page 227.

<sup>3</sup> The surmise of BIDDLE (p. 230)

that this "John Gonsolus is doubtless the Juan Gonzales, Portugais, whose name appears as a witness in the celebrated trial of the Fiscal with Diego Columbus (NAVARETE, iii, p. 553)" is erroneous. The Juan GONZALES of the trial was, October 1st, 1515, only "de edad de 32 años," consequently, but eighteen in 1501, and, on that account, could not have been a grantee then of English letters patent.



Azores. On December 9th, 1502, letters patent were again granted to several of these parties, with whom was associated in the privilege and expedition Hugh Elliott, of Bristol.<sup>1</sup>

In those two documents the King confers on the patentees the monopoly of trade in the newly-found countries, first for ten, then for forty years, empowering them to prevent any person going thither, and to drive away by force of arms all intruders whatsoever. He then adds the following prohibition :

“Et quod nullus ex subditis nostris eos eorum aliquem de et super possessione et titulo suis de et in dictis terris-firmis, insulis et provinciis se aliquialiter contra voluntatem suam expellat quovis modo seu aliquis extraneus aut a liqui extranei virtute aut colore alicujus concessionis nostræ sibi Magno Sigillo Nostro per antea factæ aut imposterum faciendæ cum aliquibus aliis locis et insulis : —And let none of our subjects drive them, or any of them, from their title and possession over and in the said mainlands, islands and provinces, in any way or manner against their will by virtue or color of any previous grant made by Us to any foreigner or foreigners under our Great Seal, or which may be made hereafter concerning any place or islands . . .”<sup>2</sup>

The patentees of foreign origin here excluded from any participation in the privileges are necessarily the Cabots, as, previous to 1501, they were the only persons who received letters patent from Henry VII. for such a maritime enterprise. It is true that in the original manuscript the pen is drawn through the phrase beginning with “seu aliquis.” But, as Biddle justly remarks, “it was, perhaps, thought better not to aim an ungracious, and superfluous blow at what had already expired”;<sup>3</sup> for, as we have just stated, the privilege granted in 1496 had been superseded

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, p. 687, No. xlviij, p. 692, No. lx; BIDDLE, p. 312; RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. v, part iv, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> BIDDLE, p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 94. It is probably for the same reason that the passage is also omitted in the second letters patent, granted 9th December 1502, to Thomas ASHEHURST et als.

by the letters patent of 1498, and these, in their turn, had terminated with John Cabot's second voyage. It follows, that to undertake a transatlantic expedition under the English flag, from August 1501 to August 1502, or from August 1502 to August 1503, Sebastian Cabot required new letters patent, which Henry VII., by his patents of March 1501, and December 1502, to Richard Warde and his Bristol as well as Portuguese partners in the undertakings,<sup>1</sup> precluded himself from granting, except in case of forfeiture on the part of the above named grantees. Let us add that there are no traces either of such abrogation of privileges or of any new letters patent ever granted after 1496 by the English Crown to Sebastian Cabot. This is also shown by the fact that when, June 4th, 1550, Cabot wished to possess tangible proofs of his having been in former times the recipient of a favor of the sort, he asked from Edward VI. for that purpose a copy of the letters patent of 1496, and no other,<sup>2</sup> as we shall show later on.

The sentence in Stow : "thys yeaere, were brought vnto the Kyng three men taken in the new found Ilands by Sebastian Cabot," implies, of course, a landing on some point of the coast of North America; but it does not necessarily follow that these Indians were brought to England by Sebastian Cabot. The wording may also mean that they were taken "in the islands not long before, or during the mayoralty of Purchas, discovered by Sebastian Cabot," Stow and Hakluyt, and even Fabyan, continuing to ascribe to Sebastian a discovery which actually belonged to his father.

We shall now proceed to show that the arrival of these savages in London must have happened early

<sup>1</sup> Published by BIDDLE, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, pp. 224-227.

<sup>2</sup> See, *infra* in our *Syllabus*, No. lxviii.

in 1502, and consequently that they were brought over in the ships of Richard Warde's first expedition.

In the Account of the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII., there are the following entries :

"Jan. 7, 1502. To men of Bristoll that founde Thisle, . £5.  
Sept. [24] 1502. To the merchants of Bristoll that have bene  
in the Newe founde Launde, . . . . . £20."<sup>1</sup>

As between the letters patent for transatlantic expeditions granted to John Cabot in 1498, and those bestowed on Warde and his associates, March 19th, 1501, there are no traces of other letters patent of that kind, the voyagers rewarded as above were necessarily companions of Warde in his first voyage. A document just discovered confirms our inference. It is a warrant issued by Henry VII., December 6th, 1503, for the payment of a pension conferred on two associates of Warde in that very expedition, Francisco Fernandez, and João Gonzales. The preamble contains the following passage :

"Whereas we by our letters undre our privie seal bering date atoure manor of Langley the 26th day of Septembre the 18th yere of our Reigne gaf and graunted unto our trusty and wel-beloved subgietts ffranceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus squiers in consideration of the true service which they have doon unto us to our singler pleasure as capitaignes unto the newe founde lande . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The pension, as the reader will notice, was granted September 26th, 1502, and, consequently, as a reward for the first expedition, since the second expedition was based exclusively upon letters patent issued three months afterwards, December 9th, 1502.

The entry of January 7th, 1502, above cited, shows that the first expedition of Warde, Fernandez, Gonzales and their Bristol associates, had already

<sup>1</sup> N. Harris NICOLAS, *Excerpta Historica, or illustrations of English History*, London, 1831, 8vo, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Syllabus*, No. xix.

returned to England at the beginning of the year 1502, which date comes within, not the 18th, but the 17th year of the reign of Henry VII. Consequently, if we accept Stow's figures, these savages would not have been presented to the King until at least nine months after their arrival in England; which is scarcely admissible. We believe, therefore, that the date first given by Hakluyt in his *Divers voyages*, for the presence of the American Indians in London, viz.: "in the xviith yeere of the raigne of Henry VII." is the correct one.

It follows that Sebastian Cabot had nothing to do with this importation of natives, and, consequently, his alleged third voyage, which we find based on no other argument, is altogether imaginary.

## PART SECOND.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### SEBASTIAN CABOT SETTLES IN SPAIN.

THERE is no further mention of Sebastian Cabot in any document until ten years after his alleged third transatlantic expedition. We do not know what were his occupations in the meantime. Neither in the statements ascribed to him by historians, nor in his own accounts, is there to be found any allusion to voyages undertaken during that time, except a pretended expedition to Brazil, which, he says, Ferdinand and Isabella entrusted to him (necessarily before November 26th, 1504, the date of the Queen's death), but of which there are no traces anywhere else.

In the account of Marc-Antonio Contarini's diplomatic mission to Spain, read before the Senate of Venice in 1536, we notice a statement which, at first sight, might perhaps be interpreted as indicating a voyage made by Sebastian Cabot to the North-West, in 1508-1509. It is as follows :

“Sebastian Caboto, the son of a Venetian, who repaired to England on galleys from Venice with the notion of going in search of countries . . . obtained two ships from Henry, King of England, the father of the present Henry, who has become a Lutheran, and even worse, navigated with 300 men, until he found the sea frozen . . . Caboto was obliged therefore to turn back without having accomplished his object, with the intention,

however, of renewing the attempt at a time when the sea was not frozen. But upon his return he found the King dead, and his son caring little for such an enterprise."<sup>1</sup>

It is the last sentence which permits the supposition that Contarini's account may refer to a voyage made by Cabot in 1508-1509, as it is represented to be contemporaneous with the last year of the life of Henry VII., who died April 21st, 1509.

Marc-Antonio Contarini was Venetian Ambassador to the Court of Charles V. at the time when Cabot held in Spain the office of Pilot-Major, and it is certain that, being countrymen, they saw much of each other. We have only to compare the leading assertions in Contarini's statement with those in the accounts of Peter Martyr and of the Mantuan Gentleman, both explicitly said to be derived from Cabot's own lips, to be convinced that such was also the source whence the Venetian diplomatist obtained his information :

## CONTARINI

## MANTUAN GENTLEMAN

"Obtained *two ships* from Henry, King of England."

"The King commanded *two* caravels to be furnished."

## CONTARINI

## PETER MARTYR

"Navigated with *300* men . . . he found the sea frozen . . . was obliged to turn back."

"*Two* ships, and with *300* men directed his course . . . seeing such heaps of ice before him, he was compelled to turn his sails."

Now, when did all this occur,—in the year which preceded the death of Henry VII., or some years before?

At the outset should be noticed the sentence in the beginning of Contarini's short narrative, implying

<sup>1</sup> *Raccolta Colombiana*, part iii, vol. i, p. 137.

that the circumstance happened in consequence of, and shortly after Cabot's arrival in England "with the Venetian galleys." Then we have Cabot's own statement that it was "when news were brought to England that Christopher Columbus had discovered the coast of India . . ., as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496, in the beginning of Sommer."

Contarini's account consequently refers to the first Cabotian transatlantic voyage, and we have here another example of the random talk noticeable in all the statements which originated with Sebastian Cabot.

According to Peter Martyr, who evidently repeats what Sebastian told him, he left England after the death of Henry VII., and came to Spain at the request of Ferdinand of Aragon :

"Vocatus nanque ex Britannia a rege nostro catholico post Henrici maioris Britanniae regis mortem:—For beinge cauled owte of England by the commandement of the catholyke Kynge of Castile after the deathe of Henry Kynge of Englande the seventh of that name."<sup>1</sup>

Henry VII. died in 1509, and the name of Sebastian Cabot appears for the first time in Spanish documents in 1512, in terms, as well as under circumstances implying that his arrival in Spain is of no earlier date and was due exclusively to his own initiative. Besides, his wife and home: "su mujer i casa," are authentically shown to have been still in England in October 1512.<sup>2</sup>

King Ferdinand, profiting by Henry VIII.'s eager desire to receive from Pope Julius II. the title of "Most Christian King," which had been hitherto annexed to the crown of France and which was regarded as its most precious ornament,<sup>3</sup> caused him

<sup>1</sup> ANGHIERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. vi, fo. 55 D.

<sup>2</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xviii, p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> HUME, *History of England*, Boston, 1854, vol. ii, p. 576.

to join the league against Louis XII. One of the terms of the treaty was that the King of England should send 6000 men to Aquitaine in vessels provided by the Spanish monarch.<sup>1</sup> The English army was under the command of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset.<sup>2</sup> Lord Willoughby was one of his lieutenants. Sebastian Cabot, after receiving a gratification from Henry VIII. of 20 shillings for a map of Gascony and Guyenne,<sup>3</sup> accompanied Willoughby, but we do not know in what capacity.<sup>4</sup> Leaving Southampton, or Falmouth, on May 16th, 1512, the English landed at Pasages, a small port near San Sebastian, on June 3rd following.

Cabot, who seems to have come to Spain solely to proffer his services to the King, repaired soon after to the court, at Burgos,<sup>5</sup> where he had an interview with Lope Conchillos, the secretary of Queen Juana, and a bishop of Palencia, who must have been Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca.<sup>6</sup> Those two high functionaries, apparently in consequence of the report which they had doubtless sent to the King, were instructed to obtain from Cabot information on the subject of the Baccalaos, or Codfish country, and perhaps of the Western Passage, which was supposed to exist in that region. Cabot immediately placed himself at

<sup>1</sup> BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, vol. ii, Nos. 59, 63, p. 68, and convention ratified, February 3, 1512.

<sup>2</sup> BERNALDEZ, *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos*, Sevilla, 1870, 8vo, vol. ii, p. 400, calls DORSET "Marquès de Bristoles," which title is not to be found in the long list of honorary distinctions added to DORSET's name by RYMER. The name of Bristol is to be noticed, owing to its being represented as the first English home of the Cabots.

<sup>3</sup> BREWER, *Calendar, Domestic and Foreign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 1456.

<sup>4</sup> "He sabido que viene en vuestra

compañia Sebastian Caboto Ingles." FERDINAND's letter to "Milor Uliby," *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xv B, p. 331. Concerning Lord WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE, and that expedition, see HERBERT's *Henry VIII.*, p. 20, and DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, part ii, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> "Sabeis que en Burgos os hablarón de mi parte Conchillos i el Obp. de Palencia sobre la navegacion à los Bacallos." Letter of FERDINAND, Sept. 13th, 1512. *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 331.

<sup>6</sup> We do not see Juan Rodriguez DE FONSECA, called Archbishop (of Rosano) before 1513.



the disposition of King Ferdinand.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the latter was informed of the results of the interview, he directed Willoughby, on the 13th of September 1512, to send Cabot to Logroño, with whom he wished to converse<sup>2</sup> on the subject of maritime enterprises. The expedition of Juan de Agramonte, projected in the previous year, shows the great desire entertained by the King of Aragon to "ascertain the secret of the new land:—para ir al saber el secreto de la tierra nueva."<sup>3</sup>

On the 20th of October 1512, Sebastian Cabot was appointed naval captain, at a salary of 50,000 maravedis.<sup>4</sup> He then determined to settle in Spain and establish his residence at Seville.<sup>5</sup> To that end, he asked leave to go to England and bring his family. This was granted, and King Ferdinand even recommended him particularly to Luis Carroz de Villaragut, the ambassador in London,<sup>6</sup> who advanced him money in that city.

On the 6th of March 1514, Cabot was summoned to the Court of Spain by the King, who desired to consult him regarding a voyage of discovery which he was to undertake.<sup>7</sup> We possess no information relative to that intended expedition. It may have been to find the Western Passage presumed then to be in the Codfish region; but the

<sup>1</sup> "E ofrecisteis serviros." *Jean et Séb. Cabot, loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. xv B.

<sup>3</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. iii, p. 123. It is worthy of notice that by the terms of that cedula, AGRAMONTE was required to go to Brittany to enlist the pilots who were to take him to "una tierra que se llama Terra nova. Que por quanto vos habeis de ir por los pilotos que con vos han de ir al dicho viaje à Bretaña."

<sup>4</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xvii, p. 332.

<sup>5</sup> "I le mando residir en Sevilla."

HERRERA, *Decad.* i, lib. ix, cap. xiii. According to the *Recopilacion de leyes de India*, the office of pilot-major, to which Cabot was called not long afterwards, required him to live in Seville, but outside the Casa de Contratacion.

<sup>6</sup> "Favoreced su bueno y breve despacho." *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xviii, p. 332.

<sup>7</sup> "En C. Marzo 514, se dan a Sebast. Caboto 50 ducados en cuenta del salario que se le ha de dar, con que fuese a la Corte a consultar con S. A. las cosas del viaje que ha de llevar a descubrir." *Ibid.*, doc. xviii, p. 333.

project only assumed a more positive form two years later.

Peter Martyr speaks of Cabot in 1515 as being "concurialis noster est," which Eden erroneously translates:—"one of owre counsayle."<sup>1</sup> This expression has led historians to believe that he was a member of the Council of the Indies with Peter Martyr, which is a mistake. In the first place, the latter entered the Council only in 1520;<sup>2</sup> at which time Cabot does not figure in any capacity whatever in the official lists. Peter Martyr merely says that, in 1515, he was with him at the Court, in Burgos<sup>3</sup> or Medina del Campo, advising on the subject of some projected voyage to the Indies.

On the 13th of June 1515 Cabot received from King Ferdinand a further allowance of 10,000 maravedis. In the order, he is called simply "Fleet Captain for matters in the Indies:—Capitan de armada de las cosas de las Indias;"<sup>4</sup> a title which seems to refer to the intended transatlantic expedition of which we shall speak presently.

On the 30th of August following he received nine months arrears of pay as "Capitan de Mar." In the same year, apparently after that date, Cabot, in company with Andres de San Martin, Juan Vespucci, Juan Serrano, Andres Garcia Niño, Francisco Cotto, Francisco de Torres, and Vasco Gallego, was appointed Pilot to his Majesty, under Juan Dias de Solis, who received the appointment of Pilot-Major. In reality this was his first admission into the maritime service; for, in Spain, the term "Capitan," did not so much apply to a naval officer, as to the

<sup>1</sup> ANGHIERA, *Decad.* iii., lib. vi, fo. 56, recto, A, edit. of 1533.

<sup>2</sup> PETER MARTYR was made "Consejo de la Junta" in 1520, and "Consejo del Consejo" in 1524. He never filled any other office in the Council of the Indies. Ant. DE LEÓN PINELO,

*Tablas cronologicas*; Madrid, 1892, 8vo, pp. 2, 28.

<sup>3</sup> This error was first pointed out by M. D'AVEZAC.

<sup>4</sup> For these and the following statements and dates, see *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xviii B, pp. 333-34.

commander of an expedition, or of a ship, in the administrative sense of the word. The practical navigation was entrusted to "maestres," and to pilots.

On the 13th of November 1515, we see Cabot among the cosmographers called together to ascertain whether the Line of Demarcation between Spain and Portugal should pass by Cape St. Augustine. His deposition deserves to be recorded as containing some details, not found elsewhere, relative to one of the voyages of Americus Vespuccius:—

"Cabot deposes that, with regard to sighting Cape St. Augustine, and ranging the coast to the limits fixed by the Kings of Spain and Portugal, nothing certain can be stated unless credit be given to what the late Americus says in a voyage accomplished by him, that he sailed from the Island of Santiago, (one of the Cape Verde archipelago), west-south-west 450 leagues, and that finding himself by 8°, he steered westward, and doubled the said cape . . . . . He was a man very expert in taking altitudes . . . and those who, like Andrès de Morales and others, contradict him, speak only hypothetically, as they never were there themselves."<sup>1</sup>

In 1515 Peter Martyr mentions Cabot as being then entrusted with the command of an expedition to the North-West, which was to sail in the following year. No other historian speaks of that intended voyage, of which, moreover, there are no traces in the books of the Casa de Contratacion.

"Cabot is here with us, says Peter Martyr, looking dayely for shippes to be furnysshed for hym to discouer this hyd secrete of nature [the North-West Passage]. This voyage is appoynted to bee begunne in March in the yeare next folowynge, beinge the yeare of Chryst M.D., xvi. What shall succede, youre holyness [Pope Leo X], shall be advertised by my letters if god graunte me lyfe."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Registro de copias de Cédulas de la Casa de Contratacion; 1515-1519*, quoted by NAVARRETE, *Opusculos*, vol. i, p. 66. The testimony of CABOT in favor of the opinion of VESPUCCIUS is confirmed by that of Nuño GARCIA DE TORENO, who repeats what VESPUCCIUS told him, and by Juan VESPUCCIUS, who relies upon writings of

his uncle which he possessed. But what is that voyage? The details in CABOT's deposition are not to be found in any of the accounts of the expeditions of VESPUCCIUS which have come down to us, although Cape St. Augustine is mentioned in the third.

<sup>2</sup> ANGHIERA, *ubi supra*.

The projected expedition was certainly not carried out; otherwise, Peter Martyr, who continued to describe the voyages to the New World until 1524, would have not failed to keep his promise by relating its results in one of his Decades. Further, Ferdinand of Aragon died on the 23rd of January 1516, two months before the date fixed for the departure. The heir to the throne, Charles V., was at that time in the Low-Countries, which he did not leave to come to Spain till the end of the year 1517. Cardinal Ximenez governed the kingdom in the young King's absence, and had matters of greater importance to attend to than the discovery of the Western Passage, or the "secret" of the Codfish regions.

It may be that under the circumstances Cabot went to England in 1516, and that Henry VIII., availing himself of his presence, caused to be equipped the expedition of which we shall speak presently; but this can only be a supposition. At all events, Cabot was in Spain early in 1518, since, by a cedula dated February 5th of that year, Charles V., who had just arrived at Valladolid to summon the Cortes, appointed him Pilot-Major<sup>1</sup> in the place of Juan Dias de Solis, who had been killed and eaten by the Indians in the Rio de la Plata.

<sup>1</sup> "Con 50,000 de salario." MUÑOZ MSS., vol. lxxv, fo. 213; lxxvi, fo. 28.

## CHAPTER II.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT'S ALLEGED VOYAGE OF 1517.

WE notice in the Preliminary Discourse affixed by Ramusio to the third volume of his Collection of Voyages the following statement :

“As many yeeres past it was written vnto mee by Signor Sebastian Gabotto, our Venetian [countryman] a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Navigation and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this land of New France, at the charges of King Henry the seuenth of England. And he advertised mee, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North beyond those Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of June finding still the open Sea without any manner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaid, which is the east, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the Shipmarkers and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place.”<sup>1</sup>

The above was written at Venice the 22nd of June 1553, but not printed till 1556. On the other hand, the reader will observe that Ramusio says he received these details from Sebastian Cabot “many years ago :—gia molti anni sono,” and, since as Secretary of the Senate, an office which he held from 1515 to 1533,<sup>2</sup> Ramusio was conversant with

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, 1565, verso of the third leaf.

<sup>2</sup> It is to the Senate of Venice that Gasparo CONTARINI addressed his famous dispatch of December 31st, 1522, which was certainly calculated to attract the attention of a savant like RAMUSIO, who took such interest in cosmography. He had entered the Venetian secretaryships May 18th,

1505, and left them only a short time before his death, which occurred in 1557. On January 8th, 1515, he was promoted Secretary of the Senate, a post which he filled until July 7th, 1533, when he was appointed Secretary of the Council of Ten. CICOGLIA, *Iscrizioni veneziane raccolte ed illustrate*, Venezia, 1824-43, 5 vols. 4to, vol. 11, p. 315, *sequitur*.

the negotiations and correspondence initiated by Cabot when he proffered his services to the Venetian government in 1522, the information may be of a date not distant from the alleged voyage which forms the subject of this chapter.

The reference to Henry VII. indicates, at first sight, the expedition of 1497, or that of 1498, or another which would have been attempted before 1509, the year of Henry's death. The first two dates must be rejected on account of the accusation brought against the leader of the enterprise of having caused its failure by sheer malice: "se la malignità del padrone," as John Cabot (and even Sebastian in person, if we are to believe the statement), was in command. Sebastian certainly would not have brought such a charge against either his father or himself.

As to an expedition which might have been attempted between 1499 and 1509, no traces exist of other transatlantic voyages under the English flag at that time, than the Anglo-Portuguese expeditions of 1501-1502, 1502-1503, 1504 and 1505,<sup>1</sup> with which none of the Cabots had, and, as we have shown, could have had any connection whatever. Besides, Sebastian in his conversation with the Mantuan Gentleman, refers, for that period, to only one expedition, which, he said, was to Brazil, and is certainly imaginary.

We possess, however, another statement which supplements Ramusio's, written at the same time by Richard Eden and from information also supplied directly by Sebastian Cabot.<sup>2</sup> We find it in the epistle dedicatory addressed to the Duke of Northumberland in June 1553, which precedes his transla-

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, pp. 692, 696, 698.

<sup>2</sup> EDEN frequently refers to his personal intercourse with Sebastian CABOT, with whom he even was at the time of his death.

tion of the fifth part of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia*. It is as follows :

“ Which manlye courage (like vnto that which hath ben seen and proued in your grace, aswell in forene realmes, as also in this oure countrey) yf it had not been wanting in other in these our dayes, at suche time as our souereigne Lord of noble memorie Kinge Henry the viij. about the same yere of his raygne, furnished and sent forth certen shippes vnder the gouernaunce of Sebastian Cabot yet liuing, and one Syr Thomas Perte, whose faynt heart was the cause that that viage toke none effect, yf (I say) such manly courage whereof we haue spoken, had not at that tyme bene wanting, it myghte happelye haue comen to passe, that that riche treasurye called *Perularia*, (which is now in Spayne in the cite of Ciuile, and so named, for that in it is kepte the infinite ryches brought thither from the newe found land of *Peru*) myght longe since haue bene in the towne of London.”<sup>1</sup>

The date of that event appears in the phrase : “ Kinge Henry the viij. about the same yere of his raygne ” ; that is, when Henry had been on the throne for seven or eight years ; in other words, between April 16th, 1516, and April 15th, 1517.

The object, origin and principal details as given by Eden resemble too closely those which we read in Ramusio not to relate to the same expedition. The only important difference, which however can easily be explained by attributing it to a mere slip of the pen, is in the statement of Ramusio that the event occurred in the reign of Henry VII., whilst Eden says it was during that of Henry VIII. The reader will notice that a simple I omitted by Ramusio, or his printer, would suffice to account for the discrepancy. For, if both writers are correct, then such an unusual occurrence, with precisely the same concurrence of circumstances, would have happened twice to the same individual, and within a few years, which is highly improbable.

Eden is nearer the truth, inasmuch as we find in the documents an English seaman “ of the eighth

<sup>1</sup> EDEN, *A treatyse of the newe India*, London, 1553, 8vo.

year of the reign of Henry VIII.," called, indifferently, "Thomas Pert" and "Thomas Spert,"<sup>1</sup> whom, owing to his being a yeoman of the Crown, Eden may have called "Sir" by courtesy, since we see Purchas use the same title when speaking of Sebastian Cabot,<sup>2</sup> who certainly never was either a knight or a baronet.

Thomas Spert commanded, from 1512 to 1517, two ships of the military navy, the *Henry Grace a Dieu*, also called the *Great Harry*, described in those days as "the grettest shype in the world,"<sup>3</sup> and the *Mary Rose*, also a very large vessel for the time. Eden, however, is the only author who mentions a transatlantic voyage entrusted to Spert. His words: "that viage toke none effect," have been quoted to show that the expedition never sailed from England. In such a case, the "faynt heart" of Pert or Spert, would have manifested itself at the time of departure. This interpretation is erroneous. The words "furnished *and sent forth* certen shippes" prove, on the contrary, that the ships actually sailed, and, consequently, that the cowardice of the commander was exhibited on the high seas.

The possibility of Sebastian Cabot having joined an English expedition between 1516 and 1517, is at first sight not inadmissible. After the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, which occurred at the beginning of 1516, and during the administration of Cardinal Ximenez, Cabot, seeing that the projected voyage (mentioned by Peter Martyr) was not carried out, may have gone to England. This seems so much the more plausible as the documents furnish no information whatever concerning his doings and

<sup>1</sup> J. S. BREWER, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.*, 1509-1514, No. 4535, p. 694; for PERT, and for SPERT, Nos. 3591, 3977, 4377, &c.

<sup>2</sup> PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimage*, 1625, vol. iii, p. 806, and vol. iv, p. 1177.

<sup>3</sup> "1000 tons, soldiers 349, mariners 301." *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 333.



whereabouts from November 15th, 1515, or, rather, January 23rd, 1516 (which is the date of the death of Ferdinand), to February 5th, 1518, when he was appointed Pilot-Major by Charles V. Some may also presume that the legacy bestowed on the 7th of May, 1516,<sup>1</sup> by the Rev. William Mychell upon the daughter of Sebastian Cabot, was brought about by the latter's alleged presence in London.

The statements of Ramusio and Eden contain therefore a series of allegations which may be plausibly grouped as follows :

In 1516, Henry VIII. causes an expedition to be equipped to go in search of the North-West Passage, and Thomas Pert or Spert is put in command. Sebastian Cabot joins it, possibly at Portsmouth.

The fleet sets sails during the first quarter of the year 1516.

In the course of the voyage, either on account of storms, icebergs, or the length of the navigation, Spert refuses to go any further, and returns to England, without having accomplished, of course, any discoveries, or even landed, apparently, anywhere.

We do not mean to say that this is a faithful description of events ; nay, that the voyage took place at all. Our sole object is to bring Cabot's assertions, as reported by Ramusio and Eden, within the range of an hypothesis not contradicted at the outset by the documents known.

It remains to examine these assertions intrinsically, so to speak.

Sebastian Cabot says that on the 11th of June : "xj di Giugno" he found himself by  $67^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude : "a gradi  $67^{\circ}$  et mezzo". Now, on the 10th of July 1517, Thomas Spert was engaged in ballasting the *Mary Rose* in the Thames, at least, he

<sup>1</sup> Travers TWISS, *Nautical Magazine* July 1876, p. 675.

collected at that date his charges for the work.<sup>1</sup> In either case, this circumstance compels us to place, at best, the alleged voyage in the previous year, viz. : 1516, as it implies that the expedition had already been accomplished for some time, since the ballasting was certainly in view of another voyage to be undertaken soon afterwards. Nor can we suppose that Cabot's alleged expedition took place after July 1517, since it would no longer tally with the "eighth year of the reign of Henry VIII.," which expired April 15th, 1517.

We are hemmed in consequently between 1516 and July 1517. Ferdinand of Aragon died January 22nd, 1516; but Sebastian Cabot is not likely to have left his important post of Pilot-Major of Spain, to which he had been promoted only five months before, until he had ascertained the course of events after the King's demise. This, together with the delays necessitated by his preparations for leaving Seville, and the voyage to England, required some weeks. Let us admit that Spert's expedition had been already prepared, and was even about to sail when Cabot arrived in London, yet he must again have employed a certain time in obtaining leave from the King to join the expedition. Further, an arctic voyage of discovery is not undertaken, particularly when fitted out in an English port, before spring.

We may therefore suppose that Spert's expedition, like those of John Cabot in 1497 and 1498, sailed from England during the first week of May, at the soonest. It is scarcely possible that in those days, a sailing vessel, starting most probably from Portsmouth early in May, could ever have attained on the 11th of June following, that is, in less than six weeks, 67° 30' north latitude, and, at least, 60°

<sup>1</sup> "Ballasting in the Thames." See BREWER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, part ii, No. 3459, p. 101.

longitude west, which is one of the coldest and most obstructed of all the northern regions at that season of the year.<sup>1</sup>

Nor do we believe that such an extraordinary voyage, which, although it failed in its main object, would have been the greatest of the kind ever attempted by British seamen before Frobisher, would not have left traces in the English chronicles of the time. True it is that, nearly half a century after the alleged event, Sir Humphrey Gilbert,<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt,<sup>3</sup> Belleforest,<sup>4</sup> Chauveton,<sup>5</sup> and others refer to that expedition, but it can be easily shown that they copy each other, and that the prototype is exclusively Ramusio's statement above given.

Furthermore, if Sebastian Cabot had ever visited those regions at such a late date as 1516, particularly under the English flag, it stands to reason that the Wardens of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London never would have dared to tell Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, less than five years afterwards, when ordered to furnish ships for an expedition to those parts under the command of Sebastian Cabot, "that he had never been to the New World, although arrogating to himself discoveries made by his father, in relating facts the knowledge of which he held from him and other people!"

In connection with the leading statement in Eden's account of that alleged voyage, it is not amiss to recall here two other references to transatlantic expeditions.

The first is to be found in a play called: *A new interlude and a mery of the iiii. elements*

<sup>1</sup> KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> GILBERT, *A Discourse of a Discouerye for a new passage to Cataia*; London, 1576, 4to, leaf D iii.

<sup>3</sup> HAKLUYT, *The principall Navig.*, 1889, 8vo, vol. xii, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> BELLEFOREST, *La Cosmographie Universelle*; Paris, 1575, vol. ii, p. 2175.

<sup>5</sup> CHAUVETON, *Histoire nouvelle du Nouveau Monde* (Geneva), 1579, 12mo, p. 141.

*declarynge many proper poynts of philosophy natural.*  
It occurs as follows :—

And northwarde on this syde  
There lyeth Iselande where men do fysche,  
But beyonde that so colde it is  
No man may there abyde

This See is called the Great Oceyan  
So great it is that never man  
Coulede tell it sith the worlde began  
Tyll more *within this. XX. yere*  
Westwarde we founde new landes  
That we neuer harde tell of before this  
By wrytynge nor other meanys  
Yet many nowe haue ben there  
And that countrey is so large of rome  
Muche lenger than all cristendome  
Without fable or gyle  
For dyvers maryners haue it tryed  
And sayled streyght by the coste syde  
Above .V. thousande myle

But what commodytes be within  
No man can tell nor well Imagin  
*But yet not long a go*

Some men of *this contrey* went  
By the Kynges noble consent  
It for to serche to that entent  
And coude not be brought therto ;

But they that were they ventere[s]  
Haue cause to curse their maryners  
Fals of promys, and disemblers  
That falsly them betrayed  
*Which wold take no paine to saile farther  
Than their owne lyst and pleasure  
Wherfor that vyage, and dyvers other*  
Such kaytyffes haue destroyed

O what a thyng had be than  
If that they that be englysche men  
Myght haue ben first of all  
That there shulde haue take possessyon  
And made furst buyldyng and habytacion.  
A memory perpetuall  
And also what an honorable thyng  
Bothe to the realme, and to the kynge  
To haue had his domynyon extendyng  
There into so farre a grounde

Whiche the noble *kyнге of late memory*  
 The most wyse prynce the .VII. He[n]rry  
 Causyd furst for to be founde. . . .<sup>1</sup>

These lines clearly refer to a voyage undertaken by Englishmen to the north-western regions of the New World, which did not terminate successfully owing to the seamen in charge not caring to sail as far as their destination, to the great damage of the promoters and of England.

Such are the points of resemblance with the accounts of Eden and Ramusio. But what is the date of the abortive voyage described in the *Interlude*?

The book (of which only one copy is known to exist),<sup>2</sup> bears no date or imprint on the first page; and as it lacks the last leaf, which probably contained a colophon, no one can tell from the typographical data when and where the work was printed. We are left to ascertain these important points from internal evidence.

The critic first notices the following lines :

But this newe lands founde lately  
 Ben callyd America, by cause only  
 Americus dyd furst them fynde.

These show that the play was written after May 1507, when the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, where the name "America" occurs for the first time, was originally printed.

The following, when read in connection with the above, may enable us to obtain a more precise date :

<sup>1</sup> We have revised our text on the one which was published by the Rev. Edward ARBER, in *The first three English books*, pp. xx-xxi, and which is the most correct.

<sup>2</sup> That unique copy is preserved in the British Museum, in the Garrick Collection of plays. For a full description, see *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, *Additamenta*, No. 38,

pp. 50-51. The original bears the following note in the handwriting of the celebrated actor: "First impression dated 25th Oct. 11 Henry VIII," which corresponds to the year 1519-20. This may mean that his copy was not of the first edition, or perhaps that he supplied with that note the missing colophon.

. . . . . Within this XX yere  
 Westwarde we founde new landes  
 That we never harde of before this.

It has been justly observed,<sup>1</sup> that in the opinion of the poet the discoverer was not Columbus, who is nowhere mentioned in the *Interlude*, but Vespuccius. Now, according to the account published in the *Cosmographie introductio*, which is, in our opinion, the source whence the poet drew his data for the two last quotations, the discovery was accomplished in 1497. By adding "XX yere," we obtain the year 1517; that is, he alludes to a voyage undertaken between 1497 and 1517. We bring the date still nearer by recalling the couplet:

Which the noble kynge of late memory  
 The most wyse prynce the .VII. Henry.

That is, the *Interlude* was written after April 21st, 1509, which is the date of the death of Henry VII. Now come the lines:

But yet not long ago  
 Some men of this country went.

The voyage, consequently, took place between 1509 and 1517, but not long before 1517.

We believe that this only shows a coincidence which must have occurred several times in the early history of maritime discoveries.

The second reference is the following:—

In the letter addressed in 1527 to Dr. Lee, the ambassador of Henry VIII. in Spain, by Robert Thorne, a Bristol merchant established in Seville, mention is made of a circumstance somewhat similar to the one reported by Eden. Speaking of the expedition to the North-West undertaken by his

<sup>1</sup> CHARLES DEANE, *John and Sebastian Cabot, a Study*. Reprinted from the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Mr WINSOR, Cambridge, Mass., 1886, p. 16, note.

father, Nicholas Thorne, with Hugh Elliott, he says concerning the North-West Passage :

“Of which there is no doubt (as now plainly appareth), *if the mariners would then have been ruled and followed their pilot's mind* the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the gold cometh) had been ours, for all is one coast.”<sup>1</sup>

This statement refers to the expedition which sailed in 1503, by virtue of letters patent granted to Hugh Elliot, and other Bristol merchants in 1502, considered in a previous chapter, and from which the Cabots were implicitly excluded. It cannot be identical with the alleged Spert-Cabot miscarried voyage of 1517, as the latter is represented to have taken place fifteen years after the one mentioned by Robert Thorne.

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. i, p. 219.

## CHAPTER III.

### PROTEST OF THE LIVERIES AGAINST EMPLOYING SEBASTIAN CABOT.

ACCORDING to the statements made by Cabot to Gaspard Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in Spain, a year had scarcely elapsed since his appointment, in 1518, as Pilot-Major, when he went to England. There, Cardinal Wolsey urged him, he says, to accept the command of an expedition, fitted out at a great cost, to go in search of new transatlantic lands. Cabot pretends that in obedience to his duty, he not only repelled the offer, on the plea that being in the service of Charles V. he could not serve any other prince without his leave, but wrote to that monarch to refuse whatever request the King of England might make on the subject.

It can readily be shown that Sebastian Cabot never entertained scruples of the kind. As to the offer, whether it originated with him, or with Henry VIII., it must have been made not in 1519, but two years later.

In the first place, Cabot was still at Seville on the 6th of May 1519, since he collected on that day 25,000 maravedis, as one third of his annual pay of Captain and Pilot-Major.<sup>1</sup>

We now give a narrative of the events connected with the protest, some of which have been already stated.

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Seb. Cabot*, doc. xviii B, p. 334.



Towards the close of the month of February, 1521, the wardens of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London were officially informed by two members of the King's Council, Sir Robert Wynkfeld and Sir Wolston Brown, that Henry VIII. required of them five vessels for a maritime expedition :

"To furnysche v. shippis after this man<sup>r</sup>. The Kings Grace to prepare them in takyll ordenaunce and all other necessaries at his charge. And also the King to bere the adventour of the said shippis, And the merchaunts and companys to be at the charge of the vitaylling and mennys wage of the same shippis for one hole yere and the shippis not to be above vj<sup>xx</sup> ton apece. And that this Citie of London shabe as hede Reulers for all the hole realm for as many Cites and Townes as be mynded to prepare any shippis forwards for the same purpos and viage, as the Town of Bristowe hath sent vp there knowledge that they wyll prepare ij. shippis."<sup>1</sup>

The promised reward for the outlay was "that x yere aft there shall no nacion haue the trate but [the said companies] and to haue respyte for there custom xv monthes and xv monthes."

The required vessels were intended "for a viage to be made into the newfound Iland;" and to be commanded by "one man callyd as understoud Sebastyan," who was no other than Sebastian Cabot, although the surname is not mentioned in the records.

A meeting was held on March 1st, 1521, to consider the demand, which met with decided opposition on the part of the liveries, the Drapers' Company assuming the leadership, and being intrusted, as it seems, with the task of speaking in the name of the "other auncyaunt ffeliships."

On the 11th of March, the report drawn up by the wardens of the Drapers and of the Mercers, was read at a meeting of "the hole body of the ffeliship, ryche

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find the full text of that important document in the appendix to our *Discovery of North America*, pp. 747-750.

and poure." They objected to the King's demand on the ground that with regard to the intended expedition, His Majesty, the Cardinal (Wolsey), and the Royal Council, "were not duely and substancially enformed in suche manner as perfite knowledge myght be had by credible reporte of maisters and mariners naturally born within this Realm of England having experience and excersided in and about the for said Iland." This was evidently aimed at the foreign nationality of Sebastian Cabot, whom they did not consider as being "naturally born within the realm of England."

The wardens then expressed the greatest reluctance to the appointment of Sebastian as commander of the expedition, in most energetic terms, which we have already quoted, but beg to repeat :

"And we thynk it were to sore a venture to joperd v shippes with men and goods unto the said Iland uppon the singuler trust of one man callyd as we understond Sebastyan, whiche Sebastyan as we here say was neuer in that land hym self, all if he maks reporte of many things as he hath hard his father and other men speke in tymes past."

Finally, they expressed willingness to the extent of "furnysshing of ij shippys and suppos to furnyssh the thryd." This decision having been communicated to the authorities, "the commissioners brought aunswere fro my lord Cardynall that the King wold haue the premisses to go furth and to take effect. And there vppon my lord the maire was send for to speke w<sup>t</sup> the King for the same matier, so that his grace wold haue no nay there in, but spak sharpely to the Maire to see it putt in execucion to the best of his power."

On the 26th of March, the Mayor of London summoned before him the entire company at the Drapers' hall, "where was w<sup>t</sup> grete labo<sup>r</sup> and diligence and many diuers warnyngs grunted first and last ij C mcs. [200 marks] presentyd by a byll to the maire the 9th day of Aprill."

What was the object or destination of the voyage? Must the words: "Newfounde Iland" be interpreted as meaning the island of Newfoundland or any point of the east coast of America? We are not prepared to give an affirmative answer.

It will be remembered that Sebastian Cabot, who was constantly plotting, intriguing, and betraying his employers, had proposed in 1522 to go to Venice, for the purpose of selling to the Republic secret information relative to a North-West Passage, which he claimed to have discovered: "come è il vero che io l' ho ritrovata." The Council of Ten sent the entire correspondence to Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at the Court of Spain, with instructions to interview Cabot. In their conversation, the latter, to enhance the value of the proposed enterprise, said that when in England, three years before, Cardinal Wolsey had made great efforts to induce him to take the command of an important expedition to discover new countries, 30,000 ducats having actually been obtained for equipping the fleet: "Hor ritrovandomi ja tre anni, salvo il vero, in Ingelterra, quel Reverendissimo Cardinal mi volea far grandi partiti che io navigasse cum una sua armada per discoprir paesi novi la quale era quasi in ordine, et haveano preparati per spender in essa ducati 30 m."<sup>1</sup>

The words "paesi novi" do not apply, we think, to a western passage, but to new countries which Cardinal Wolsey hoped to discover, perhaps in the track of the Spanish navigators. There may be an inkling of some such intention in one of the arguments used by the wardens of the Drapers' Company against the expediency of the enterprise, when they

<sup>1</sup> C. BULLO, *La Vera patria di Nicolò de' Conti e di Giovanni Caboto*, Studj e Documenti, Chioggia, 1880, p. 64, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxviii, p. 348.

say: "Also we thynk it is dowbtfull that any English ship shalbe sufferd to laid in Spayn and in other countres by reason of suche acts and statuts."

It was in October, 1522, that Sebastian Cabot made those statements to Contarini, and ascribed to Wolsey's proposals a date three years previous to that interview. This, 1519-1520, in general conversation, is sufficiently near the spring of 1521 to authorise the belief that these proposals coincide with the expedition which Henry VIII. intended to entrust to Sebastian Cabot, and against which the Liveries protested so vigorously.

The Drapers paid their share of the expenses, for the records contain a list of names and the sums which each gave for that purpose. "My lord the Maire, Sir John Brugge," heads it with £8. This first list of "Masters and livery" contains seventy-eight names. There is a second list of forty-six "Bachillers," who give smaller sums; one gives £3 6s. 8d., the next 5 marks, then 40 shillings, down to many at 3s. 4d., 20d., and even 12d. But the expedition never set out from England.

Sir Thomas Lovell, a Knight of the Garter, died at his manor of Elsynges, in Enfield, Middlesex, May 25th, 1524. He was a man of great wealth, who allowed two years to his executors for the administration of his will. In an account of expenditures, under the head of "Dettes paide to creditors owynge vnto them in the lyfe of Sir Thomas Lowell," mention is made of a certain sum of 43s. 4d. paid to one John Goderyk, "in full satysfacon and recompenses of his charge costis and labour conducting of Sebastian Cabott master of the Pylotes in Spayne to London at the request of the testator."<sup>1</sup>

Cabot was in Spain during the years 1524, 1523,

<sup>1</sup> J. S. BREWER, *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol iv, part i, p. 154.

1522.<sup>1</sup> We infer therefore that the above payment was on account of the voyage which he made to England in 1520-1521, as we see him in London apparently in March of the latter year, when the Livery Companies were discussing the obligation laid upon them by the Crown. As Sir Thomas Lovell had been steward and marshal of the house of Henry VIII., we may suppose that Cabot was called to England by the direction of the King.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted, however, that according to the latest authorities,<sup>3</sup> the rise of Wolsey's power seems to have prompted Lovell to withdraw from public life altogether shortly after 1516.

<sup>1</sup> See above under those dates.

<sup>2</sup> MARKHAM, *The Journal of Christ. Columbus*, 1893, p. xxix, note. But the learned president of the London Geographical Society is mistaken when he says: "On March 7th, 1523, the Venetian Ambassador reported that CABOT had delayed his visit to Venice because he was called to England on business and would be absent three months." CONTARINI only said: "se ha risolto non poter per hora dimandare licentia dubitando che non lo tolesseno per suspecto che el volesse andare in Engelterra, et che pero li era

necessario anchor per tre mesi scorer, qual passati al tutto era per venir a li piedi di V. I. S." By referring *infra*, p. 176, the reader will see that the meaning is entirely different. Nor did CABOT come to England to attend the funeral of Sir Thomas LOVELL, as we once thought. The debt was incurred in the latter's "lyfe," and in May 1524, CABOT was at Badajoz, attending, in his official capacity, the Molucca Island Conference.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. W. A. J. ARCHBOLD, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxiv, p. 176.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CABOT'S TREACHEROUS INTRIGUES WITH VENICE.

THE pretended scruples of Sebastian Cabot as to serving more than one master at a time, lead us to inquire into certain grave underhand dealings with the Venetian Republic, of which he was the sole promoter.

Richard Biddle, in his unbounded enthusiasm for Sebastian, says "it is a pleasing reflection that he was never found attempting to employ, to the annoyance of Spain, the minute local knowledge of her possessions, of which his confidential station in that country must have made him master."<sup>1</sup> If Biddle had consulted the dispatches exchanged between the Council of Ten and their ambassadors at Valladolid and London, the probability is that he would have modified his views in this respect.

In 1522, after Cabot, by virtue of his office, had been made privy to all the plans and projects of the Spanish Government regarding the alleged western passage to Cathay,<sup>2</sup> and received from Charles V. important favors, as well as marks of confidence, he sent to Venice a Ragusian adventurer called Hieronymo Marin de Busignolo, under the most solemn oath not to divulge his errand except to

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE, *Memoir*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> "Dal Re Ferdinando fui facto Capitano cum provisione di 50 m. maravedis, poij fui fatto da questo Re presente piloto major cum provisione di altri 50 m. maravedis, et per adiuto di costa mi da poij 25 m. maravedis

che sono in tutto 125 m. maravedis, possono valer circa ducati 300." CON-TARINI'S dispatch of Dec. 31, 1522, *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 348.

That was a great deal more than SOLIS (50,000 mrs.), and Americus VESPUCCIUS (70,000).

members of the Council of Ten. He was to inform them that the Pilot-Major of the Spanish monarch was ready to repair to Venice for the purpose of revealing a secret on which depended the future greatness of the Republic. Marin faithfully performed his trust. The Venetian Government rewarded him, and at once forwarded to Gasparo Contarini, its ambassador at the Court of Spain, the following dispatch:—

“*September 27th, 1522.* The chiefs of the Ten to Gasparo Contarini Ambassador in Spain :

There arrived here the other day a certain Hieronimo de Marin de Busignolo a native of Ragusa. On presenting himself to the Chiefs of our Council of Ten he declared he had been sent by one Sebastian Cabotto, who says he is a Venetian and now resident at Seville where he receives a salary from the Emperor as his ‘pilot-major’ for voyages of discovery.

On behalf of this individual the Ragusan made the enclosed statement. Although it is perhaps unworthy of much credit, yet by reason of its importance we did not choose to decline Sebastian’s offer of coming hither to explain his project. We have permitted Hieronimo to answer him, as you will perceive by the accompanying letter.

Contrive cautiously to learn whether Sebastian be at the Imperial Court or expected there shortly, in which case you are to send for him and give him the letter bearing his address. We have tied it up with another directed to the secretary. Elicit as much as you can concerning his project. Should it seem well grounded and feasible urge him to come hither. Should he not be at the court forward the letter to Seville through some safe channel giving the person entrusted with it to understand that you received it from one of your private correspondents.”<sup>1</sup>

The required visit to Venice, which was deemed necessary to facilitate the intended treachery, could not safely be carried out at that time, owing to the fact that Charles V. mistrusted Cabot, not, however, with regard to the Venetian Republic, but in relation to England. This suspicion shows that the King of Spain did not place implicit confidence in the

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 557. For the Italian text, see *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxvi, pp. 344-46.

professions of fidelity which his Pilot-Major claims to have made when urged by Wolsey to take charge of the maritime expedition considered in the preceding chapter. The suspicion is only hinted at, yet it is clearly indicated by the words: "per suspecto che el volesse andare in Engelterra," in the following dispatch from Contarini:—

"Sebastian Cabot with whom you desired me to speak on matters connected with the spice trade has subsequently been to see me several times, always telling me how much disposed he is to come to Venice for the purpose of carrying into effect his schemes for the Signory's benefit.

This day he informed me that he could not ask leave at present, *lest they suspect him of intending to go to England* and that he must, therefore, serve for three months longer on the expiration of which he would place himself at the feet of the Signory. Prays you to write him a second letter urging him to come to Venice for the despatch of his affairs.

I write all that Sebastian has stated to me and what he requires, your Highness will act as you may please. Valladolid, 7th March 1523."<sup>1</sup>

As we shall soon see, Cabot frankly acknowledged that he was running the risk of his life, and we can readily understand why great precautions were required on his part. To that end, the two wily Venetians invented an imaginary claim arising, as they alleged, from the estate or dowry of Cabot's mother, and of such importance as to require his immediate presence in Venice. The Council of Ten approved of the pretence, and wrote to Contarini on the 28th of April 1523 a dispatch to that effect, which the reader will find further on.

The Ragusian's speech when he appeared before the Council of Ten and the description of Cabot's project sent by them to Contarini are both lost, and we can only guess their object from the report of his interview with the Venetian envoy, when, quaking

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *op. cit.*, No. 634; *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xxix, p. 351.



with fear,<sup>1</sup> Cabot went on Christmas-eve, after sunset, secretly, to the residence of Contarini. "It is in my power," said he, "to cause Venice to participate in that navigation, and I can show her a route, found by me, from which she would derive great profit." The remark was doubtless made as a sequel to certain disclosures touching Magellan's discovery ("questa navigazione:—that navigation"), news of which had been received by Charles V. only three months before. At all events, the gist of Cabot's project was to disclose to a foreign nation, a route, fancied or real, leading to the Spice islands,<sup>2</sup> the knowledge of which should have been first imparted to the Spanish Government, in whose pay and special employ Cabot then was; a route too, calculated to compete, in the interest of a rival power, with that just discovered by the Spaniards at such a great sacrifice of men, time and money. And if we add that the proposal was bolstered by his positive assertion, as the reader will soon see, that "in truth he had actually discovered the passage:—come e il vero che io l'ho ritrovata," every impartial historian must acknowledge Sebastian Cabot to have shown himself then both an impostor and a traitor.

As to the plan in itself, and the method for carrying it out, we know of nothing which gives a better idea of Cabot's arrogance and unreliable talk, than Contarini's official reports of their interviews on the subject.

*Valladolid, 31st December 1522.* Gaspar Contarini to the Council of Ten:

According to your letter of 7th September I ascertained that

<sup>1</sup> "Li detti la lettera, lui la lesse et legiendola si mosse tutto di colore. Da poij letta, stete cussi un pocheto senza dirmi altro quasi sbigotito et dubio . . . ma vi prego quanto posso che la cosa sij secreta perche a me anderebbe la vita." Dispatch of CON-

TARINI, December 31st, 1522, *Jean et Seb. Cabot*, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> "A parlarli circa le cose de le spiziarie et da me cussi exeguito come per mie di x. zener li significai." CONTARINI, March 7th, 1523.

Sebastian Cabot was at the Court and where he dwelt. I sent to say that my secretary had a letter for him from a friend of his and that if he chose he might come to my residence. He told my servant he would come. He made his appearance on Christmas eve. At dinner time I withdrew with him and delivered the letter, which he read, his colour changing completely during its perusal. Having finished reading it he remained a short while without saying anything, as if alarmed and doubtful. I told him that if he chose to answer the letter or wished me to make any communication to the quarter from which I had received it, I was ready to execute his commission safely. Upon this he took courage and said to me 'Out of the love I bear my country, I spoke heretofore to the ambassadors of the most illustrious Signory in England concerning these newly discovered countries through which I have the means of greatly benefiting Venice. The letter in question concerned this matter, as you likewise are aware, but I most earnestly beseech you to keep the thing secret as it would cost me my life.'

I then told him I was thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair and mentioned how Hieronymo the Ragusan had presented himself before the tribunal of their Excellencies the Chiefs, and that the most secret magistracy had acquainted me with everything and forwarded that letter to me. I added that as some noblemen were dining with me it would be inconvenient for us to talk together then, but that should he choose to return late in the evening we might more conveniently discuss the subject together at full length. So he then departed and returned about 5 p.m. Being closeted alone in my chamber, he said to me :

'My lord Ambassador, to tell you the whole truth, I was born at Venice but was brought up in England, and then entered the service of their Catholic Majesties of Spain and King Ferdinand made me captain, with a salary of 50,000 maravedis. Subsequently his present Majesty gave me the office of Pilot-Major, with an additional salary of 50,000 maravedis, and 25,000 maravedis besides as a gratuity, forming a total of 125,000 maravedis, equal to about 300 ducats.

'Now it so happened that when in England some three years ago, if I mistake not, Cardinal Wolsey offered me high terms if I would sail with an armada of his on a voyage of discovery. The vessels were almost ready, and they had got together 30,000 ducats for their outfit. I answered him that, being in the service of the King of Spain I could not go without his leave, but if free permission were granted me from hence I would serve him.

'About that time in the course of conversation one day with a certain friar, a Venetian named Sebastian Collona with whom I was on a very friendly footing, he said to me "Master Sebastian,

you take such great pains to benefit foreigners and forget your native land. Would it not be possible for Venice likewise to derive some advantage from you?" At this my heart smote me and I told him I would think about it. So on returning to him the next day I said I had the means of rendering Venice a partner in this navigation and of showing her a passage whereby she would obtain great profit ; which is the truth for I have discovered it.

'In consequence of this, as by serving the King of England I could no longer benefit our country, I wrote to the Emperor not to give me leave to serve the King of England as he would injure himself extremely, and thus to recall me forthwith. Being recalled accordingly and on my return residing at Seville, I contracted a close friendship with this Ragusan who wrote the letter you delivered to me ; and as he told me he was going to Venice I unbosomed myself to him charging him to mention this thing to none but the Chiefs of the Ten ; and he swore to me a sacred oath to this effect.'

I bestowed great praise on his patriotism and informed him I was commissioned to confer with him and hear his project which I was to notify to the Chiefs to whom he might afterwards resort in person. He replied that he did not intend to manifest his plan to any but the Chiefs of the Ten and that he would go to Venice after requesting the Emperor's permission, on the plea of recovering his mother's dowry concerning which he said he would contrive that I should be spoken to by the Bishop of Burgos and the Grand Chancellor, who are to urge me to write in his favour to your Serenity.

I approved of this, but said I felt doubtful as to the possibility of his project as I had applied myself a little to geography, and bearing in mind the position of Venice I did not see any way of effecting this navigation as the voyage must be performed either by ships built in Venice, or else by vessels which it would be requisite to construct elsewhere. Venetian built craft must necessarily pass the gut of Gibraltar to get into the ocean ; and as the King of Portugal and the King of Spain would oppose the project it never could succeed. The construction of vessels out of Venice could only be effected on the southern shores of the Ocean, or in the Red Sea, to which there were endless objections.

First of all it would be requisite to have a good understanding with the Great Turk. Secondly the scarcity of timber rendered shipbuilding impossible there. Then again even if vessels were built the fortresses and fleets of Portugal would prevent the trade from being carried on. I also observed to him that I did not see how vessels could be built on the northern shores of the Ocean that is to say from Spain to Denmarck, or even beyond, especially as the whole of Germany depended on the Emperor ; nor could I

perceive any way at all for conveying merchandise from Venice to these ships or for conveying spices and other produce from the ships to Venice. Nevertheless, as he was skilled in this matter, I said I deferred to him.

He answered me. 'You have spoken ably, and in truth neither with ships built at Venice nor yet by the way of the Red Sea, do I perceive any means soever. But there are other means not merely possible but easy, both for building ships and conveying wares from Venice to the harbour, as also spices, gold and other produce from the harbour to Venice as I know, for I have sailed to all those countries, and am well acquainted with the whole. Indeed I assure you that I refused to accept the offer of the King of England for the sake of benefitting my country for had I listened to that proposal there would no longer have been any course for Venice.'

I shrugged my shoulders, and although the thing seems to me impossible I nevertheless would not dissuade him from coming to the feet of your Highness (without however recommending him) because possibility is much more unlimited than man often imagines; added to which, this individual is in great repute here. He then left me.

Subsequently on the evening of St. John's Day he came to me in order that I might modify certain expressions in the Ragusan's letter, which he was apprehensive would make the Spaniards suspicious. It was therefore, remodelled and written out again by a Veronese, an intimate friend of mine.

. . . . .

After this, continuing my conversation with him concerning our chief matter, and recapitulating the difficulties he said to me 'I assure you the way and the means are easy. I will go to Venice at my own cost. They shall hear me; and if they disapprove of the project devised by me, I will return in like manner at my own cost.'

He then urged me to keep the matter secret."<sup>1</sup>

The negotiations continued for six weeks secretly in the house of the Venetian ambassador whenever Cabot came to Valladolid. The scheme was always based upon a personal visit of Cabot to Venice, as the Council of Ten was still anxious that he should come in person, and explain his project more fully in their

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN'S own translation, *Calendar of State papers in Venice*, No. 669; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxviii, pp. 447-51.

presence. The pretext concocted to obtain leave from Charles V. had met with the approval of all parties concerned, and they laboured assiduously to render it still more plausible. As the reader has just seen, it chiefly consisted in a pretended claim in connection with alleged dowries of Cabot's mother and aunt. He even made bold to obtain from Bishop Fonseca and Mercurino de Gattinara the High Chancellor of Spain, a recommendation addressed to Contarini, urging him to request the Venetian government to advance that imaginary claim!

The following extracts from Contarini's dispatches mark the steps in this bold intrigue :

" *March 7th, 1523.* Contarini to the Chiefs of the Ten :

Sebastian Cabot prays you to write him a second letter urging him to come to Venice for the despatch of his affairs."<sup>1</sup>

" *April 28th, 1523.* Council of Ten to Contarini :

According to Cabot's desire, we enclose a letter drawn up in the name of Hieronymo de Marino the Ragusian, touching his private affairs, in order that it may appear necessary for him to quit Spain. This you are to deliver to Caboto *remotis arbitris* urging him to come hither. Marino is not in Venice now, nor do we know where he is although the letter is dated here."<sup>2</sup>

" *April 28th, 1523.* Hieronymo de Marino to Cabot :

Some months ago, on arriving here in Venice I wrote to you what I had done to discover where your property was. I received fair promise from all quarters and was given good hope of recovering the dower of your mother and aunt, so that I have no doubt, had you come hither, you would already have attained your object. I therefore exhort you not to sacrifice your interests but betake yourself here to Venice. Do not delay coming, for your aunt is very old."<sup>3</sup>

Finally, we have the following letter :

" *July 26th, 1523.* Contarini to the Chiefs of the Ten :

Sebastian Cabot who has been residing at Seville, has returned hither on his way to Venice. He is endeavouring to obtain leave from the Imperial councillors to repair to Venice, and induce them

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *op. cit.*, and *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xxix, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, and doc. xxx, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 670, and doc. xxxi, p. 353.

to speak to me in his favour. This is what he tells me. Your Serenity shall be acquainted with the result.”<sup>1</sup>

This treasonable intercourse seems to have been broken off soon afterwards, as we find no further traces of it in the dispatches of Gasparo Con-  
tarini, although he continued to reside as Venetian ambassador in Spain until 1525. Our impression is that the project was relinquished for the time owing probably to a refusal on the part of Spain to grant the necessary leave,—not because she suspected Cabot's nefarious intentions, but on account of the impending negotiations with Portugal relative to the Molucca islands, which required him to be at his post of Pilot-Major.

The successful voyage of Magellan, so far as reaching the Spice islands by the Strait till then unknown is concerned, could only prompt new denials on the part of Portugal that the Moluccas lay within the Spanish Western division as fixed by the Demarcation line. On the 4th of February 1523, Charles V. had sent two ambassadors to the King of Portugal to settle once for all the ownership of the Spice islands by determining technically the western line of Demarcation. Plenipotentiaries were not appointed till January 25th, 1524, but the dispatches exchanged before the latter date<sup>2</sup> show that the matter had been engrossing the attention of the two governments for several months. And as one of the first steps was the appointment of a commission, or junta, of astronomers and pilots, to act as scientific experts, it is plain that the presence of Spain's Pilot-Major could not be dispensed with at such a juncture. This is evidently the only cause why Cabot's efforts to betray Charles V. came to a standstill in the autumn of 1523. So far as we

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *op. cit.*, and doc. xxxii, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. iv, p. 312.

know, they were not renewed with Venice until twenty years afterwards, but then to the detriment of England.

Our surmise is strengthened by the fact that Sebastian Cabot signed with Tomàs Duran and Juan Vespuccius on the 15th of April 1524 the report establishing the longitude of the partition line in the Moluccas region,<sup>1</sup> and, on the 25th following, with Fernando Columbus, Dr. Sancho Salaya, Simon Tarragona, Tomàs Duran, Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, Juan Vespuccius, Dr. Salazar, Juan Sebastian del Cano, Martin Mendez, Diego Ribero, Nuño Garcia de Toreno and Estevam Gomez, the curious letter addressed from Badajoz to the Emperor, informing him that the Portuguese members of the Junta had no desire to come to an understanding, and that the difficulty was as to the point in the Cape Verde islands at which they should commence to count the 370 leagues leading to the line of Demarcation.<sup>2</sup>

On the 16th of November 1523, the salary of Sebastian Cabot was attached to the amount of 10,000 maravedis on behalf of Maria Cerezo, the widow of Americus Vespuccius,<sup>3</sup> for the following reason:—

When Vespuccius died, February 22nd, 1512, Juan Dias de Solis succeeded him in the office of Pilot-Major, but under the express condition that out of his salary he should pay the widow, annually, during her life-time, 10,000 maravedis. Solis fulfilled this obligation faithfully until his death.<sup>4</sup> But when

<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. iv, doc. xxxv, p. 339; RAWDON BROWN, No. 635; Andres Garcia DE CESPEDES, *Regimiento de Navegacion*, Madrid, 1606, folio, fo. 149, where the document is entitled "Parecer acerca de la longitud de las islas de Maluccos."

<sup>2</sup> "Carta que los juezes de Castilla escriuieron al Emperador," in CES-

PEDES, *op. cit.*, fo. 150-152. We have not found that document anywhere else.

<sup>3</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. iii, doc. xiv, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> "Siempre le fueron pagados los dichos 10,000 mrs . . . hasta quel dicho Juan Dias DE SOLIS falleció desta presente vida." *Ibidem*.

Cabot was appointed to succeed him, although under the same obligation,<sup>1</sup> and with a salary much larger than that of Solis, Maria Cerezo, notwithstanding repeated demands, failed to receive her allowance. Charles V. had to interfere, and on the 26th of November 1523, compelled the Casa de Contratacion to pay out of Cabot's monies what was due to her for the whole period, and to continue to do so, until her death.<sup>2</sup> She recovered thus five years arrears; but the obligation ceased the following year on December 26th, 1524, when she died, leaving no other heir than a sister.

<sup>1</sup> "Los dichos 10,000 mrs. de la quitacion é salario quel dicho Sebastian Caboto habia de haber con el dicho oficio de Piloto mayor, diz que vosotros no lo habeis querido facer sin que vos mostrase nuevo mandamiento nuestro para ello." NAVARRETE, vol. iii, doc. xiv, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> "Del salario quel dicho Piloto mayor ha recibido desde el dia quel goza del dicho salario . . . hagais pagar é pagueis á la dicha Maria Cerezo lo que hasta aqui se le debe, y de aqui adelante hobiere de haber en cada un año por todos los dias de su vida." *Ibid.*, p. 309.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE EXPEDITION TO THE MOLUCCAS.

ALLURED by the specimens of cloves, nutmegs and cinnamon which El Cano had brought from the Indian Seas in 1522, and encouraged by the representations of Sebastian Cabot that there were other spice islands in the region of the Moluccas,<sup>1</sup> which could be reached by a shorter route than Magellan's,<sup>2</sup> and which he even pretended to have already visited,<sup>3</sup> a number of Sevillian merchants formed a company for a voyage in quest of these productive isles. The principal among them were Francisco Leardo, a Genoese and banker of Fernando Columbus,<sup>4</sup> Francisco de Santa Cruz, father of the great cosmographer of that name, Bartolomé de Xeres, Fernando de Jaen, Pero Benito de Basiñana, Luis de Aguilar,<sup>5</sup> and the English house of Robert Thorne, established at Seville,<sup>6</sup> which alone subscribed '1400 duckets.'

<sup>1</sup> "Porque Sebastian GABOTO, Capitan del Rei; i Piloto Maior, tambien tenian opinion, que havia muchas islas por descubrir cerca de los Malucos." HERRERA, *Dec.* iii, lib. iv, cap. 20, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> "Della qual è Capitano un Sebastian CABOTTO Venetiano costui va per scoprir cose nove et ogni giorno di qua fan maggior le speranze di queste Indie, et più li mettono l'animo et credono all'ultimo haver anco le speranze per quella banda et con viaggio molto più breve di quel che fece la nave Vittoria." Dispatch of Andrea NAVAGERO; Toledo, Sept. 21st, 1525, in BULLO, *op. cit.*, doc. xii, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> "Yr à las yslas e tierra quel avia descubierto." Deposition of Gregorio CARO, question iii.

<sup>4</sup> Fernand COLOMB, *Sa vie, ses œuvres*, Paris, 1872, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> *Informacion pedida por Francisco Leardo y Francisco de Santa Cruz, contra Sebastian Cabot*, in the Duchess of ALBA, *Autografos de Cristobal Colon y papeles de America*, Madrid, 1892, folio, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *A report of two Englishmen in the company of Sebastian Cabot*. HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, 1600; vol. iii, p. 726.

They appointed Sebastian Cabot leader of the expedition. But the authorization of the Government was required, not only because no transatlantic voyage could be undertaken without leave from the Crown, but also for the reason that Cabot wished to be continued in his office of Pilot-Major. He consequently repaired to the Court and secured the approbation of the Council of the Indies, at the beginning of September 1524.<sup>1</sup> He even contrived that Charles V. should become interested in the enterprise, probably by urging geographical considerations, which we shall set forth presently.

It is somewhat difficult, with the few existing documents, to gain precise information relative to the manner in which the expedition was fitted out. Peter Martyr, who was then a member of the Council of the Indies, as well as Royal Chronicler, and therefore in a position to be correctly informed, states that the funds were supplied by the Imperial Treasury.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, he seems to say that all the King did was to furnish ships, representing the equipment to have been undertaken by Cabot's partners. He goes so far as to fix the amount paid by them at 10,000 ducats, the share of the profits to be proportioned to the sum advanced by each.<sup>3</sup>

According to Herrera, the expenditures amounted to 10,000 ducats, all told, of which Charles V. supplied 4000.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps we must understand that

<sup>1</sup> "Speramus namque fore ut Sebastianus Cabotus . . . cui circiter Kal. Septembris supplicanti, ex nostri senatus autoritate permissa est eius navigationis perquirendæ potestas." ANGHIERA, 1530, *Decad.* vii, cap. vi, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> "Quatuor navium classiculam, omnibus ad rem maritimam facientibus et commodis tormentorum vasis paratam, ab Cæsareo ærario Cabotus poposit." *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> "Socios aut se reperisse Hispali, . . . qui sub spe magni lucri, ad classi-

culæ com meatum et cætera necessaria, ducatorum decem millium sua sponte summam obtulerint. . . . Contribuentium pecunias pro sua quisque rata, si bene cesserit, uti speratur, lucri portionem habebit." *Ibidem.*

<sup>4</sup> Para los quales le havia de dár el Rei quatro mil ducados . . . haviendo el Rei dado los quatro mil ducados . . ." HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. ix, cap. 3, p. 259. It is by mistake therefore that BIDDLE says (p. 121) that "the emperor was to receive four thousand ducats."

besides the hiring of the ships, he supplied the latter sum, a portion of which was to be expended in purchasing gifts for the aborigines of the countries to be discovered. Withal, our researches in the documents of the time have brought to light a sum of 5000 ducats furnished by that monarch for the expedition, from October 7th, 1525 until the spring of 1526, which seems to be the only amount supplied by him. Of this sum, Christoval de Haro received 1000 ducats, and Sebastian Cabot 4000, the whole taken from the proceeds of the sale of the cargo of cloves brought by the survivors of Magellan's expedition in the *Victoria*.<sup>1</sup>

The following details and the intentions which they disclose, deserve to be mentioned :

"It will be well," says Peter Martyr, "to act kindly, without ever resorting to violence, and without injustice ; also to secure the goodwill of the natives by kind treatment and presents. The 10,000 ducats entrusted to Cabot by his partners are to be expended in view of such result. The victualling of the ships is for two years, and the salary of the men amounts to 500 ducats. The rest will be employed in buying such trinkets as are known to please those islanders. Thus will they see that articles which to them seem to be of no value, can be exchanged for our own manufactures, which they have not yet seen. In fact those people do not know the use of money, and everything new appears to them valuable."<sup>2</sup>

It was stipulated that the squadron should be composed of at least three ships, but not more than six. In the latter case, the supplementary vessels were to be

<sup>1</sup> "1525, 7 Octubre. Se dan 1000 ducados a Christoval de Haro a cumpliendo de 5000 que S. M. mando para el armada de la Especeria que a la sazón se hacia en Sevilla. Los 4000 se havian dado a Caboto." Taken from the MS.

"Relacion de 1526 de los mrs. que se hacia cargo haver recibido Christoval de Haro factor de S. M. donde entre otras cosas se contienen 7,588,684

mrs. = 20,236 duc. 5. r. 34 mrs. que importó el clavo de la nao Victoria que vendieron los oficiales de la contratación de Sevilla a razon de 42. duc. el quintal = 4000 ducs. que dichos oficiales le dieron por S. M. para el armada de Seb. Gaboto." MUÑOZ Transcripts, vol. lxxvii, fos. 126 and 165.

<sup>2</sup> ANGHIERA, *loc. cit.*

of not less than one hundred tons. Only one hundred and fifty persons, including officers and crews, were to join the expedition.<sup>1</sup>

As for the real object of the enterprise it must have been limited in the mind of the Sevillian associates to the discovery of islands producing spices, like the Moluccas. For Charles V., however, this could be but a secondary consideration, as he had just equipped, at the cost of the Crown, the fleet of Garcia de Loaysa, which sailed from Coruña on the 24th of July 1525, precisely for the same object and by the same intended route. In our opinion, the chief reason which prompted Charles V. to encourage Cabot's undertaking, was the necessity of a certain geographical exploration, then apparently suggested by the latter, but which in reality dates at least as far back as the voyage of Juan Dias de Solis in 1515.

The Turin map,<sup>2</sup> and the anonymous Weimar mappamundi, which emanated from the Sevillian hydrographers in 1527,<sup>3</sup> show that the Pacific coast of the New Continent had not up to that time been explored from 50° south to 12° north latitude; that is, in the South, from the point whence Magellan took his course homeward, called in the Turin map "Tierra de diziembre," to the locality occupied by Gil Gonzalès Davila in 1523-24, according to the Weimar planispheres. It was indispensable, therefore, to survey that vast extent of coast, inasmuch as the Spaniards were not as yet convinced of the continental character of South America, although the entire eastern shores had been ranged by a number of Spanish navigators, from Vincente Yañez Pinzon to Magellan. Hence the expression in the contract

<sup>1</sup> HERRERA, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Discovery of North America*, p. 528, No. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 177, p. 559. The

map of MAGGIOLO of December 1527 delineates that coast, but hypothetically, adding: *Terra Incognita* (*Ibid.*, No. 173, p. 553).

made with the Sevillian merchants, as we find it summed up by Peter Martyr, "a tergo nostri *putati* continentis." These terms are identical with those used in the instructions given to Juan Dias de Solis in 1515, "de ir á las espaldas de la tierra, donde agora esta Pedro Arias:—to go to the other side of the country where Pedro Arias is at present."<sup>1</sup>

We are inclined to think from the object of the expedition of Solis,<sup>2</sup> of which that of Diego Garcia was only a continuation, and from the supposed course of the great Brazilian rivers as depicted in the early maps of the New World,<sup>3</sup> that the Spanish cosmographers believed in the existence of a passage to the north of the Strait of Magellan, communicating with the Rio de Solis (La Plata), and leading to the Indian seas, forming of the southern portion of the continent an immense island.

For us, the question is whether the exploration of the Pacific coast was to be undertaken by Sebastian Cabot before or after the search for the Spice islands. In other words, was he, after coming out of the Strait of Magellan, to sail at once westward, or first to range the western shores of the American continent?

If we follow Peter Martyr,<sup>4</sup> Cabot was to sail direct from Seville to the Strait of Magellan, go through the same, navigate north-westerly, and explore the seas between the Tropic of Capricorn and the Equator, in quest of islands producing spices. After discovering such isles, he was to turn round, traverse

<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. iii, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> "Luego como llegáredes á las espaldas de donde estuviere Pedrarias, enviarleis un mensagero con cartas vuestras para mí . . . é si la dicha Castilla del oro quedare isla, è hobiere abertura por donde podais enviar otras

cartas vuestras á la isla de Cuba, enviadme otro hombre por allí." *Ibidem*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Discovery of North America*, plate xxi.

<sup>4</sup> ANGHIERA, *Decad.* vii, cap. vi, p. 498.

the Pacific, reach the American continent about the latitude of Panama,<sup>1</sup> and only then range the south-west coast, returning to Spain by the Strait of Magellan.

According to Herrera,<sup>2</sup> only one caravel was intended to visit the Pacific coast of the New World immediately upon coming out of the Strait, from 52° south to 12° north latitude. The rest of the fleet was to continue its course north-westward. Herrera omits to state whether Cabot intended to return by way of the Strait of Magellan, or by the Cape of Good Hope.

The foreign diplomatists at the court of Charles V. give another version. For instance, Gasparo Contarini, whose constant intercourse with Cabot at that time entitles him to great credit, stated in person to the Senate of Venice, on the 16th of November 1525, that the King of Spain had lately equipped an expedition which was intended under the direction of Sebastian Cabot to explore "the entire coast, and thence go to the Indies:—andasse a investigare tutta quella costa *primieramente*, poi che andasse etiam nell' Indie."<sup>3</sup> We believe that Contarini's statement is the correct one, not only because it tallies with the interest of Spain at the time, but also for the reason that it serves to explain the conduct and opposition of the company of Seville

<sup>1</sup> Hence the letters written by Fernand CORTES to CABOT and his companions, May 28th, 1527, by the order of CHARLES V., and which were entrusted to Alvaro DE SAAVEDRA, who was sent in quest of news concerning both CABOT and LOAISA. *Ibidem*, vol. v, pp. 456-459.

<sup>2</sup> "I que si endesembocando el Estrecho, quisiese embiar vua caravela, rescatando por la Tierra-firme, hasta donde se hallaba Pedrarias Davila, lo pudiese hacer." HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. ix, cap. 3, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> "Da Panama mo verso l' oriente et mezzodi, dove è quello stretto detto di sopra, ritrovato dalla nave *Vittoria*, non si sa cosa alcuna. Hora la maestà cesarea havea fatta un' armata di cinque navi in Siviglia, et fatto capitano Sebastian Caboto suo peota maggiore, il quale è venetianod'origine, perchè andasse a investigare tutta quella costa primieramente, poi che andasse etiam nell' Indie." *Relazione di Gasparo Contarini, letta in senato.* Venezia, 16 Novembre 1525.

merchants when they were informed of the intentions of the Crown.

Although the project had been approved at the beginning of September 1524,<sup>1</sup> as we have already seen, the approbation of the Emperor was not given until the 4th of March 1525, at Madrid.<sup>2</sup> The expedition suffered still further delays before being allowed to set out. Meanwhile, Cabot was confirmed in the post of Captain-General of the fleet, retaining at the same time his office of Pilot-Major of Spain, with leave to appoint to the post *ad interim* Juan Vespuccius, the nephew of Americus, and Miguel Garcia, but with limited powers.<sup>3</sup>

Cabot also solicited and obtained a fresh favour from Charles V. He had been granted an annual and supplementary gratification ("ayuda de costa") of 25,000 maravedis for life. In view of his projected expedition to the "descubrimiento de las islas de Tarsis e Ofir al Catayo oriental:—discovery of the islands of Tarsis and Ophir in Eastern Cathay," (to use the precise terms of the original document), he asked that the said gratification instead of expiring with him, should revert to his wife, Catalina Medrano. This favour was granted on the 25th of October 1525.<sup>4</sup>

The parties interested finally decided that the squadron should consist of four ships, three equipped in the manner which we have stated, and the fourth at the cost of one Miguel Rifos,<sup>5</sup> a personal friend of Cabot.

<sup>1</sup> "Speramus fore ut Sebastianus Cabotus Baccalorum repertor, cui circiter Kal. Septembris supplicanti, ex nostri senatus auctoritate permissa est navigationis perquirendæ potestas, brevior tempore ac felicioribus avibus sed rediturus, quam Victoria navis." ANGHIERA, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> "A quatro de Março del año

pasado de mil quinientos i veinte i cinco, capituló con el Rei en Madrid." HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. ix, cap. 3, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> HERRERA, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. xxxii B.

<sup>5</sup> The document of the Duchess of ALBA prints: "Miguel Rifos"; HERRERA, "Miguel de Rufis."

These ships and their officers were :

*The Flag-ship, or "Capitana" :*

Martin Mendez, lieutenant general.  
 Antonio de Grajeda, master.  
 Hernando de Calderon, treasurer.  
 Miguel de Rodas, pilot.  
 Francisco Concha, or de la Concha, purser.  
 ——— Maldonado, alguazil.  
 Juan Miguel, caterer.  
 Jacome ———, a Greek sailor.

*La Sancta Maria del Espinar:*<sup>1</sup>

Gregorio Caro, captain.  
 Miguel Valdes, accountant, ("contador").  
 Juan de Junco, treasurer.  
 Alonso de Santa Cruz, supercargo ("veedor").  
 Francisco Garcia, priest.  
 Andres Daycaga (of Azcoitia), page.  
 Luis de Leon (of Aviles), sailor.

*La Trinidad:*

Francisco de Rojas, captain.  
 Gonçalo Nuñez de Balboa, treasurer.  
 Antonio de Montoya (of Lepe), purser.  
 ——— Mafra, second mate.  
 Pero Fernandez, pilot.  
 Bautista de Negron, cockswain.  
 Gaspar de Ribas, Chief Alguazil.  
 Master Juan (de la Hinojosa), surgeon, and  
 alguazil.

<sup>1</sup> It is this ship which is frequently designated in the depositions of the witnesses in the *Probanzas* as "la nao portuguesa :—the Portuguese vessel."



*Rifos' own brigantine :*

Commanded by himself. We do not know who went with him ; nor on what ships were the following members of the expedition :

Rodrigo Alvarez, pilot.

Geronimo Coro.

Francisco Hogaçon, of Valdeporras, passenger.

Boso de Aragus (?), a Hungarian, furbisher.<sup>1</sup>

Juan de Arsola, cooper.

Antonio Ponce, a Catalonian, clerk.

Master Pedro, surgeon.

Luis Ramirez.

Etor de Acuña, a Portuguese.<sup>2</sup>

Michael ———, a Genoese.

Gonzalo Romero.

Juan de Villafuente.

Fernando Rodriguez, of Peñafiel.

Otavian de Brene (?), supervisor.

Camacho de Morales, gentleman.

Martin Ybañez, notary of the fleet.

Nicolao, of Naples, boatswain.

——— Cuellar.

——— Orozco, a Basque, carpenter.

——— Peraça.

——— Avoça, caulker.

——— Aguirre, a Basque, sailor.

Bojo de Araujo (a Portuguese ?), sailor.

Diego Martinez, apothecary.

Bartolomé Saez de Medina.

Gomez Malaver.

Geronimo de Chavarri (a Genoese ?).

Miguel Martinez, of Azcutia.

<sup>1</sup> "Boso de aragus natural de aragus del Reyno de Ungaria, bruneto e quevio." Perhaps we must read "Arabo = Rabus = Raab."

<sup>2</sup> OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, Madrid edition, 1852, lib. xxiii, cap. xiv, vol. ii, p. 198.

Sebastian Corzo.  
 Fabian de Irausi.  
 Alonso Bueno, pilot.  
 Francisco Cesar, "capitan" (of soldiers).  
 Casimir, of Nuremberg, passenger.  
 Anton Falcon, of Aliba; ship boy.  
 Juan Grego (a Greek?), sailor.  
 Andres, of Venice, sailor.  
 Marcos, also of Venice and sailor.  
 Alonso de Valdivieso.  
 Juan de Medina.  
 Lorenzo de la Palma.

The gentlemen recommended to Cabot by Charles V., and who joined the expedition, were :

Gaspar de Celada.  
 Rodrigo de Benavides.  
 Sancho de Bullon.  
 Alvaro Nuñez de Balboa.  
 Juan Nuñez de Balboa.  
 Martin de Rueda.  
 Martin Ybañez de Urquiço.<sup>1</sup>  
 Christoval de Guevara.  
 Hernan Mendez.  
 Francisco Maldonado.  
 Diego Garcia de Celis.

There were also two Englishmen, versed in cosmography, friends of Robert Thorne who sent them to learn the navigation of those regions,<sup>2</sup> viz. :

Roger Barlow.<sup>3</sup>  
 Henry Latimer, pilot.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The judicial documents give YBAÑEZ the title of clerk, which is scarcely compatible with the designation of "hidalgo."

<sup>2</sup> *A report of two Englishmen in the company of Sebastian Caboto. Taken out of the information of Mr. Robert Thorne.* HAKLUYT, *Princip. Navig.*, vol. iii, p. 726.

<sup>3</sup> SANTA CRUZ in his *Islario* gives the real christian name, viz. : Roger, whilst HERRERA, *Decad.* iv, lib. i, vol. 3, p. 3, and lib. iii, p. 39, calls him "Riojel" and "Jorge Barlo" and "Barloque."

<sup>4</sup> ROJAS and OVIEDO call him "Patimer." It is the former who says that LATIMER was a pilot.

Finally, a number of Sevillian subscribers were on board,<sup>1</sup> but their names have not come down to us.

This list has been drawn up by means of the rogatory commissions and other legal papers filed in the various suits brought against Cabot when he returned from La Plata.<sup>2</sup> But there are other names, which can be gathered from the *Argentina*, written in 1612 by Ruy Blas de Guzman.<sup>3</sup> As he was the son of Alonso Riquelme de Guzman, who accompanied his uncle Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca to that country in 1540, he may have collected traditions, which, perhaps, are the basis of his account, but on which, nevertheless, we place little reliance. The alleged companions of Sebastian Cabot whose names we find in the *Argentina* are the following :

Juan Alvarez Ramon.  
 Diego de Bracamonte.  
 Juan de Justes.  
 Hector de Acuña.  
 Alejo Garcia.<sup>4</sup>  
 Mendo Rodriguez de Oviedo.  
 Luis Perez de Bargas (?).  
 Ruy Garcia de Mosquera.<sup>5</sup>  
 Francisco de Rivera.

Finally, Sebastian de Hurtado, of Ecija, with his wife Lucia de Miranda, [who are the “ Nuño de Lara

<sup>1</sup> OVIEDO, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the judicial inquiries, and HERRERA, we have consulted for the names the MS. *Islario* of SANTA CRUZ, RAMIREZ'S letter, and the documents published by the Duchess of ALBA.

<sup>3</sup> Pedro DE ANGELIS, *Coleccion de documentos relativos a la Historia de las provincias del Rio de la Plata*; Buenos Ayres, 1836, vol. i, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> This Alejo GARCIA, father of one of the same name, whom GUZMAN

knew personally, is also said to be the first Spaniard who reached Paraguay by the way of Brazil, in 1526. He did not therefore come with Sebastian CABOT.

<sup>5</sup> Ruy or Ruiz GARCIA is said by Ruy Blas DE GUZMAN to have been one of CABOT'S captains, who after having been abandoned in the island of St. Catarina, settled in Buenos Ayres.

and the Inez de Castro of Paraguay”] to whom Charlevoix ascribes such romantic adventures.<sup>1</sup>

We give the above list, extracted from the narrative in the *Argentina*, without warranting its authenticity, although a number of these names are also to be found in the work of Father Nicolao del Techo. One argument in favor of the list is that a certain Hector de Acuña figures at La Plata with Cabeça de Vaca in 1543, as interpreter.<sup>2</sup> This implies that he had already lived in that country; but it may have been at the time of Mendoza, who went in 1534. We are inclined to think that the names given by Blas de Guzman belong to expeditions sent to La Plata after Cabot's return to Spain. In any case we would not withhold them from the reader.

Although, according to Herrera, Cabot was authorized to take with him only one hundred and fifty persons, it is evident from the number of men killed by the Indians, together with those who died of sickness or starvation, or were abandoned at La Plata and in Brazil, that even more than two hundred, which is the figure given by Dr. Simão Affonso,<sup>3</sup> accompanied him when he set out from Seville. Oviedo swells the number to two hundred and fifty.<sup>4</sup> Cabot says “two hundred more or less,” and refers to the rolls kept at that time in the Casa de Contratacion of Seville.<sup>5</sup> Casimir Nuremberger is nearer the truth, we think, when stating that “the entire number amounted to two hundred and ten or two hundred and twenty.”<sup>6</sup> But from this number should be

<sup>1</sup> CHARLEVOIX, *Hist. du Paraguay*, vol. i, p. 29; N. DEL TECHO, *Hist. provincia paraquaria Societas Jesu*; Liege, 1673, in folio.

<sup>2</sup> HERNANDEZ, *Commentarios del governador Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, BARCIA'S edit., cap. lviii, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Published by VARNHAGEN, *Hist.*

*Geral. do Brazil*; Madrid, 1854, vol. i, p. 439.

<sup>4</sup> OVIEDO, *loc. cit.* GOMARA, cap. lxxxix, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> *Informacion hecha en Sevilla en 28 de Julio dentro dela nao Sta. Maria*, in our *Syllabus*, No. L.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

deducted four men left at Palma, replaced, however, by eight others, making a total of 214 or 224 who crossed the Atlantic.

We have only been able to collect biographical data concerning thirty of those companions of Sebastian Cabot, and these data are very brief.

Martin Mendez was a Sevillian of good family, and, as we learn from Herrera, had been recommended by Charles V. He was the notary of Magellan's expedition on board the *Victoria*, and one of the survivors who returned to Spain, but not with El Cano, as the Portuguese detained him at Cape Verde in July 1522. We may judge of the estimation in which Mendez was held by Charles V., from the fact that he granted him an annuity of 200 gold ducats, and a coat of arms, with the same beautiful device given to El Cano: *Primus circumdedisti me*.<sup>1</sup> Garcia de Cespedes says,<sup>2</sup> that Mendez was one of the pilots of the Badajoz junta in 1524. Our impression is that he was only summoned then to give evidence with regard to the action of the government in the Moluccas, as we see him assume no other title at Tidore, when he drew up the deeds for taking possession of the island, than that of "contador,"<sup>3</sup> which implies simply an office like that of treasurer or accountant.

There is a Francisco de Rojas who was commissioned by the Crown in 1531<sup>4</sup> to collect colonists throughout Spain for the West Indies. He seems to be the same Rojas who had command of the *Trinidad* in the present expedition.

<sup>1</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. iv, cap. 14, p. 133, who gives it: *Primus qui circumdedit me*, and describes the coat of arms. Let us add that the same device was also given to Miguel DE RODAS, and to one Hernando DE BUSTAMANTE, who, however, figures on the rolls (NAVARRETE, vol. iv, p.

17) only as barber. Others also received the device at the time.

<sup>2</sup> CESPEDES, *Regimiento de Navi-gacion*, Madrid, 1606, fol., p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. iv, pp. 19, 370; Duchess of ALBA, p. 111; *Discovery of North America*, p. 723.

<sup>4</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iv, p. 213.

Miguel de Rodas, born at Rodas (Galicia) in 1492,<sup>1</sup> was a personage of considerable importance. He also accompanied Magellan, as "contramaestre," on board the *Victoria*, and returned to Spain with El Cano. On the 20th of August 1522, Charles V. granted him a patent of nobility, also with the famous device already cited, encircling a terrestrial globe: "You have been the first to embrace me," appointed him a member of the Badajos junta, and, as a reward for the services he had rendered, gave him a pension of 50,000 maravedis. Rodas, who was a good seaman, enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor, whom he represented in Cabot's expedition, without filling any special office, says Herrera. Yet the rogatory commission refers to him as "piloto de la nao capitana," and even of "Piloto Mayor de la armada."

Gonçalo Nuñez, Alvaro Nuñez, and Juan Nuñez, all three Balboas, were brothers<sup>2</sup> of the famous Balboa who, from the summit of the mountains in the isthmus of Panama, discovered the Pacific Ocean in 1513.

Hernan Mendes was the younger brother of Martin Mendes.

Bautista Negrón was evidently a Genoese.

Alonso Bueno, born at Seville, figures in the list of pilots for the West Indies drawn up in 1525.<sup>3</sup>

Juan de Junco was an Asturian nobleman, born in 1503, who married the daughter of Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, at Santo Domingo. We find him at Cartagena in 1536, and with Gonzalo Ximenez at Bogota in 1540, and among the discoverers of the Guatemala emerald mines in 1541. Oviedo consulted a description of the Rio de la Plata written by de Junco,

<sup>1</sup> MUÑOZ MSS. ; NAVARRETE, vol. iv, p. 369; HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xvii, p. 547.

but only a few quotations inserted in the *Historia de las Indias*<sup>1</sup> remain.

Herrera mentions several of the name of Francisco Maldonado, all men of position, but we do not know which of them was the companion of Cabot.<sup>2</sup>

Gregorio Caro, born at Talamanco, in the province of Toledo, was the nephew of the Bishop of the Canaries, who afterwards became Bishop of Salamanca.<sup>3</sup>

Alonso de Santa Cruz was born at Seville in 1506. His father, Francisco de Santa Cruz held the office of alcalde of the Sevillian alcazars, and it was doubtless owing to the fact of his having taken shares in the company, that his son joined the expedition as its representative and supervisor of the cargo. On his return, Santa Cruz enjoyed the confidence of Charles V. and later of Philip II. who appointed him to high positions at the Court. He died after having filled the office of Chief Cosmographer for many years, leaving behind him the reputation of being the greatest adept in the science of navigation that Spain ever had.<sup>4</sup>

Rodrigo Alvarez is the pilot who, in the course of Cabot's voyage discovered in the estuary of the Rio de la Plata the little islands which still bear his name.<sup>5</sup>

Gonzalo Romero was one of the Spaniards whom Cabot abandoned at La Plata, and who, in 1536, rendered great services to Mendoza.<sup>6</sup>

Antonio de Montoya was an Andalusian gentleman

<sup>1</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* v, pp. 28, 250; vi, pp. 3, 114, 148, 191. OVIEDO, vol. ii, pp. 184-185.

<sup>2</sup> We do not even know whether it is the same person, as in the rolls MALDONADO figures only as "alguazil."

<sup>3</sup> HERRERA and OVIEDO, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> NAVARRETE, *Opusculos*, vol. ii,

pp. 61-86, and *Discovery of North America*, p. 736.

<sup>5</sup> "Cinco ysletas que se llaman ysletas de Rodrigo Alvarez por las aver descubierto un piloto que con nos otros; llevaremos." SANTA CRUZ, *Islario*, Besançon MS., fo. 119.

<sup>6</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* v, p. 246.

from Lepe. He accompanied Hernando Pizarro to Peru in 1534.

Luis Ramirez, to whom we are indebted for an excellent account of the voyage, written in the form of a letter addressed to some prelate in Spain, was evidently a gentleman and a scholar.<sup>1</sup>

Hernando Calderon was from Madrid, born in 1495. He seems to have been a man of character and influence at the Court.

Master Juan was born in 1498. He figures in the legal documents under the title of surgeon, but says himself that his employ was also that of "alguazil de la nao que Francisco de Rojas fue por capitán:—alguazil of the ship of which Francisco de Rojas was captain."

Diego de Celis was only twenty-one years of age when he went with Cabot as "gentil hombre de la armada:—Gentleman in the fleet."

Francisco Hogaçon came from Valdeporras, was also only twenty-one years old, and a relative of Rojas.

Casimir Nuremberger, or of Nuremberg, was, as his name indicates, a German. He calls himself "gentil hombre de la armada," which probably means "passenger," but carried with him a stock of merchandise for the purpose of barter with the natives.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151. As RAMIREZ speaks of cassocks: "las sotenas," *sic pro* "sotanas," sent to him, it would naturally be thought that he was a priest. But at the end of the letter (*Syllabus*, No. xlix), he asks, in case officers should be appointed for La

Plata, that his correspondent should secure one of the commissions for him. Elsewhere, he refers to the sword which he carried. His father outlived him, and brought an action against CABOT in Seville in 1531.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE VOYAGE TO LA PLATA.

A short time before Charles V. arrived at Seville, the expedition sailed from San Lucar de Barrameda, two days after Easter, on the 3rd of April 1526,<sup>1</sup> “al descubrimiento de las islas de Tarsis e Ofir e al Catayo Oriental :—to the discovery of the islands of Tharsis, Ophir, and Eastern Cathay,”<sup>2</sup> via the Strait of Magellan.

As regards the route followed, Biddle has only consulted Herrera,<sup>3</sup> whose *Decades* in this respect are extremely brief and incomplete. The other historians<sup>4</sup> have been able to add but few details, borrowed from the letter of Luis Ramirez,<sup>5</sup> which is very valuable, considering that he was an eye-witness, but unfortunately it is deficient in geographical information. A curious fact is that Oviedo's General History of the Indies, which contains a technical and precise description of all the points of the south-east coast of America visited on that occasion, should have been neglected.

<sup>1</sup> OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. xxiii, cap. iv, vol. ii, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Cedula of October 25th, 1525.

<sup>3</sup> BIDDLE is excusable, for if it be true that the manuscript of OVIEDO had long been known to exist in Madrid, books xxi and xxiii of the latter's *Historia* were published only in 1852.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. E. W. DAHLGREN, however, in his excellent work, *Map of the World, by Alonzo de Santa Cruz*,

Stockholm, 1892, 8vo, has shown the importance of book xxi of OVIEDO to reconstruct CABOT's route in the voyage to La Plata.

<sup>5</sup> RAMIREZ's letter has been published in the original Spanish, by VARNHAGEN, in the *Revista Trimen-sal*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. xv, pp. 14-41; but TERNAUX had given a translation of that important document nine years before. See our *Syllabus*, No. xlix.

What imparts considerable importance to Oviedo's statements is that they were derived from members of the expedition, one of whom was so competent an authority as the celebrated Alonso de Santa Cruz. With the latter's *Islario*,<sup>1</sup> which historians have also failed to consult, and Ribeiro's planisphere of 1529,<sup>2</sup> constructed certainly with geographical data brought from La Plata by Calderon and Barlow in October 1528, Cabot's route from San Lucar to Paraguay can be accurately described.

We propose to base our description on these sources of information, and shall even adopt their distances and latitudes, although these are oftentimes inexact; but the reader must be placed on the same standpoint as the original chroniclers, in order to ascertain every relative position set forth in the writings to be analysed. Let us add that Santa Cruz gives the results of his own geographical observations, and Oviedo follows the *Padron Real* of Chaves,<sup>3</sup> after subjecting it however to a critical revision. In the absence of two documents which have disappeared,<sup>4</sup> but may yet be discovered, these writers constitute the most reliable authorities to be consulted at the

<sup>1</sup> See *Discovery of North America*, pp. 620-621, and *Syllabus*, No. xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> KOHL, *Die beiden ältesten general-Karten von America*, Weimar, 1860, large folio.

<sup>3</sup> "Y relatarlo he tan puntualmente como la carta moderna del cosmographo Alonso de Chaves lo pinta, y como lo oy boca á boca al capitan y muy enseñado caballero y cierto cosmographo Alonso de Sancta Cruz, que lo ha navegado, é lo apuntó en el viaje que hizo el capitan é piloto mayor Sebastian Gaboto, y como lo he entendido de otras personas que con el dicho Sancta Cruz se conforman . . . de los quales yo colegí la cuenta, de este viaje quanto à las leguas é grados que aqui expresaré." OVIEDO, vol. ii, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> The first of those documents is the docket of the rogatory commission ordered by CHARLES V. to elicit evidence regarding the discovery of La Plata, when, after CABOT had left in 1526, the Portuguese claimed sovereignty over that country. (HERRERA, *Decad.* iv, lib. viii, cap. xi, p. 169.) The other document is *La Relacion de la entrada de Sebastian Gaboto al Rio de la Plata*, MS. 4to, 59 leaves, which was preserved in the library of the Jesuits' Collège de Clermont, whence it went into that of Gerard MEERMAN in 1764. (*Discovery of North America*, p. 604, note.) To these should be added the report addressed to the Emperor in 1530, of which HERRERA has preserved a short extract.









present day for the route followed by Cabot from Spain to La Plata. As to Oviedo's narrative, we should keep in mind that he was Historiographer Royal for the Indies, and wrote his work by the order of Charles V., at a time when Sebastian Cabot was living in Spain, and occupied the high position of Pilot-Major. We may judge of Oviedo's high character as an historian from the dignified preamble to his description of that unfortunate voyage :

“ Four caravels were equipped at the cost of a number of speculators, who had been enticed by the representations of Sebastian Cabot, and placed reliance in his cosmographical knowledge. But as I am indebted for my information to persons worthy of credit, and who are trusted, I shall state briefly what I have heard related touching that voyage, particularly by Alonso de Santa Cruz, and Captain Rojas, both distinguished men, and other persons who were eye witnesses. In the interest of the reader and in my own, I propose to give my understanding of the historical facts and the route followed, regardless of individual passions, although I have seen persons who blamed Sebastian Cabot's conduct and recklessness in that undertaking.”<sup>1</sup>

In the next chapter, we shall analyse and discuss the principal events of this voyage. For the present, we intend only to give a sort of synopsis of the facts and dates.

From San Lucar de Barrameda, sailing out on Tuesday, April 3rd, 1526,<sup>2</sup> the squadron went to the Canary islands, and cast anchor at Palma, where it remained seventeen days, to take in supplies, and where it landed four men and took on board eight.

From Palma, April 27th, the squadron went to Cape Verde islands, skirting, as it seems, the coast of Africa.

When in those regions, Cabot gave orders,

<sup>1</sup> OVIEDO, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> “ Salido del rio é puerto de Sanlúcar año de mill é quinientos é veynte y seys años à tres dias de

abril, el terçero dia despues de Flores y mejor diciendo, de la Resurrección.”  
OVIEDO, *Historia general*, lib. xxiii, cap. iv, vol. ii, p. 177.

contrary to the opinion of Rojas and the pilots, to steer south by west and south-south-west.

In consequence, he was driven to the widest part of the zone of calms and baffling winds, from which he emerged amongst contrary winds and storms. These, with the equatorial current, carried him to the coast of Brazil.

Ramirez says<sup>1</sup> that land was first seen on the 3rd of June 1526. If so, it can only have been the Isla de Hernando de Noronha, in 3° S. lat., which Santa Cruz describes in detail *de visu*.

In reality, the landfall on the American continent was not effected till the end of June, contrary to Cabot's intention (Maestre Juan), and owing to the *Santa Maria del Espinar* being driven to leeward, somewhat to the north of Pernambuco, in 8° S. lat. (Oviedo).

As they were suffering greatly from thirst (Ramirez), Cabot, to fill the casks, detached a ship, which entered the Rio de las Piedras, in 7° after passing the mouth of the Rio de las Virtudes in 7° 30' (Oviedo).

Entering the Baya de Pernambuco, they sighted the Isleta de la Assension and saw large seals, which the sailors mistook for mermen bathing in the surf (Santa Cruz and Oviedo). There was in the place a factory and fort, under the command of Manoel de Braga, and a dozen Portuguese who treated the Spaniards with great kindness.

Shortly after his arrival at Pernambuco, Cabot, on the 2nd of July, instituted a secret inquiry into alleged misdeeds of his officers at La Palma, deprived Mendez and Rojas of their office and had them arrested and confined on board the *Santa*

<sup>1</sup> All these references to RAMIREZ, SANTA CRUZ and GARCIA are taken from their original texts. Those to OVIEDO refer to vol. ii, book xxiii, pages 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, of his *Historia General de las Indias*, of the Madrid edition.



*Maria del Espinar.* A few days afterwards Rojas was released and placed again in command of the *Trinidad*; but Mendez remained a prisoner.

Whilst at Pernambuco, Cabot was informed by Braga and other Portuguese of the pretended mineral wealth of the La Plata region. On asking for more precise information, he was told that there were survivors of the expedition of Solis scattered among the settlements on the coast, who could satisfy him on that point. Cabot then and there conceived the idea of exploring the Rio de Solis, instead of going to the Moluccas; first, however, intending to find the Spanish sailors who had knowledge of that country.

Contrary winds detained the squadron in Pernambuco more than three months, after three or four vain attempts to continue their route.<sup>1</sup> At last, two or three days before Saint Michael's day, the last week in September, they succeeded in sailing out.

On the morning of Saturday, September 29th (Oviedo), the Spaniards doubled Cape St. Augustin, in 8° 30', and at noon were in the immediate vicinity of the Rio de Sant Alexo, having thus traversed during the forenoon a distance of about 25 leagues. There they met a French ship on her way to a French factory, likewise protected by a fort, a rival establishment of the one which the Portuguese then possessed in Pernambuco, and which was afterwards abandoned, in 1539, through fear of the Indians.

Continuing their route, the Spaniards encountered a series of storms, which lasted until October 13th (Ramirez).

<sup>1</sup> "Vio hazer a la vela tres ó quatro vezes a la dicha armada para llevar el dicho viaje de tarsys e urfir . . . vio ansy mismo quel tiempo les hera contrario e que por esto surgió en la costa del brasyl en pernanbuco." (Deposition of Anton FALCON.) "Adonde estovieron con viento contrario tres meses y medio poco mas o menos." (Deposition of Boso DE ARAGUS.)

On the 19th of October, they sighted an island (?). The squadron afterwards passed the mouths of the following rivers :

Rio de Sanct Matheo,— $9^{\circ} 30'$ ,<sup>1</sup>

Rio de Sanct Francisco,— $10^{\circ} 30'$ .

These two rivers were then also called respectively Rio Primero and Rio Segundo (Oviedo).

Rio de Sancta Ana,— $11^{\circ} 40'$ ,

Rio de Sanct Roque,

Rio de Puerto Real,

Rio de Sanct Hieronimo.

They next reached the Baya de Todos Sanctos, — $13^{\circ} 30'$  ( $13^{\circ}$ , Ribeiro;  $14^{\circ}$ , Sancta Cruz, or, according to Cabot's pilots, at a distance of 90 leagues from Pernambuco). Herrera states that one of Cabot's ships ran foul of a French vessel in this bay.<sup>2</sup>

Continuing farther, they sighted the following places :

Golfo de la Playa,

Rio de las Ostras,

Rio de Sancta Ana,

Rio de los Cosmos,— $15^{\circ}$ ,

Rio de Sanct Agostin,— $15^{\circ}$ ,

Rio de las Virgines,

Punta Segura,

Rio del Brasil,

Rio de Sanct Jorge,— $17^{\circ}$ ,

Rio de la Magdalena,

Rio de Sancta Elena,

Rio de Sanct Gregorio,

Rio de Sanct Johan,

Rio de Sanct Christoval,— $18^{\circ} 30'$ .

<sup>1</sup> For the nomenclature and the latitudes, we follow the *Historia* of OVIEDO and the manuscript *Islario* of SANTA CRUZ. The geographical history of nearly all those names can

be found in the Geographical Index of our *Discovery of North America*.

<sup>2</sup> HERRERA, who in his third Decade evidently follows GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. lxxxix, p. 18.

Shortly afterwards, in about  $19^{\circ}$ , they noticed a range of rocks just above the surface of the sea and extending over thirty leagues, called Abrejo ("Open your eyes"), and, in the midst of it, an inhabited island,—the Isla de Sancta Barbara. Returning to the coast, they continued to skirt it southward, sighting the following :

Cabo de Abrejos,  
 Rio de Sancta Barbara,— $19^{\circ} 4'$ ,  
 Baya de Sancta Lucia,  
 Cabo de Sanct Pedro,— $20^{\circ} 30'$ ,  
 Baxos de los Pargos,  
 Cabo de Sanct Thome,  
 Rio [Baya ?] de Sanct Salvador,— $21^{\circ} 30'$ ,  
 Golfo Hermoso,  
 Rio Delgado,  
 Baya de Jenero.

Entering the bay they noted several islets inhabited by Indians.

Rio de la India,— $23^{\circ} 15'$  (Santa Cruz),  
 Cabo Frio,— $23^{\circ} 30'$ .

Here they lost in a storm the small-boat of the flag ship. This accident compelled them shortly afterwards to land, for the purpose of constructing another.<sup>1</sup>

Baya de los Reyes,  
 Isla de Coles,  
 Isla de los Puercos.

Again a terrific storm assailed them, and they were obliged to seek shelter in a small uninhabited island, but filled with birds called "tabiahoreados," and which they named Isleta de Buen Abrigo (Santa Cruz). Here may have happened what Eden relates as follows :

"Rycharde Chaunceler tould me that he harde Sebastian Cabot

<sup>1</sup> "Porque avia de hazer un batel para la nao capitana porque perdio el que tenia a Cabo Frio con una gran tormenta."

reporte that (as farre as I remember) eyther about the coastes of Brasile or Rio de la Plata, his shyppe or pinnes was suddenly lyfted from the sea and cast upon the lande I wotte not howe farre."<sup>1</sup>

They arrived at last in the Puerto de Sanct Viçente, where from twelve to fifteen of the passengers who were sick, tired out or dissatisfied, landed and remained. In that place there was a small village inhabited by Portuguese, with a stone fort to protect them against Indians. A stay of more than one month (Santa Cruz) was made in Sanct Viçente.

Resuming the voyage, Cabot's pilots noted :

Rio Ubay,

Baya de la Cananea,—25° 30' (Oviedo).

A good anchorage was found in the bay, which Santa Cruz marks in 26°.

Rio Sin Fondo,

Puerto de la Barca,<sup>2</sup>

Isleta de Rodrigo de Acuña,

Rio de Sanct Francisco.

On the 19th (?) of October 1526, the squadron came in sight of the northernmost cape of the island which Cabot named Tierra de los Patos, on account of the vast number of penguins<sup>3</sup> seen there. The reason why Cabot determined to tarry a while in that vicinity was the necessity of building a small boat to replace the one lost at Cape Frio.

As Santa Cruz mentions a port called Puerto de Sanct Sebastian<sup>4</sup> in the north part of the island, in order to reconcile the date of October 19th given

<sup>1</sup> EDEN, *The Decades of the New Worlde*; ARBER'S edition, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> It was so named "the Port of the boat," by Rodrigo DE ACUÑA, who lost a boat there in December 1525.

<sup>3</sup> Those birds were really penguins, and not either wild ducks or geese. GOMARA describes them in these

unmistakable terms: "Nombranronlo Patos por haver infinitos Patos negros, sin pluma i con el pico de cuervo, i gordisimos, de comer peces." *Historia de las Indias*, cap. xc, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> The name of St. Sebastian was given not on the outward voyage, but when returning to Spain, January 19th, 1530.

by Oviedo for the first sight of the island, with the date of October 28th for the great shipwreck, we presume that the squadron remained in said port about one week.

When leaving this place on Sunday, 28th October, day of St. Simon and St. Jude, the catastrophe happened which decided the fate of the expedition, and which is thus related by Santa Cruz, who witnessed the scene from the deck of the *Santa Maria del Espinar* :

“The island of Santa Catalina, extends from north to south about twelve miles, is from three to four leagues wide, and inhabited by Indians. It is well wooded and contains many springs of drinkable water. Between the island and the mainland, there are extensive and excellent fisheries. The harbours on the east coast are not as safe as those on the west, where the squadron touched. While sailing in, we lost our largest and best ship on a reef at the entrance of the channel, which is filled with shoals. Almost everything on board was swamped, and we were consequently obliged to remain there longer than was expected.”<sup>1</sup>

They stayed in that locality, which we assume to have been on the north-west shore of the island of Santa Catalina, where there was much good timber, three and a half months (Ramirez), building a galliot to replace the flag ship.

Four Spaniards were lost in that locality (Ramirez), but we do not know under what circumstances. Perhaps they are the Christians whom the surgeon Juan says were killed and eaten by the Indians of the place.

A short time afterwards, on the plea that Rojas had used treasonable language to the caterer of his ship, Cabot had him again arrested and confined on board the *Santa Maria*, with Mendez and other prisoners.

In Santa Catalina, Cabot found fifteen men

<sup>1</sup> SANTA CRUZ, *Islario*, in our *Syllabus*, No. xlvihi.

(Ramirez) belonging to the fleet of Loaysa, who had deserted from the *San Gabriel*,<sup>1</sup> commanded by Rodrigo de Acuña, the year before, and two survivors from the expedition of Juan Dias de Solis, called Ramirez, of Lepe, and Henrique Montes.<sup>2</sup> Their representations concerning the gold and silver which they alleged to be found in abundance beyond the Rio de Solis, in the Parana country, made him still more eager to visit that region and he at once engaged their services. Nearly all the deserters from Loaysa's ship, who were in the place, also joined the expedition (Casimir Nuremberger).

When on the point of weighing anchor, Cabot, resorting to the subterfuge that he wished to speak to them, sent the chief alguazil to fetch Rojas, Mendez and their companions on board his flag ship. They obeyed, but instead of being taken to the vessel, Gaspar de Ribas put them on shore, despite their tears and entreaties.

On the 17th of February 1527, the squadron set sail for La Plata, abandoning these men among Indians, who were friendly, but cannibals.

When three miles beyond the southern extremity of the island of Santa Catalina, it was found necessary to stop for repairs in a "small island that lyeth a league into the sea,"<sup>3</sup> which, in consequence, was named Isla del Reparo, in 27° 30'.

They resumed their course, we do not know how long afterwards, and sighted a large rock, El Farayol, Puerto de don Rodrigo de Acuña, Puerto and Rio del Farallon;—29° 40'.

<sup>1</sup> They were deserters from the *San Gabriel* commanded by Rodrigo DE ACUÑA. NAVARRETE, vol. v, pp. 234-239, 313-323.

<sup>2</sup> SANTA CRUZ only names those two sailors among the survivors of the expedition of Juan Dias DE SOLIS to La Plata.

<sup>3</sup> *Ruttier*, in HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 728. The name *Reparo*, in the Turin map, is in 27° 30'. The island, so named, figures in the mappamundi of SANTA CRUZ in Stockholm. Cf. DAHLGREN, *ubi supra*.

The latter is a large river, and there they saw numerous Indians; hence the name which they gave to it, viz.: Rio Poblado;— $30^{\circ} 20'$ . It seems to be the same as that called by Oviedo, Rio Cerrado or Serrado.

They then noticed two streams, viz.: Rio Tibiquari;— $32^{\circ}$ , and a tributary of the latter, the Rio Etiquari. The Indians they met on that part of the coast called themselves "Janase veguaes," and were of large size: "as tall and even taller than Germans."

Forty-eight leagues farther, in  $35^{\circ}$ , according to the calculations of Santa Cruz, they arrived at the Cabo de Santa Maria and beheld the vast estuary of the Rio de Solis (now called Rio de la Plata).<sup>1</sup> We take our figures from the documents, but must state that they make Cabot cross the great distance from Santa Catalina, including the stay at the Isla de Reparó, to the Cape of Santa Maria in six days only.<sup>2</sup>

They seem to have entered the estuary of the great stream;— $35^{\circ} 37'$  (Santa Cruz) the next day and to have seen first an island covered with palm trees, which, on that account, was called Isla de las Palmas, and, also, from the great number of seals sporting on its shores, Isla de Lobos.

Twenty leagues beyond, sailing up the river, they sighted the island already called Isla de Christoval Jaques, and a small cluster of islets, to which they gave the name of Islas de Rodrigo Alvarez, in honor of their pilot who first noticed them (Santa Cruz).

Crossing the bar, the entire squadron, composed

<sup>1</sup> For the origin of the name La Plata, see our *Syllabus*, No. lxi, § ii.

<sup>2</sup> According to RAMIREZ, the passing from the Island of St. Catharine to Cape St<sup>a</sup>. Maria, was accomplished in only six days. This we can scarcely believe, inasmuch as they were obliged to stop at the Isla de Reparó for repairs. As CABOT left Santa Catalina Febr. 15th, supposing he required only six days to

cross the distance, he would then have reached Cape St<sup>a</sup>. Maria on the 21st. On the other hand, OVIEDO says that between his entering the estuary of the La Plata and his return to Spain, July 23rd, 1530, two years and ten months elapsed. In such a case, CABOT would have doubled the Cape St<sup>a</sup>. Maria, not in February, but in September 1527. OVIEDO is surely mistaken,

of the three ships and the craft constructed at Santa Catalina, which was a row-galley with twenty oars, continued to ascend the Rio de Solis, or, rather, the estuary, when at a distance of about thirty leagues, they came in sight of a group of islands, one of which was named Isla de Sanct Gabriel. We assume that this took place on the 26th of March, being the day of Gabriel the Archangel.

Farther on, near a river which enters the Rio de Solis, and called Rio de Sancta Barbara, they lightened the ships, owing to the little depth of water, and continuing to ascend, they reached, on Sunday,<sup>1</sup> April 7th, 1527, a place and a stream, to both of which the name of Sanct Lazaro was given.

Opposite the mouth of the river so called lies the Isla de Martin Garcia, named by Juan Dias de Solis after his steward (Oviedo), who died and was buried there.

Landing, as we believe, not on the Isla de Sanct Gabriel,<sup>2</sup> but on the west bank of the Sanct Lazaro river, they constructed a store house for the provisions and baggage, which was left in charge of twelve men.

After remaining there a whole month (Ramirez), the squadron was divided.<sup>3</sup> A large number of men were embarked in the brigantine and galley, and thirty in each of the other two ships. They sailed out together on the 8th of May and followed the left bank of the Rio de Solis, as far as one of its tributaries called Rio de San Salvador. Having found there a good port and safe anchorage,

<sup>1</sup> Here RAMIREZ commits a slight mistake. That Sunday occurred on the 7th, not on the 8th.

<sup>2</sup> "La isla de San Gabriel es muy pequeña y de mucha arboleda, y esta de tierra firme poco mas de 2 leguas, donde ay un puerto razonable, pero no tienc el abrigo necesario para los

navios que allí aportan." DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> For that narrative, we follow OVIEDO. Dias DE GUZMAN says that the expedition which left San Gabriel was under the command of one Juan Alvarez RAMON (?).



they<sup>1</sup> decided to tarry a while. The Indians attacked them and killed two of the men, but were finally routed, and a fort was at once built. Cabot named it Sanct Salvador.<sup>2</sup> This happened on the 14th of August.<sup>3</sup>

The galley was then sent to Sanct Lazaro to fetch the sick left in that place. Three days afterwards, on the 28th of August, she was back in San Salvador.

Antonio de Grajeda<sup>4</sup> was placed in command of the fort and of the two ships, viz. : the *Santa Maria del Espinar*, and the *Trinidad*, which drew too much water for exploring. Then Cabot with the galley and brigantine, which we assume to have been Rifos' own ship, started on his expedition.

At this point commenced the actual exploration of the Rio de Solis. Crossing over, after passing the Rio Uruay and the Rio Negro,<sup>5</sup> Cabot skirted the right bank as far as a delta formed by nine or ten mouths of a large river flowing from the north-west and called by the Indians, Paranaguazu, a name formed of two words, *Paraná*<sup>6</sup> = sea, and *Guazu* = grand. This delta formed islands, one of which was called Isla de Francisco del Puerto, after a Spaniard from the Puerto de Santa Maria, who had been left there by Juan Dias de Solis, and whom Cabot took with him, as he had learned the language of the country. His services proved invaluable.<sup>7</sup>

The two craft entered the Rio de Paranaguazu

<sup>1</sup> GOMARA, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> It was apparently in this place that in September 1527, after CABOT'S departure up the river, the Spaniards planted those 52 grains of wheat which yielded so considerably. See the legend vii, in the 1544 Planisphere.

<sup>3</sup> "Vispera de N<sup>a</sup>. S<sup>a</sup>. de Agosto" (RAMIREZ).

<sup>4</sup> Diego GARCIA met him there in command in 1528.

<sup>5</sup> We continue to follow OVIEDO.

<sup>6</sup> SANTA CRUZ writes "Paraana."

<sup>7</sup> DIAS DE GUZMAN says that 60 men, commanded by Diego DE BRACAMONTE (?) were left in the fort of Sancti Spiritus. According to the same doubtful authority, the number was afterwards raised to 110 men, under the command of Nuño DE LARA (?). As we have stated, these names are very doubtful.

by the largest mouth, and, at a distance of thirty leagues from Sanct Lazaro, arrived at a river, the Rio de los Guyrandos, so named from the tribe of Indians who dwelt on its banks. These were great hunters, and so fleet that they caught the deer on foot.

Thirty leagues farther, they entered the river called Rio Carcaraña,<sup>1</sup> landed and began to construct a number of wooden houses, and a fort made of clay and straw, in which the provisions and goods for barter were stored. This was the fort Sancti Spiritus.<sup>2</sup>

On Tuesday, Christmas eve, December 24th,<sup>3</sup> after leaving the fort in charge of Gregorio Caro<sup>4</sup> (Ramirez), Cabot resumed his exploration. He went down the Rio Carcaraña, re-entered the Paraná-guazu, which he ascended with the two craft, and on the 1st of January 1528 arrived at an island which on that account was named Isla de Año nuevo (Ramirez).

If we understand Ramirez correctly, it was from the Isla de Año nuevo that Cabot sent a party of thirty-five Spaniards under the command of Miguel Rifos to chastise a tribe of Indians who

<sup>1</sup> "El Rio Tercero de Cordoba toma el nombre de Carcarañal despues de juntarse con el Saladillo." DE ANGELIS, *loc. cit.* AZARA calls the part of the river which corresponds with the Carcaraña "Rio Tome." The English maps call it "Rio Quarto." As to the name of Carcaraña, according to Dias DE GUZMAN, (*op. cit.*, p. 22), it was that of the cacique of those regions. DE ANGELIS, on the contrary, says that "Carcara" is the name of a bird of prey, and that "Carcara-na" means the River of Carcaras.

<sup>2</sup> There is a small sketch of that fort in RIBEIRO's mappamundi, with the following inscription :

"Esta tierra descubrio Juhan de Solis en el año de. 1515 ; o. 16. donde acra esta Sebastian Gaboto en una casa fuerte que allí bizo. esta muy despuesta para dar pan y vino en mucha abundancia el Rio es muy grandisimo y de mucha pescaria. cren que ay oro y plata en la tierra a dentro:— This country was discovered by Juan de Solis in the year 1515, or 1516. There Sebastian Gaboto now is, in a fort which he constructed. It is quite capable of yielding bread and wine in great abundance. The River is extremely large, and contains quantity of fish. It is believed that gold and silver can be found within the land."

The mistakes in the facsimile are corrected.

<sup>3</sup> "Vispera de Navidad, veinte y tres de diciembre." (RAMIREZ.)

<sup>4</sup> CARO was in command of the fort when GARCIA arrived there in 1528.

were threatening. After routing them,<sup>1</sup> Rifos is said to have returned with considerable booty. This can only mean that he brought a large stock of provisions, consisting probably of grain or nuts and dried fish, for these Indians possessed scarcely anything else.

Having re embarked, the Spaniards continued to ascend the Paranaguazu, passing the mouths of the following rivers :

Rio de los Carcaraes,  
 Rio Timbuz,  
 Rio Janaez,  
 Rio Colchinar,  
 Rio de los Emecoretaes,<sup>2</sup>  
 Rio Poblado.

The latter river watered the region inhabited by the Indians called "Nyingatues" (Ramirez). Then came the Rio Hepetin, which is doubtless the "rio barriento," or "blocked up river" of Ramirez, as well as the "Rio de le piti" of Ribeiro. Soon afterwards, the Spaniards came in sight of a large river flowing apparently from the north-west, and, as it seemed to them, from Peru, which was the country they were in search of, believing it to be wonderfully rich in mines of precious metals. Leaving therefore, on their right, the Paranaguazu,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> RAMIREZ relates that the Indians who were vanquished on that occasion, were accustomed to cut off a finger whenever they lost a son. AZARA says of the Mimianes, that their wives amputated themselves a finger joint on the death of their husbands.

<sup>2</sup> We are not sure whether the order in which those rivers are mentioned is exact, and if one or two were not seen and noted before reaching the "Isla de Año nuevo."

<sup>3</sup> When the Spaniards arrived at the confluence of the two rivers, they did not continue to navigate in the Paranaguazu, from which they would have certainly returned, on seeing that the

river ran in the direction of Brazil. When in 28° 30', CABOT could not but see the elbow formed there, and was under no obligation to follow the stream on his right. HERRERA merely says: "A cabo de docientas leguas llegó á otro rio, al qual llaman los Indios Paraguay, dexó el rio grande a mano derecha, pareciendole que se iba declinando hazia la costa del Brazil." It seems that, according to AZARA, the Indians of that region called the river "Payaguay," or "the river of Payaguas," meaning that they were the only Indians who navigated the river through its whole extent.

which in that latitude forms an elbow and commences running eastward in the direction of Brazil, the two craft entered the Paraguay, on the 31st of March 1528.<sup>1</sup> According to Cabot's calculation, they had navigated from the Rio Carcaraña, one hundred and fifty leagues.

Martin Vizcaino and the carpenter Orosco then desert, in search of food, enter the house of an Indian, rob him of his canoe, and compel two natives to row them to the tribes of the Carcaraes and Timbus.

Cabot sends a party of friendly natives after these two sailors. They are caught, tried, and Martin Vizcaino is sent to the gallows. His head having slipped from the noose, he is hanged a second time.

Higher up the river, Francisco de Lepe, urged by the pangs of hunger, conspires with others to seize one of the ships and escape. He is betrayed, tried, and also executed.

Ten leagues farther, in Paraguay, the Spaniards note a very rapid stream, called by the Indians "Ipiti," not, as one might think, the above mentioned "Hepetin," or "de le piti," but the Rio Hipihi of Oviedo. Ten leagues still farther, the two craft cast anchor in a creek or laguna, which Cabot named Baya de Santa Ana. Oviedo says that at the entrance there is an island, in which the Spaniards remained a few days, being hospitably received by an Indian chief, called Jaquaron, who showed them ornaments of gold and silver obtained

<sup>1</sup> RAMIREZ says that CABOT reached the mouth of the Paraguay, March 31st, 1528. Twenty or thirty leagues farther, he makes him stop at the Puerto de Santa Ana, and leave the place March 28th. That date is evidently erroneous, as CABOT was still at the entrance of the Paraguay March 31st. Besides, the days of St. Lazarus, after whom the place was

named, occur February 11th and 23rd, and April 12th. Nor can the name of Santa Ana guide us, as the days named after these saints are in July, August, September, and October.

Dias DE GUZMAN calls it "la laguna de Santa Ana o de Ibera." CABOT's map, inscribes behind a recess: "Santana."

by way of exchange with another tribe of the name of "Chandules" (Ramirez). This, of course, could not but confirm Cabot in the idea that he was on the road to Peru.

Hernando Calderon having caught Lorenzo de la Palma stealing some provisions, orders him to be whipped, and to have his ears cut off.

Cabot sends ashore from the galliot a number of men in quest of food. One of them, a calker, called Avoça, does not return. Fearing that he may be lost in the thickets, great efforts are made to find him, but in vain.

Continuing to ascend the Paraguay, they arrived at the Rio Ethica,<sup>1</sup> sixteen leagues beyond the Bay of Santa Anna. The brigantine, under the command of Gonzalo Nuñez de Balboa, was ahead, in quest of food. Twenty leagues onward, Rifos and the thirty Spaniards on board that ship, allured by friendly signs from the Indians<sup>2</sup> on the banks of the river, went on shore, and followed them to their huts. They were treacherously attacked, losing eighteen men killed outright, besides eight or ten wounded, among whom was Montoya. Without taking time to bury their dead, the survivors hastily retreated on board, and went down the stream to apprise Cabot, who was on the galley, of the sad event. They returned together to Carcaraña.

<sup>1</sup> OVIEDO places at 20 leagues beyond Santa Ana, a "Rio de la Traycion." We are unable to ascertain whether that name was given to recall the attack of the Indians, which he says took place "20 leagues from Rio Ethica," that is, 36 leagues from Santa Ana according to his own calculations, or as an allusion to the affair of Francesco DE LEPE.

<sup>2</sup> RAMIREZ calls those Indians "Aguales." They are the "Agaces" of OVIEDO. According to AZARA, the natives of that region were divided into two branches; one, called "Cadigue,"

the other, living farther north, was named "Agaces" by the Spaniards, from the name of their cacique, "Magache," which they misspelled. They are said to be the present "Siacuas," or "Tucumbus," located between 21°-25°, and apparently the tribe that HERRERA (iii, 260) says tilled the ground. OVIEDO describes them, however, as living by hunting and fishing, and as possessing many boats. The description which HERRERA gives of the fight is somewhat different.

Undaunted, they prepared an expedition to go in greater numbers to chastise these Indians, who were the "Agaces." The brigantine and the galley started together from the fort and again went to the Bay of Santa Ana.

As before this time the documents do not mention either that tribe of Indians, or previous murders committed by them, we are inclined to believe that the following account from Ramirez refers not to the above event, but to another, which we assume to have taken place upon Cabot's return to that region.

"The Spaniards," says he, "endeavoured to make peace with the Agales (*sic*), and were at first well received; but as these Indians feared punishment for the murders which they had committed, they treacherously slew the lieutenant of the brigantine, Miguel Rifos, with several of his companions. The others returned sadly to join the galley, which followed at a certain distance, and with difficulty, owing to the state of the river."<sup>1</sup>

When Diego Garcia, who commanded the expedition fitted out by Hernando de Andrada's company<sup>2</sup> for the special purpose of exploring the Rio de la Plata, arrived at Sancti Spiritus, in March or April 1528, he had the following conversation with Gregorio Caro, who was in command of the fort:

"From the Indians," Garcia says, "Caro had learned that his captain, Sebastian Gavoto, had been defeated higher up the river and lost many men. He begged of me if in the course of the discoveries which I was about to undertake, I happened to find any of his men, to ransom them [from the Indians], and he would pay me back. He also appealed to my pity that if his captain had been killed, not to leave his body on the banks of the river, but bring it back with me, and that by complying with his request, I should be doing a thing agreeable to God and to Your Majesty."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Revista Trimensal, loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, lib. x, cap. 10

<sup>3</sup> Report addressed by Diego GARCIA

to CHARLES V.

i, p. 278.

Garcia left Sancti Spiritus on the eve of Good Friday, April 9th, 1528, and commenced to ascend the Paranaguazu. Cabot having been informed of his arrival in these regions, not far, it seems, from the mouth of the Paraguay, apparently in the beginning of May, came to meet him. The next morning, Garcia started without taking leave, and continued alone the exploration beyond Santa Ana. Cabot immediately returned the whole distance to San Salvador, to prepare the ship which he intended to send to Spain.

We find Cabot still at San Salvador on the 23rd of June, when he instituted a judicial inquiry in continuation of the criminal proceedings which he had initiated, as far back as 1526, against Rojas, Mendez and Rodas.<sup>1</sup> It was intended for the Council of the Indies, and to be forwarded in the ship which he was preparing to send home. This was the *Trinidad*, and she sailed on the 8th of July,<sup>2</sup> with Hernando Calderon, to whom Cabot entrusted a mission to Charles V., and Roger Barlow, who was sent to the Seville associates for the purpose of obtaining succour in men and provisions. There embarked besides more than fifty of Cabot's companions (Oviedo), taken chiefly, as we suppose, from among the sick, disabled and independent members of the expedition.

They arrived at Lisbon in the middle of October. Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, who had been dispatched to Portugal for the purpose of selling, or pawning the Spice Islands to João II., as security for a heavy loan on the part of Charles V., reports the arrival of Hernando de Calderon in a letter addressed to the Emperor, as follows :

<sup>1</sup> *Informacion hecha en el puerto de San Salvador, fecha 23 junio de 1528.* MS.

este puerto de San Salvador ques en el rio de Solis á diez del mes de julio de 1528 años."

<sup>2</sup> RAMIREZ'S letter is dated "en

“Lisbon, the 19th of October 1528.

One of the caravels that went under Sebastian Cavocto, Pilot-Major of his Majesty, has arrived at this port. On board of her is an accountant and treasurer of the said fleet, whom Sebastian now sends with news of the wonderful discoveries made by him and his people. Indeed, if what the messenger states be true, His Imperial Majesty will no longer want either cinnamon or pepper, for he will have more gold and silver than he requires.”<sup>1</sup>

We presume that the account which Roger Barlow gave to his employer Robert Thorne was very different, as the Seville associates declined to venture any more funds in the enterprise. Calderon, however, was more successful at the Court, so far as promises were concerned, for Charles V., at Toledo, in the last week of October, ordered that relief should be sent to Cabot at the expence of the Royal Treasury;<sup>2</sup> but neither men nor provisions were forwarded to La Plata, and he was left to his own resources.

Cabot seems to have spent the entire winter of 1528–1529 at the fort of San Salvador, waiting in vain for reinforcements. In the spring, he went to Sancti Spiritus, where in the course of the summer happened the sad events now to be related.

The Indians of the Carcaraña region,<sup>3</sup> encouraged by the success of their brethren of the Rio Ethica, determined to exterminate the Spaniards. To avert suspicion, they came to the fort of Sancti Spiritus and condemned the conduct of the Agaces. They seem to have convinced Cabot of their good faith, for he placed Alonso de Santa Cruz in command of the fort, and went down the river to order the caravels to be in readiness to set sail, apparently to return to Spain, having waited in vain for succour from home.

<sup>1</sup> GAYANGOS, *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iii, part ii, p. 823, No. 572.

<sup>2</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iv, lib. viii, cap. xi, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> We continue to follow OVIEDO.



He had scarcely left, when a vast number of Indians, twenty thousand, the accounts say, besieged the fort, and before night succeeded in setting fire to the building.<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards, in endeavouring to escape, had thirty three or thirty four men killed, and many wounded. The few survivors took refuge on board an impaired brigantine which was anchored close by,—necessarily Rifos' craft,—and as best they could returned to San Salvador.

This tragic event cannot have taken place before September 1529.<sup>2</sup> As soon as they arrived at San Salvador, Cabot collected his men and led them in person to Sancti Spiritus, where the bodies of their comrades were found terribly mangled, not that the Indians had mutilated them wantonly, but merely to ascertain whether their flesh was as salt, and had the same unpalatable savour noticed in the other Spaniards they had previously tasted.

After embarking the heavy guns which the Indians had been unable to carry away, Cabot and his companions returned to San Salvador, where they suffered greatly from famine. Their enemies besieged the fort closely, attacking the unfortunate Spaniards whenever they endeavoured to come out to fish in the river or to dig out roots for food. More than twenty of them, including Anton de Grajeda, were killed

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noticed that DEL BARCO CENTENERA, after 1573, speaks several times of the fort Sancti Spiritus as if still existing: "A dò està de Gaboto la gran Torre, por dò el Carcaraña se estiende, i corre." (*Argentina*, in BARCIA, pp. 6 and 45.) Later still, in 1612, DIAS DE GUZMAN likewise mentions the "Fuerte Gaboto, o de Sancti Spiritus." All modern maps constructed in that country, inscribe at the confluent of the Parana and Rio Tome: "F<sup>o</sup> de S<sup>ti</sup> Espiritu hecho p. Gaboto." It is in fact the very place where JUAN DE GARAY intended to found a city.

<sup>2</sup> On October 12th, 1529, whilst CABOT was at San Salvador, he prescribed an inquiry relative into the causes of the disaster, but before that, he had returned to Sancti Spiritus to recover his artillery. There was therefore at a time preceding Oct. 12, a trip from Sancti Spiritus to San Salvador to bring the news, a second, from San Salvador to Sancti Spiritus, and a third, from the latter place to the former, where the council of war was held. All things considered, these three trips must have taken at least one month

under such circumstances. The position was untenable, no help came from Spain, the munitions were entirely exhausted, and Cabot called a council on the 6th of October 1529, to decide whether or not they should leave the country and return to Spain. The question was decided in the affirmative.<sup>1</sup> Preparations were at once made for the departure; but before leaving, Cabot ordered, on the 12th of October, an inquiry into the cause of the disaster suffered at the fort of Sancti Spiritus.<sup>2</sup>

The first requisite for the homeward voyage was a supply of provisions, which in that part of the country, and hemmed in as Cabot's men were, could only consist of seals' flesh. To secure this, he sent thirty-four men under the command of Antonio de Montoya to the Isla de Lobos, seventy leagues south of San Salvador, in the great estuary. Cabot was to wait for him at the fort, and they were then to start together for Spain. After waiting in vain, he went on board the *Sancta Maria del Espinar*, with all the survivors, and set sail, homeward bound, early in November 1529.

His progress was extremely slow. The first time mention is made of him after rounding the Cape of Santa Maria, is not till the 19th of January 1530, when he arrived at the mouth of a river, which Garcia calls Rio de los Patos, and Cabot, Puerto de Sanct Sebastian, because he arrived there on the eve of that saint's day, which always falls on the 20th of January.

At that place, Cabot met Diego Garcia, who was also homeward bound and who describes Cabot's arrival in these terms :

“We arrived,” says he, “at a river called Rio de los Patos, which lies about 27°, and where is a good race of Indians who render great

<sup>1</sup> *Pareceres que dieron varios pilotos y capitanes en el puerto de San Salvador, en 6 de Oct. 1529 ; MS.*

<sup>2</sup> *Informacion hecha en el puerto de San Salvador, en 12 de Oct. 1529. See our Syllabus, No. LII.*

services to the Christians, and are called Carrioces . . . At the time I was there,<sup>1</sup> Sebastian Gavoto arrived in a state of starvation, and the Indians gave him to eat, and all that he and his men required for their voyage. But when about to depart he took four sons of the principal inhabitants and carried them to Spain. Three of these are now in the custody of the city authorities at Seville.<sup>2</sup> This [act of Cabot] has done great harm to that port, which is the safest, and inhabited by the best people in those parts."<sup>3</sup>

Garcia's statement is so worded as to make us believe that the meeting took place when he was on his way to La Plata, but it certainly refers to the voyage back to Spain. It is true that Garcia, who left San Vicente (24°) on the 15th of January 1527, may have reached his Rio de los Patos (27°) four days afterwards. But Cabot on the 19th of January 1527 had already suffered his great shipwreck and was then on the north-west shore of the island of Santa Catalina, where he remained three months and a half, that is, from the 28th of October 1526, until the middle of February 1527, engaged in building a vessel to replace his lost flag ship.

At San Sebastian, a Spanish priest and a Portuguese sailor, alleged to have stood in fear of bodily harm from Cabot, asked to leave the ship. The request was granted, after they had made it in writing. Some witnesses grafted on this circumstance a charge which is scarcely admissible. They said that Enrique Montes, the sailor who had rendered him such service at Santa Catalina, and never left him afterwards, on seeing the anger with which Cabot viewed the action of those two men, suggested, as a means of revenge, the abduction of the sons of the Indian chief. He hoped thereby, certain witnesses allege, to prompt the infuriated father to kill

<sup>1</sup> GARCIA unquestionably meant to write here: "que yo estava alli despues :—when I was there afterwards."

<sup>2</sup> "El Asistente de Sevilla," an official like the "Corregidor."

<sup>3</sup> Report addressed by Diego GARCIA to the Emperor.

the priest and his companion after Cabot had left. Being interrogated on this point by the Fiscal, Cabot denied the charge, but gave a singular explanation as regards the four Indians, mentioned in the narrative of Garcia quoted above. He said that a number of natives came voluntarily on board the *Santa Maria del Espinar*, and finding himself short of sailors to man the ship on the homeward voyage, he promised to give them presents if they could bring to him a mariner who was on shore. Several left in search of him, leaving four of their companions in Cabot's hands as hostages. The priest, with whom the sailor was, having sent word that being a subject of the King of Portugal he had the right to disobey the order, and the weather happening to become propitious, Cabot sailed out, taking the four Indians with him to Spain.<sup>1</sup>

We next hear of him a month afterwards, at the Puerto de San Vincente, where he seems to have come in company with Diego Garcia, who was still in command of his own ship. They were then on very good terms, judging from the fact that having heard that Francisco de Rojas had escaped from Santa Catalina and was now residing at Puerto de San Vincente, Cabot entrusted Garcia with the delicate mission of summoning Rojas to come on board the *Santa Maria del Espinar*, within six days from March 22nd, to be taken to Spain and handed over to the authorities to answer charges of a criminal character brought against him by Cabot himself.<sup>2</sup>

On the 24th of March, Alonso Gomez Varela, Garcia's notary, repaired to the house of a Portuguese named Gonzalo da Costa, with whom Rojas was staying, and served on him Cabot's summons.

<sup>1</sup> CABOT'S own deposition, *Syllabus*, No. L.

<sup>2</sup> *Requerimiento que hizo Sebastian Caboto à Francisco de Rojas y respuestas de este. Syllabus*, No. xlix.

Rojas replied that he would answer within the time allowed by law. Accordingly, on the 26th of March, he declared to Varela his positive intention not to obey Cabot's order. He gave as a reason that Cabot had forfeited all authority over him in abandoning him among cannibals, but announced his readiness to appear before the Emperor, and answer all charges which Cabot might bring against him. Meanwhile, as with the aid of Gonzalo da Costa he had built a vessel which yet required decking and calking, he demanded that Cabot should give him what was necessary to complete it, as well as two carpenters, a calker, five or six sailors, and the English pilot Henry Latimer, for the purpose of going himself in search of from seventy to eighty Spaniards, whom Cabot was said to have abandoned at Cape Santa Maria, and taking them back to Spain. Rojas added another demand which seems just. It was that the four Indians taken wantonly by Cabot, at Patos Bay (*i.e.* Puerto de Sanct Sebastian), an act which had thrown the entire region into a state of alarm, should be given up to him, that he might restore them to their country, and re-establish confidence and good feeling.<sup>1</sup> No notice was taken of these requests, and some time afterwards Rojas sailed for Seville with Garcia.

While at San Vincente, Cabot turned his attention to another matter, absolutely dishonourable and illegal,<sup>2</sup> even for those days. He did not hesitate to purchase, or allow to be purchased, on behalf of the Seville associates, who were at the same time his partners, a large number of Indians of both sexes, to be sold as slaves in Spain. He himself says that they numbered from fifty to sixty, bought on credit, to be paid

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>2</sup> PETER MARTYR characterizes a like act committed by Estevam GOMEZ in

1526, as "contra leges à nobis dictatas," *Decad.* viii, cap. x, edition of Paris, 1587, p. 602.

for on delivery at Seville, besides three or four for his own use or profit, obtained in exchange for some trifling merchandise which he had in a box, and worthless pieces of iron belonging to the ship.<sup>1</sup> Santa Cruz declared before the Fiscal that one half was paid for by Cabot with iron taken from the vessel. The insistence of the Fiscal and of the witnesses on this point, leads us to believe that Cabot considered the Indians so purchased as his own property. The others cost from three to four ducats a piece, and were sold by the Portuguese Gonçalo da Costa, Rojas' friend, who accompanied him to Spain.

Finally, Sebastian Cabot and his companions on board the *Santa Maria del Espinar* sailed out of San Vincente, but did not reach home till four months later, which indicates that they continued to range the coast of Brazil northwards, probably as far as the Bay de Todos Sanctos.

<sup>1</sup> *Informacion hecha en Sevilla en 28 de Julio, 1530. Syllabus, No. L.*

## CHAPTER VII.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT AS COMMANDER AND SEAMAN.

WE have endeavoured to describe, as far as authentic documents permit, the geographical part of that unfortunate expedition. It remains now to relate and explain circumstances, a detailed statement of which would have impeded the mere chronological narrative of events, but which require at this juncture to be critically surveyed. This also involves an examination of Sebastian Cabot's character as a commander and as a seaman.

At the outset it must be stated that the impression left on our mind after all the available evidence has been duly examined, is that in the opinion of those who in Spain, for more than thirty years, watched his progress or saw him in the exercise of his official duties, Sebastian Cabot was not a professional mariner. A number of his contemporaries, who were in a position to be correctly informed on the subject, even stated openly that not only had he never made any maritime discoveries, but that he had never even navigated. The fact is that beyond his own assertions, which stand uncorroborated thus far, and were all uttered many years after his alleged transatlantic voyages, there is not a shadow of proof, strange as it may seem, that he led or took part in any other seafaring enterprise than the expedition to La Plata.

Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, his countryman, who held frequent intercourse with him and whose

writings always betray a kind and indulgent disposition, could not avoid making the remark, as we have already said,<sup>1</sup> so far back as 1516, and without subsequently contradicting it, that there were Spaniards who denied that Sebastian Cabot had ever discovered the Baccalaos (Newfoundland), or even visited those regions. The great Alonso de Santa Cruz was doubtless one of those disbelievers.<sup>2</sup>

We have also seen that in 1521 the Twelve Livery Companies of London had lodged in the hands of Cardinal Wolsey an energetic protest against the intention of Henry VIII. to entrust to Sebastian the command of an expedition to the New World, alleging that he had never been there and that all he said on the subject was mere hearsay on his part.<sup>3</sup>

Oviedo, the Royal Chronicler for the Indies, who knew him personally at the Court, also says :

“Sebastian Cabot is competent in his cosmographical art, but entirely ignorant of the science of Vegetius, who believes that it is absolutely necessary for a commander to have in writing, and to know thoroughly all the ways and routes of the countries where he is to wage war.”<sup>4</sup>

For the observer who reads between the lines, it is evident that Oviedo considered Cabot as not possessing an adequate knowledge of the regions to which he undertook to lead ships and men, and, in going to the Moluccas, to have assumed a task for which he was not fitted. He says again :

“Cabot is competent and skilful in his occupation of cosmog-

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> SANTA CRUZ in his *Islario*, explicitly says that the Baccalaos were discovered by the father of Sebastian CABOT, without mentioning the latter as having any connection with the discovery. *Syllabus*, No. lxxxiii B.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> “Sebastian Gaboto: el qual es buena persona é hábil en su arte de Cosmographia; pero del todo ignor-

ante de aquella sciencia de Vegecio, el qual diçe assi : Al capitan conviene cumplidamente aver de escripto è muy bien sabido quantos passos é vias hay en toda aquella region donde la guerra entienda exercitar.” OVIEDO, *Historia Gl.*, vol. ii, p. 170. The quotation from VEGETIUS is in his *Institutorum rei militari*, lib. iii, cap. vi, of the Nuremberg edition of 1767.



raphy, and for constructing plane as well as spherical maps of the entire world. But there is a great difference between leading and governing men, and handling an astrolabe or a quadrant!"<sup>1</sup>

Diego Garcia, in an official account addressed to Charles V. criticizing Cabot's sailing directions on the voyage to Brazil, makes a statement to the same purport:

"That route has to be sailed over with great care and nautical knowledge, because there are powerful currents which, issuing from the rivers in Guinea, assail ships in the north-western region . . . Sebastian Gavoto did not know how to stem those currents, because he was no mariner, and possessed no nautical science . . . That navigation Seb. Gavoto could not make, with all his astrology!"<sup>2</sup>

When examining Cabot's scientific claims we shall show that Garcia's strictures were perfectly just. Meanwhile, these opinions show that in the eyes of his contemporaries, Cabot was not a navigator in the usual sense of the term. They saw in him only a theorist, but versed in cosmography and cartography. Withal, we should recollect how mysterious, chimerical and vague was the cosmographical science of that time; how vast the sphere in which its adepts ventured their imagination, and the credulity of those who listened to them. Further, it is certain that the Seville associates, who at first had been anxious to place Cabot at the head of the expedition, were soon seized with great misgivings, arising evidently from a want of confidence in his professional abilities. They wanted Rojas to be put in command, or that at least Martin Mendez, who enjoyed their confidence for having accompanied Magellan in his memorable voyage, should be appointed lieutenant general.

<sup>1</sup> "Gaboto es buena persona é diestro en su ofiçio de la cosmographia y de haçer una carta universal de todo el orbe en plano ó en un cuerpo esphérico ;

pero otra cosa es mandar y gobernar gente que apuntar un quadrante o estrolabio." *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Syllabus*, No. xlix.

Charles V. acceded to the latter wish of the Sevillian company, for reasons which require to be stated :

“The King, says Herrera, determined to give satisfaction to the representatives [of the Seville associates], who had delivered to His Majesty a memoir showing so many defects in the person of Cabot, that but for the equipment of the fleet, which was almost ready, and his strong desire that it should sail promptly, he would have given orders to desist.”<sup>1</sup>

The expression “defecto en la persona de Gaboto,” proves that the motive was not a difference of opinion concerning the object of the intended voyage, but personal deficiencies, or professional incapacity, disclosed when it was too late either to appoint another commander or to abandon the project. This interpretation is fully borne out by the answers which were made to a certain question addressed by the Fiscal at the time of the judicial inquiry, as follows :

“Whether the witness knows that when Sebastian Gaboto was appointed Captain-General of the expedition, the undertakers and their representatives seeing his incapacity, and little personal worth, endeavoured to influence His Majesty to remove him and put in his place the said Captain Francisco de Rojas ?”<sup>2</sup>

Antonio de Montoya replied in these terms :

“I know that the representatives and merchants who fitted out the expedition, made strenuous efforts to influence His Majesty to remove Sebastian Gaboto from the post of Captain-General, because they must have known that he was not the person suited for the voyage.”<sup>3</sup>

The answer of Juan de Junco is quite as positive :

“I know that the said undertakers being aware of the personal defects of Seb. Gaboto (la falta que avia en la persona), wanted him removed, and begged His Majesty to replace him by another Captain-General. And this I know because I heard the undertakers say so before the expedition sailed out.”<sup>4</sup>

Captain Gregorio Caro answered that he had heard it said by many persons, as well as by the representatives of the Company.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>, <sup>4</sup>, <sup>5</sup> These quotations are taken from the *Probanza* of Nov. 2nd, 1530.

As to his professional abilities, the following depositions of witnesses, all men moreover of character and position, demonstrate that he was considered to be incapable :

"Alonso de Montoya considers that Sebastian Gaboto is wanting in the necessary abilities for any charge ('cargo'); and his incapacity was clearly seen in his conduct of the enterprise entrusted to him, and in other respects."<sup>1</sup>

"Hernando de Calderon says that as regards the [duties of] Captain-General, and conduct of the enterprise entrusted to the said Gaboto, his management was bad, and he is not competent for [the post of] Captain-General."<sup>2</sup>

"Juan de Junco avers that Sebastian Gaboto is a man unsuited to command people, or to have charge of them."<sup>3</sup>

"Diego de Celis says that concerning Cabot's incapacity, it seemed to him that it was owing to his deficient knowledge ('poco saber') that the people who were with him lost their life."<sup>4</sup>

Another witness, Francisco Hogaçon, made a similar deposition. Anticipating in our narrative, we must likewise mention Herrera's assertion that at Santa Catalina, Cabot's crews were averse to going to the Moluccas, from fear of not being safely conducted through the Strait of Magellan,<sup>5</sup> which was still a subject of apprehension with sailors. The Spanish historian also says that in the voyage across the Atlantic, Cabot showed that he was "neither an experienced seaman nor a good leader."<sup>6</sup>

We can now understand why men of experience and social position, some of whom had been companions of Magellan whilst all enjoyed the personal esteem of Charles V., placed no confidence in Sebastian Cabot, whose science they doubted, or cared little for, and who, in their eyes, was evidently

<sup>1, 2, 3, 4</sup> These quotations are taken from the answers made to the second question in the same *Probanza*. See for all the answers our *Syllabus*, No. LI, i.

<sup>5</sup> "In efecto no pasó à la Especeria, porque ni llevaba vitualla, ni la gente le quiso seguir, temiendo de ser mal

governada en el Estrecho." HERRERA, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> "Segun la opinion de los mas plasticos hombres de mar, no se gobernó en esta navegacion como marinero de experiencia, ni aun como buen capitán." *Ibidem*.

nothing but a foreign adventurer, elevated above them merely through intrigues, vain boasts, and fallacious promises. On the other hand, here was a man, bold and certainly unscrupulous, who, relying upon the authority with which the Emperor had clothed him, could brook neither advice nor contradiction, particularly in technical matters, which is almost always the case with men who possess only theoretical knowledge. Characters so different were destined to clash, and, almost immediately, serious difficulties arose between Cabot and his officers.

The Seville associates, distrusting Cabot, had selected Mendez for the post of lieutenant-general of the expedition. Cabot strenuously opposed the choice, wishing to have his personal friend Miguel Rifos appointed to the post. Charles V., however, ratified the action of the Company, and Mendez at once assumed the duties of second in command. Cabot and his acolyte submitted grudgingly, and whilst yet in port behaved towards Mendez in such a manner, that he sent in his resignation and brought a complaint before the Council of the Indies. Cabot and Rifos were summoned to appear, and received a severe admonition from the court, with threats of severe punishment should either of them repeat the offence.<sup>1</sup> Yielding to the entreaties of Garcia de Loaysa, the president of the Council, Mendez resumed his office on the flag ship.<sup>2</sup> But the

<sup>1</sup> "Al tiempo que la armada queria partir, Seb. Caboto y su muger y un Miguel Rifos trataban muy mal Martin Mendez é no le dexaban usar el dicho su oficio, nos mandamos llamar á los dichos capitán general (Cabot) y Miguel Rifos y les mandamos que tratasen muy bien al dicho su hijo (Mendez) y que le deixasen usar libremente el dicho su oficio, apercibiendoles que si otra cosa hiciesen, serian muy castigados." Docs. of the Duchess of ALBA, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> The President of the Council of the Indies in 1526, was the celebrated Garcia de LOAYSA. PETER MARTYR, who died in 1526, had been "Consejo del Consejo," since 1524, after having been so early as 1520, "Consejo de la Junta." Unfortunately his correspondence does not extend beyond May 1525. The last Decade of that historian ends in 1526, but he does not speak of Cabot after October 1525.

squadron had scarcely sailed out, before Cabot deprived Mendez of all authority and substituted Rifos in his place.<sup>1</sup>

The instructions from the government required Cabot, when the squadron reached the Canaries, to inform his captains of the course which he had laid out for the voyage across the Atlantic. Francisco de Rojas, accompanied by his fellow officers, appeared before him at Palma, and demanded the required statement, which Cabot refused to give, alleging that he had a private understanding with the Emperor on the subject. It was then that Mendez, Rojas and other captains, drew up a petition addressed to Charles V., which, by the order of Cabot, Rifos seized and confiscated.

Cabot who had persisted in keeping to himself, contrary to royal orders, the route which he intended to take, gave orders, when off the Cape Verde islands, to sail westward, and, to the extreme surprise of his officers and pilots, continued to steer in that direction. They represented that experienced navigators took pains to avoid the winds and current which Cabot, on the contrary, seemed to court, in shaping out that westward course, and predicted that the fleet would encounter the greatest difficulties in endeavouring to round Cape St. Augustin. Their prediction was realised. When we examine the scientific claims of Sebastian Cabot, we propose to show that the route which he laid down betrayed an incontestable lack of seamanship. On the other hand, it must be stated that whether or not the sailing towards the coast of Brazil was intentional on his part, the landing in that region seems to have

<sup>1</sup> "Sin embargo . . . luego como partió l' armada, Seb. Gaboto no consentió que Martin Mendez fuese ni se llamase su teniente, mandando que

no fuese obedescido ni tenido por tal y dando el dicho cargo e poder de su teniente al dicho Miguel Rifos." Docs. of the Duchess of ALBA, p. 110.

been a necessity. The surgeon Juan testifies as follows :

“I know and saw that the fleet arrived in sight of land, and they said it was the coast of Brazil. Also that Captain Gaboto ordered the ships to continue their route, but the Portuguese vessel (viz., the *Santa Maria del Espinar*) was driven to leeward. Consequently, the Captain General and his ships were compelled to land on the coast of Brazil.”<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the loss of the flag ship at the northern entrance of the channel which separates the island of Santa Catalina from the mainland, on the 28th of October 1526, which decided the fate of the expedition.

When Cabot entered that strait, he became apprehensive of danger, and gave orders to stop. Rodas, acting pilot-major, and Grajeda, the master, insisted on going ahead. Cabot demurred, and commanded that soundings should be taken. The order was obeyed, but unskilfully. Meanwhile, the ship continued to advance, and it was while Rodas and Grajeda were still engaged in sounding, that the ship suddenly struck on a bank or rock. The surgeon Juan describes the event in the following terms :

“He saw that Anton de Grajeda, the master of the flag ship, was at the helm, and the pilot Miguel de Rodas, holding the sounding line in his hand. He was about to let it down, when the said ship struck. And it seems to the witness that as those who were in command of the ship and used the sounding line, did not sound properly, they are responsible for the loss of the ship.”<sup>2</sup>

It should be noted, however, that Cabot was on board, held supreme command, had ordered the soundings to be taken, and knew the imminent danger. It is a question therefore whether some of

<sup>1</sup> *Probanza* undated (Aug. 27, 1530?). Surgeon JUAN'S answer to question xiii, (*Syllabus*, No. LI, g).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*. Answer to question viii.

the blame may not attach to him for failing to watch the operation with proper care. Be that as it may, six competent witnesses hold him personally responsible, if not for the shipwreck itself, at least for the total loss of the vessel and nearly the entire cargo. Their opinion is based upon two facts; one, his neglecting to cast anchor, thus betraying a lack of seamanship, the other, his escaping, the first of all on board, from the ship immediately she struck, leaving no one in command.

On the first point, we have the depositions of the treasurer de Junco, and of Captain Caro :

“The ship was lost, says Junco, owing to carelessness on the part of Sebastian Gabato, as when the ship struck, he should have cast anchor from the stern, to draw her off the rock, which he failed to do.”<sup>1</sup>

Caro's deposition is also positive :

“He (Cabot) set sail between the islands where the ship was, without paying out more cable to the anchor. Continuing thus to sail, the ship struck, and was lost.”<sup>2</sup>

As regards the charge of having escaped from his ship as soon as she struck, which conduct disheartened every one on board so that they all thought only of saving themselves, the testimonies are overwhelming.

We have first the deposition of Antonio de Montoya. It is only hearsay evidence; but as the details were gathered on the spot, at the time, and are corroborated by the testimonies of a number of eye-witnesses, it may be cited here :

“The ship struck on a reef, where she was lost. And I heard the people who were on board say,—for deponent was in another vessel,—that the very moment (‘luego yncontinente’) the ship struck, Seb. Gaboto went out of her, and fled; which was the

<sup>1, 2</sup> *Probanza* of Nov. 30, 1530. Answers to question xv.

cause that the other people on board also left the ship and fled. The consequence is that the cowardice ('la flaqueza de animo') exhibited by Sebastian Gaboto, caused the total loss of the stores and provisions, or most of them, in the ship. This would have been avoided if he had not abandoned her and fled. The fact is notorious among all the people of the fleet."<sup>1</sup>

There is again the deposition of Hernando de Calderon, who was on board the shipwrecked vessel :

"I know," says he, "that the ship struck, and was lost there, and that the first person who left the ship was Captain Gaboto, with two or three, whom he took with him in a boat. That I know, because I saw it."<sup>2</sup>

He adds however, that even if Cabot had remained on board, the cargo could not have been saved.

The deposition of Captain Gregorio Caro is very explicit :

"Immediately upon the ship striking, Sebastian Gabota left and abandoned her. The ship was lost because, on seeing that Captain Gabota had left, all the people who were on board tried to escape, whilst some went in search of something to steal from the vessel. And if the captain had not run away from the ship, nothing on board would have been swamped, although the ship could not be saved. His want of courage is the cause that all was lost."<sup>3</sup>

Juan de Junco adds :

"Gaboto immediately went into a small skiff with certain men, and fled to an island. Thus was the ship lost, as there was no one to give the necessary orders."<sup>4</sup>

Garcia de Celis, Francisco Hogaçon, and the surgeon Juan all likewise declare that they saw Cabot escape in a similar manner from the flag ship.

<sup>1, 2</sup> *Ibidem.* Answers to question xvi.

<sup>3</sup> The representations of the Portuguese at Pernambuco were said at the time of the trial to have been made in

the interest of Portugal, to divert CABOT from sailing to the Moluccas.

<sup>4</sup> *Probanza* of Nov. 30th, 1530. Answers to question vii.



Cabot never even endeavoured to refute that grave charge. The witnesses on his side simply declared that after the shipwreck he made strenuous efforts to save what could be rescued from the sinking vessel. This we readily believe, although seven witnesses, including one of Cabot's own, the surgeon Juan, attribute a great share of the merit to Rojas, who worked even at the peril of his life: "poniendo a mucho riesgo su persona," to use Captain Caro's expression.

Ever since the expedition of Juan Dias de Solis, in 1515, there had been a belief current among the Europeans settled along the southern portion of the east coast of America, that the river which then bore his name but is now known as La Plata, watered a region abounding in precious metals. It was doubtless propagated by those of his companions who remained behind, although neither gold nor silver are to be found in that stream, notwithstanding the designation of "Rio de la Plata:—the River of Silver."

When Cabot arrived at Pernambuco, he listened eagerly to these reports,<sup>1</sup> and it cannot be doubted that they prompted him *then and there*, to at least ascend the La Plata, before continuing his route to the Moluccas. The proofs on this important point are positive and absolute, as the reader will see from the following testimonies:

"Antonio de Montoya knows that the Portuguese (in the Province of Pernambuco, where there was a factory of the King of Portugal), told and informed Gaboto that the Rio de Solis was very rich in gold and silver. By many signs witness was also aware, from the time of leaving Pernambuco, that Gaboto had made up his mind to go to the said river. Particularly because after leaving Pernambuco, he ranged the coast to find certain Christians who were on the said coast, according to what the said Portuguese had told him."<sup>2</sup>

"Hernando Calderon knows that in the said Pernambuco he saw Gaboto, Rifos and the factor of the place, hold frequent and

<sup>1, 2</sup> *Probanza* of Nov. 30th, 1530. Answers to question vii.

private conversations. And afterwards he learned from the factor himself, that the object of those conversations was to obtain from the factor information concerning the riches of the Rio de Solis. And from Pernambuco, witness saw how they took the route for the Puerto de Patos, where the factor had said were people well informed concerning the wealth of the said river . . . . He knows that several times Gaboto said that the factor and a pilot who was with him had given him great news about the riches in that river."<sup>1</sup>

"Diego Garcia de Celis saw when they arrived in Pernambuco that the Portuguese in the place gave them news of the quantity of gold and silver in the Rio de Solis, which the Portuguese called Rio de la Plata. And it was said then in the fleet that there was no intention of going through the Strait<sup>2</sup> [of Magellan]."

"Gregorio Caro, while at Pernambuco, saw the factor, the pilot, and other Portuguese go on board the flag ship many times and that they conveyed information concerning the great wealth of the said river. And witness having gone to the flag ship when she was near the shore, Gaboto told him: 'Captain, we are in possession of important news relative to the great riches in gold and silver which exist much nearer to us than we expected.' Witness asked him where; and Gaboto replied 'not so far even as the Strait of Magellan.' Thereupon witness answered: 'Sir, continue your voyage, and accomplish what His Majesty has ordered you to do; and that as promptly as you can. Then, if, upon your return [to Spain], after having informed the King of the riches said to be found in that river, His Majesty orders an expedition to be fitted out to explore it, I promise to join you . . .' A few moments afterwards, Gaboto called witness, and told him: 'Captain, I hope to God to take you to a little spot such as no place visited at any time by men coming from Spain ever afforded so much wealth. We won't lose our voyage, so let us pursue it.' Witness on seeing this, did not care to speak with him any more on the subject."<sup>3</sup>

When, after the shipwreck, Cabot found himself at Santa Catalina, he made inquiries for some of the Christians who, according to what the Portuguese had told him at Pernambuco, could give information concerning those supposed treasures. It was thus that he came across two survivors of the expedition of Solis, a Spaniard from Lepe, called Melchior

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Luis RAMIREZ.

<sup>3</sup> *Probanza* of Nov. 30th, 1530.  
Answer to question vii.

Ramirez, and Henrique Montes, who was a Portuguese. They informed him that in the course of a sojourn of fourteen years in the region of La Plata, they had ascertained that it was a country extremely rich in precious metals, and that in ascending a river called Paraná, there would be found gold and silver enough to fill his vessels. The interview and conversation are reported by several witnesses, one of whom, Luis Ramirez, uses these words :

“They came to speak of the great riches which was in that river . . . and that if he consented to explore it, we could freight our ships with gold and silver ; because it was certain that after sailing up the Rio de Solis, we would reach a river called Paraná . . . Further, that the said Rio Paraná, and others which flow into it, border upon a mountain much frequented by Indians ; and that in the said mountain, there are many kinds of metals, as well as a great deal of gold and silver.”<sup>1</sup>

The fabulous description which those two men gave of Indians bringing such great treasures from mountains situate beyond the sources of the Paraná and its tributaries, led Cabot to believe that the country referred to was Peru, the mineral wealth of which, it seems, was already known by the Spaniards in Brazil, although in 1526 Pizarro had as yet hardly penetrated into the Peruvian region.

Montes and Ramirez offered to show Cabot the way to that El Dorado ; and it was a belief in their assertions, and what he had been told at Pernambuco by Manoel de Braga, the Portuguese factor, much more than the loss of the flag ship and the greatest part of the stores and ammunition, which induced him to forego the voyage to the Moluccas. The evidence which we have already quoted, as well as the following declaration from Cabot's most reliable witness, prove the fact beyond a doubt :

“Master Juan, surgeon, knows that after the said Portu-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.* Answer to question xix.

guese gave Seb. Gaboto the information concerning the Rio de Solis, called by them de la Plata, and how in the Bay de los Patos there were two Christians, the one called Enrique Montes, the other, Melchior Ramirez, who would give him more ample details, Gaboto went in search of those two Christians, and after consulting with them, ordered the voyage to the said river."<sup>1</sup>

Cabot's principal officers, Rojas and Caro, were energetically opposed to such a course, but he was bent on carrying out his project notwithstanding, and resorted to nefarious acts, which we have now to relate.

Rojas was attentive to the wants of his men, especially at a time when so many of them were suffering from the climate and privations. Cabot interpreted these attentions as efforts to gain popularity among the crews and supplant him in the command of the expedition. He had also never ceased to brood over the treacherous designs alleged to have been formed against him by Rojas, Mendez and their friends at Palma. He thought the moment propitious to get rid of Rojas, and, under the most flimsy pretext, had him again arrested, and confined on board the *Santa Maria*. The deposition of Captain Caro, who was in command of the ship at the time is conclusive on this point :

"I have heard that Captain Rojas had ordered the steward of the *Trinidad*, called Juan Miguel, who was formerly steward of the flag ship, to give out a little wine for a man who was sick in bed, and afterwards died. The steward refusing, Rojas repeated his order, adding that it was given by virtue of the authority as Captain of the ship, which His Majesty had conferred on him. The steward replied that the Captain General (Gaboto) had directed him not to give anything whatever ordered by Rojas, unless first ordered by the said Gaboto. Thereupon, Rojas was said to have retorted 'Acknowledge me to be captain of the ship for His Majesty!' To which the steward replied that he knew no other captain of the ship except Seb. Gaboto. Rojas then commanded him, in the name of His Majesty, to give that wine. The steward

<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, document cited in his *Biblioteca Maritima*, vol. i, p. 30.

again refused, and Rojas threatened to have him punished in Spain for disregarding orders given in accordance with the commands of His Majesty. The steward having denounced Rojas to Gaboto, and brought witnesses to substantiate his complaint, Rojas was arrested. Witness is not aware, nor did he ever hear, that Rojas had done anything to be arrested, except ordering the wine to be given as aforesaid."<sup>1</sup>

This deposition is corroborated by the testimonies of Hernando Calderon, Montoya and Santa Cruz. The latter, while still on board Cabot's ship at Puerto de San Vincente, even had the courage, besides, to make an affidavit to the effect that Cabot had ill-treated Rojas for no other reason than his having disapproved the expedition to La Plata, and urged, instead, that it should go to the Moluccas and rescue Loaysa, according to the instructions given by the Emperor.<sup>2</sup>

There is, however, a circumstance which must be stated at this point, for it was interpreted by Cabot as an attempt at mutiny on board the *Trinidad*. But there is no proof whatever that Rojas and Mendez were privy to the alleged rebellion. The only evidence is the following :

"Master Juan only knows that as in the caravella they were weighing anchor and setting sails, the people being ashore, he asked the reason, and was told that an attempt had been made to rebel in that ship. But he neither saw, nor heard say who were the parties who wanted to rebel. Afterwards, he was informed that Captain Gaboto had blamed Bautista de Negro [n], the master of the *Trinidad*, on account of the said anchor and sails."<sup>2</sup>

None of the other witnesses summoned by Cabot, viz. : Juan Griego, Andres de Venecia, Marcos de Venecia, Pedro de Niza, Francisco Cesar, and Alonso de Valdiviese, confirmed the allegation. In fact, they seem to have ignored the pretended mutiny altogether.

<sup>1</sup> *Probanza*, undated. Answer to question viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Probanza*, of Nov. 30th, 1530. Answers to question xx.

When on the point of leaving Santa Catalina to take the route towards the Rio de la Plata, notwithstanding the remonstrance of his principal officers, who, in obedience to the King's orders, wanted that the route to the Moluccas should be resumed, there happened a grave event, which we now proceed to relate in the words of trustworthy and reliable witnesses :

"Juan de Junco says that it is true that Gaboto ordered Francisco de Rojas and Mendez to be taken out [of the ship] under false pretences. His chief alguazil came with certain people in a boat, and compelled them to leave their bed although they were so ill as not to be able to stand on their feet. The chief alguazil told them that they had to follow him into the boat, to go and speak with the Captain-General. In reply, they begged him for God's sake to wait until the fever they suffered from had abated. He replied that they must obey at once ; and with the aid of some men, they entered the boat. As it was leaving the ship and steering towards the island inhabited by Indians, Rojas and Mendez commenced to sob, saying that they were taken to Indians who would eat them ; and begged to be brought into the presence of the Captain. But they were landed in the island . . . Witness was on board and saw them arrested, which was by the order of Captain Gaboto."

"Diego Garcia de Celis, speaking of his own knowledge says that the Chief Alguazil removed Rojas and Mendez from the ship of Captain Caro, although suffering from a fever. That they went, crying, demanding justice, and protesting against the bad treatment and harm Gaboto inflicted on them."<sup>1</sup>

The subterfuge to entice Rojas and Mendez from the ship without resistance as well as the details of the deportation are confirmed even by one of Cabot's own witnesses :

"Luis de Leon says he saw how they came on board the *Santa Maria*, where Captain Caro, Mendez and Rojas were. The Chief Alguazil [Gaspar de Ribas] told them that the Captain-General [Cabot] wanted to speak to them. They then went in a boat with the Chief Alguazil, who took them to the land, Mendez and Rojas

<sup>1</sup> *Probanza*, of Nov. 30th, 1530. Answers to question xx.

imploring God for justice. And this took place in the port of Santa Catalina, which is inhabited by Indians, not by Christians.”<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the occurrence, Cabot explained his conduct to certain witnesses only on the plea that Rojas had used unwarranted language to the steward, and that Miguel de Rodas (who was banished at the same time) had been the cause of the shipwreck. To Captain Caro he gave another reason, which is stated in the following extract :

“When Rojas had been arrested, witness (Caro) went to the Captain-General, and told him : ‘Why, Sir, because a captain has had a quarrel with a steward, relative to a little wine which he wished to be given to a very sick man, you have him arrested!’ Cabot replied that such was not the cause of his arrest ; and gave as a reason that it was in consequence of evidence furnished against him by four witnesses to the effect that he deserved to be torn to pieces. Witness went several times to Gaboto on behalf of Rojas and Mendez asking that they might be heard, but in vain.”<sup>2</sup>

To the Fiscal, Cabot said that Mendez and Rodas conspired against his life : “conspiraban su muerte” ; but he only referred for evidence to the *ex parte* statements sent to Spain in 1528. The pretext alleged by Cabot to palliate his conduct makes it incumbent on us to mention the reason for these high handed measures.

According to him, it seems that while in Palma, the Prior of the Convent of San Francisco informed him that Rojas had disclosed, in an auricular confession, a secret meeting held at Seville in the monastery of San Pablo by Rojas and other officers of the squadron, where a solemn oath had been taken to unite and stand by each other under every circumstance. This Cabot viewed as a conspiracy to deprive him on the high seas of his command and even to murder him after placing Rojas at the head of the expedition. Santa

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.* Answer to question xix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.* Answer to question xi.

Cruz says, that instead of fastening the charge,—whatever its real character may have been,—on the actual parties, Cabot brought the accusation against the men in the fleet whom he hated most; viz.: Martin Mendez and his brother Fernando, Alonso de Santa Cruz, Miguel de Rodas, Otavian de Brene, and Camacho, son of Dr. Morales, together with Francisco de Rojas. Learning afterwards that the same individuals frequently met at the house of Santa Cruz, who was ill at Palma, Cabot became still more convinced of the reality of the plot, but dissembled, and without uttering any complaint, gave orders to weigh anchor.

When the squadron arrived at Pernambuco, Cabot instituted a secret inquiry into the proceedings at Palma, and immediately, without alleging proofs or reasons, without even giving them a chance to be heard on their own behalf, ordered Rojas, Mendez and others to be confined in the *Santa Maria del Espinar* as prisoners. A few days afterwards, however, Cabot sent for Rojas, and a scene took place which must be described in the words of the chief witness :

“A few days after Gaboto had caused Rojas to be imprisoned in the ship, he sent for him and for the witness (Caro), and in his presence and that of the notary Martin Ybañez, after putting a question to Rojas and having elicited an answer, set him free and dismissed the charge on which he had been arrested. Cabot then told Rojas to continue to serve His Majesty as he had done heretofore, and better still if possible, and sent him back to his ship. The same day he invited Rojas to dine with him.”<sup>1</sup>

Cabot nevertheless did not cease to brood over the imaginary wrong. As Junco remarked, he was of a revengeful disposition. This is shown by what we have just related, where he is seen to have deported Rojas at Santa Catalina on the plea of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.* Answer to question ix.



pretended attempt at murder, which he had apparently forgiven and absolved a short time previous at Pernambuco. Cabot then revived the accusation; but Santa Cruz affirms, and his character is above suspicion, that none of the witnesses upon whom Cabot claimed to rely, ever testified to anything of a reprehensible nature. And the truth is that the depositions on his behalf do not mention any fact or circumstance calculated to sustain the odious charge. Anton Falcon, Francisco Cesar, and Alonso de Valdiviese, who were the witnesses produced by Cabot on that point, only spoke from hearsay, or public rumor.

Impartiality prompts us likewise to examine in the same light the counter-charges brought by Rojas against Cabot; for instance, that he had posted two men to stab him. This also rests altogether upon hearsay, and that even at third hand. Thus Caro declares that he heard Santa Cruz state that Alonso Bueno said in his presence that Cabot urged him and Francisco Cesar to commit the deed. Montoya quotes Bueno, Celis cites Caro, while Junco gives Santa Cruz as his authority, both Caro and Junco, however, basing their statement also on Bueno, who was not, in our opinion, an honest man. Withal, it is worthy of notice, that we find his allegation corroborated by the testimony of the surgeon Juan, albeit this is likewise hearsay.

“Juan declares to have heard Francisco Garcia, the priest of the fleet, say that Alonso Bueno and Peraça, being on board the flag ship, once bound themselves by the order of Cabot to stab Francisco de Rojas.”<sup>1</sup>

Afterwards, the mother of Mendez accused Cabot, and even Cabot's wife, of having attempted to

<sup>1</sup> The answer is ambiguous. We do not know whether witness means to say that BUENO and PERAÇA were on board by the command of CABOT, or whether it was by his order that they were to stab ROJAS.

assassinate one of her sons and poison the other. But the Council of the Indies took no further notice of those reciprocal accusations, evidently uttered in the heat of passion, and, as we believe, groundless, both on the one side and the other.

In the present inquiry, a very important fact to consider is that the evidence produced against Cabot, and analysed in the foregoing pages, rests upon the testimonies of the leading officers of the squadron, and of gentlemen on board, none of whom, so far as we can see, had any personal motives for charging him with crime, or misdemeanor. Moreover, the depositions of all those parties form a well connected chain, even with some of the evidence presented by Cabot on his own behalf. The dispassionate tone of the statements, although relating to such facts as the commander being the first to abandon his ship in the hour of danger, or dragging from a sick bed men like Rojas and Mendez to deport them among cannibals, without trial and without due cause, would alone evince the truth, if the information which we possess relative to the private character of these witnesses had not been sufficient.

To the biographical details already given, when describing the members of the expedition, we must add the following personal facts.

Hernando Calderon, the representative of the Royal Treasury in the fleet, enjoyed the confidence of Cabot to such a degree that he entrusted him in 1528 with a mission to Charles V., for the purpose of explaining the state of affairs and obtaining succour from the government. Captain Gregorio Caro never ceased to possess the esteem of his chief, who placed him in command of Fort Sancti Spiritus; and the efforts which he made to send Garcia to the rescue of Cabot in Paraguay, show that he deserved the trust placed in his character

and abilities. It was also Caro, the ablest captain in the fleet, who commanded the ship which brought back to Spain Cabot and the survivors of the expedition.

The surgeon Juan, and Luis de Leon were witnesses produced by Cabot himself.

These, at the outset, are four witnesses whom he is debarred from challenging. The rest were summoned by the Fiscal, but are certainly worthy of confidence.

Diego Garcia de Celis was one of the noblemen recommended by Charles V., who, on his return from La Plata, appointed him "Official Real" of Guatemala, a very high judicial office, which he still held in 1537.

Antonio de Montoya was a relative of Gaspar de Montoya, a member of the Council of the Indies (1528-1538), and controller of the *Trinidad*, which is a post implying a character for honesty.

Alonso de Santa Cruz, at that time twenty-four years old, but who was soon to be appointed Royal Cosmographer, then Cosmographer-Major, and enjoy the reputation of being the greatest Spanish savant in the art of navigation: "mathematicarum omnium artium peritissimus,"<sup>1</sup> was a man of good birth, stern, but of a lofty disposition.<sup>2</sup> Juan de Junco was an Asturian nobleman, the son-in-law of Vazquez de Ayllon, extremely honest, and of whom Oviedo, who knew him personally, speaks in the highest terms.

Diego Garcia, on whom Biddle and other apologists of Sebastian Cabot bestow much abuse, for no other reason than that of having criticized Cabot's sailing directions quaintly, but very justly, as we intend to show, was a Portuguese, settled in

<sup>1</sup> Answer to question ix.

vol. i, p. 47. *Discovery of North*

<sup>2</sup> ANTONIO, *Biblioteca Hisp. Nova*; *America*, p. 736.

Moguer, who commanded in chief the squadron equipped at the cost of Fernando de Andrada, Christoval de Haro, Ruy Basante and Alonso de Salamanca, to explore the Rio de la Plata, which he is even said to have ascended so early as 1512. The fact that the authorization was granted under the condition that Garcia should take with him a party of pilots, to teach them how to navigate those seas, proves that reliance was placed by the government on his professional ability. Barcia calls him "marinero insigne."<sup>1</sup> He seems also to be the Diego Garcia who in 1538 commanded one of the ships of the expedition of Hernandez de Soto, and to be the discoverer of the Isla de Diego Garcia in the Indian seas.<sup>2</sup> Nor should we forget that he hastened to the help of Cabot in the Paraguay, when informed by Caro that he had suffered a bloody defeat, and was in great danger from the Indians; and that afterwards Cabot entrusted him at the Puerto de San Vincente, with the task of notifying Rojas to come on board the *Santa Maria del Espinar*, to be carried to Spain as a culprit.<sup>3</sup>

As to Luis Ramirez, perhaps it will be objected that his valuable letter contains no censure of Cabot's conduct. But, neither do we find in his narrative a single word of praise or approbation, although they passed together through terrible trials. On the other hand, we know positively that Calderon and Barlow had been enjoined by Cabot to break the seals, and read all the letters which they carried to Spain,—one of which was that of Ramirez,—and

<sup>1</sup> "Es hombre de crédito y há muy bien servido á su rey en estas Indias, y trabaxado todo lo posible con su persona, sirviendo á su príncipe y padeciendo y comportando como varon de buen ánimo." OVIEDO, lib. xxiii, cap. v, vol. ii, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> CARDENAS Z CANO (viz. BARCIA),

*Ensayo Chronologico par la historia de la Florida*, 10th leaf.

<sup>3</sup> CESPEDES, *Regimiento*, fo. 133, speaks favourably of "Diego Garcia, Piloto da Burgalessa," who accompanied Jorge DE MELO in his second voyage to the East Indies, in 1545, and who may be the same.

that from fear of being treated like Mendez, no one dared inform His Majesty of what had taken place during the voyage.<sup>1</sup>

Against these overwhelming testimonies, Cabot only puts forward his own assertions (which we reject, just as we do those of Rojas himself because both are interested parties) and several witnesses who certainly cannot be set up against such men as Calderon, Junco, Santa Cruz, Caro, and others, already named. The deponents in favor of Cabot are nearly all ship boys, or sailors before the mast, two thirds of them, Italian, Greek or Hungarian,<sup>2</sup> whose depositions are vague, or merely based upon hearsay, and in no instance of such a character as to outweigh the testimonies produced on behalf of Mendez and Rojas. Nor do their declarations apply at all to the principal charges brought against Cabot, which were deemed true and proven by the Council of the Indies in four judgments, two of them rendered on appeal.

The persons put on shore with Francisco de Rojas and Martin Mendez, were the latter's brother Fernando, Miguel de Rodas, Christoval de Guevara, Otavian de Brane (?), the cooper Juan de Arzola, Gomez Malaver, the Genoese Michael, and, it seems, other members of the expedition. The place of exile was not an "Isla de Patos," which does not exist, unless it be a name also given to the island of Santa Catalina, but the part of the latter where the squadron had remained after the shipwreck. These unfortunates were enjoined not to go beyond twenty leagues of the place;<sup>3</sup> but they cannot be said to have been left entirely destitute. Their wearing apparel, with some fire arms, gunpowder and two

<sup>1</sup> *Syllabus*, No. LI d.

<sup>2</sup> Deposition of Gregorio CARO, *Syllabus*, No. LI i.

<sup>3</sup> Andres DE VENECIA, Marcos DE

VENECIA, Pedro DE NIZA, Juan GREGO, &c., Anton FALCON, "grumete."

small casks of wine were delivered to them. Cabot also commended the exiles to the cacique of the place, who was called Totavera.

As to the Indians who lived there, they were certainly cannibals. Cabot says that they only ate their prisoners. But the surgeon Juan and a number of witnesses assert that these Indians were not so discriminating in their taste for human flesh:

“Master Juan says that he knows that the Indians of the country, where the parties mentioned in the question were abandoned, eat human flesh, that they killed several Christians, and ate them.”<sup>1</sup>

Withal there is no evidence that these natives maltreated the Spaniards whom Cabot left with them in the island of Santa Catalina. Rojas succeeded in escaping to San Vincente, Fernando Mendez died of sickness, whilst his brother Martin and Rodas were swamped at sea whilst trying to reach Rio de Janeiro in a boat. Guevara, Arsola and Malaver were still living among them in 1538.

Cabot, now free to act according to his own wishes, took on board the two sailors from the fleet of Solis and put to sea, in search, under their guidance, of the wealth which he expected to find on the banks of the Parana.

The three ships, viz.: the *Santa Maria del Espinar*, the *Trinidad*, and Rifos' brigantine, together with the galliot constructed at Santa Catalina, recommenced their coasting southward, and continued until they reached the great estuary of La Plata. There is no proof that from this time Cabot failed to conduct himself as a competent and energetic commander. On the contrary, so far as we know, for the question was not raised when he

<sup>1</sup> CARO's answer to question xxi. The Cacique was probably commissioned to watch over the exiles; CABOT fearing their return to Spain.

was tried before the Council of the Indies, Cabot behaved gallantly, and maintained to the last the strictest discipline.

In that expedition the all-absorbing thought was to avoid starving to death, as the country afforded few resources, and, since the shipwreck, their provisions were scanty. Cabot had given strict orders that his men should not absent themselves under any pretence whatever; justly apprehending that they might be lost, or killed by hostile natives. A number of sailors from the galley determined nevertheless to go in search of food, secretly, with some Indians who had joined the expedition and were also suffering the pangs of hunger. Luis de Leon, one of the party, betrayed his companions. Cabot ordered all of them to be tried for desertion and sent to the gallows the promoter of the deed, one Francisco de Lepe, who was even hanged twice. Further up the river, another, called Martin of Biscay, was also executed. These two men were deserters from Acuña's ship, who had been embarked by Cabot at Santa Catalina. The sailors who came with the latter from Spain, fared, as a rule, somewhat better. A number of them, including Sebastian Corço, and Aguirre, the Basque, had only their hands nailed to a board, or their ears cut off.<sup>1</sup> Cabot's returning, notwithstanding swarms of fierce Indians, to the fort of Sancti Spiritus to recover his heavy artillery, immediately after suffering such a bloody defeat, exhibits an unwavering firmness, which contrasts favourably with his behaviour at the time of the shipwreck.

He indeed warred against the Indians, but in self-defence; and if his men committed the grave imprudences he is reproached with, Oviedo frankly admits that the same blame attaches to all the

<sup>1</sup> *Probanza* of Nov. 30th, 1530. Answer to question xxii. Deposition of JUNCO and Casimir NUREMBERGER, *Syllabus*, No. LII.

Spanish conquerors in the New World.<sup>1</sup> The fact is that the enterprise was doomed from the start. A similar fate awaited the adventurers who followed in Cabot's footsteps. Here is an instance :

Leaving San Lucar de Barrameda with twelve ships perfectly equipped, on the 24th of August 1534 (or on the 1st of September 1535<sup>2</sup>), Pedro de Mendoza landed in the Rio de la Plata, at the island of Sant Gabriel, four months afterwards, with ten vessels and fifteen hundred men.<sup>3</sup> Crossing the estuary, he went to the place which is now the city of Buenos Ayres, of which he laid the first foundations. His object was both to explore the region to the south-west of the Rio de Solis and to reach, by ascending one of the upper tributaries, the South Sea (or Pacific), which was still believed to be attainable by that route.

The provisions soon gave out, and the famine was so great that the Spaniards were compelled to eat their dead.<sup>4</sup> An epidemic broke out amongst them, and the Indians, emboldened by the sight of their weakness,

<sup>1</sup> "Estas rotas hechas con engaño é sobre seguro, como a estos españoles acaesció con estos indios, fué culpa del capitan que llevaban, pues bastaba saber lo que avia acontecido à Solis." OVIEDO, vol. ii, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> OVIEDO relates (vol. ii, p. 181) that the fleet left San Lucar, in August 1535. HERRERA gives no date; placing only the beginning of his narrative under that year. But Ulrich SCHMIDEL, who was on board, says positively that it was on the 24th of August 1534. "In festo S. Bartholomæi, anno 1534," and that he arrived at La Plata in 1535: "Insuper Dei gratiam atque benedictionem A.C. 1535 feliciter ad Rio de Plata." *Vera historia*; Norimb., Hulsius, 1599, 4to, pp. 6 and 10. We have been unable to compare that text with the German edition, Frankfort, 1567, folio.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ulrich SCHMIDEL, the fleet was composed of fourteen

large ships, carrying 2500 Spaniards, 150 Germans, Dutchmen and a few Saxons. OVIEDO, on the testimony of Melchor PALMERO, says that the fleet left Spain with twelve ships, and 2000 men (*Hist. Gl.*, vol. ii, p. 186). Those figures are confirmed by the declarations of a priest called Diego DE LUINTIANILLA, who accompanied MENDOZA. He adds, however, that only 1500 men reached the Rio de la Plata, whilst two of the ships remained on the way, leaving only ten which went to that river.

<sup>4</sup> We read in SCHMIDEL (chap. ix), that three Spaniards having stolen a horse, killed and ate it in secret. The theft was discovered. They were tortured, and, having acknowledged the deed, sent to the gallows. The next day, three Spaniards cut off their thighs, and devoured them. Another ate the body of his own brother, who had just died at Buenos Ayres.



attacked them with fury. After numerous fights, and several years<sup>1</sup> of awful suffering, Mendoza re-embarked for Spain, but died at sea from sickness and despair.<sup>2</sup> One hundred and fifty Spaniards finally returned to their native country, but the thirteen hundred and fifty others died literally from starvation, or were exterminated by the Indians.<sup>3</sup> The fate of several expeditions which Spain sent afterwards to the Rio de la Plata, was almost as lamentable.<sup>4</sup>

When Cabot determined to abandon the enterprise altogether, and sailed out of the Rio de la Plata, he is charged with having passed the Isla de Lobos, without making an effort to reclaim the thirty-four men whom he had sent thither in quest of food. The fact is that Montoya and his companions had gone from the Lobos to another island, and thence across to the continent, near the Cape Santa Maria. As Cabot saw no signs of human beings on shore, he passed by without stopping. But Juan de Junco and Santa Cruz affirm that farther down the river, noticing columns of smoke on the mainland, they begged Cabot to tarry a while, and endeavour

<sup>1</sup> SCHMIDEL relates (chap. xiv), that MENDOZA set sail to return to Spain four years after his arrival at La Plata. If so, it was in 1539. OVIEDO gives no date, but HERRERA (*Decad.* vi, p. 78) places the death of MENDOZA under the year 1537. On the other hand, CABEÇA DE VACA (chap. i), states that CHARLES V. was informed of the sad fate of MENDOZA'S expedition only in 1540.

<sup>2</sup> If we are to believe a legend, of which, however, we find no traces either in OVIEDO, GOMARA, SCHMIDEL, or HERRERA, Pedro DE MENDOZA on the voyage homeward suffered so much from hunger, that he was compelled to eat his bitch which was with pup; and died two days afterwards with a sort of hydrophobia. The first

historian who mentions that circumstance is Ruy Diaz DE GUZMAN, in his *Argentina*, published by DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> "En la nao en que don Pedro se volvió, yban hasta çiento, y en la que acá aportó çinquenta: de forma que mill é tresçientos y çinquenta murieron en aquella tierra é provincia del rio de la Plata." OVIEDO, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> The expeditions of Juan DE AYOLAS and of Domingo DE IRALA, in the upper river, were as disastrous as those of CABOT and MENDOZA. There happened, indeed, to Antonio DE MENDOZA at Corpus Christi in 1539, exactly the same defeat which the Indians inflicted on CABOT at Sancti Spiritus just ten years before.

to save those men, who were Christians and friends and had risked their lives for the good of all. Cabot, they say, refused to listen to their entreaties, alleging that he apprehended a storm which might dash the ship against the coast. But the weather was, on the contrary, very fine, and the men on board were anxious to land for such a humane purpose.<sup>1</sup> Cabot, however, declares that not only did he stop at the Lobos, but even sent Junco, Cesar and others on shore. As to the mainland, he gives as a reason, that Indians whom he met in canoes had assured him that they had seen neither ships nor Spaniards in that vicinity, and that the smoke must have come from fires lighted by Indians. Be that as it may, Montoya and his companions were left behind, but not therefore lost. They had with them two "bergantines," by which term must be understood Rifos' caravel, and the galley. It is certain that a number of them succeeded in reaching some Portuguese settlement on the Brazilian coast a few months afterwards, as we see their leader, Antonio de Montoya, at Seville on the 2nd of November 1530, when he gave his testimony before the Fiscal.

After examining the evidence brought forward on both sides, the impartial historian cannot but ascribe to Cabot, and to Cabot alone, the failure of the expedition to the Moluccas. By changing his route and going to Brazil, he was first diverted from his object. When there, the idea crept into his mind to go in quest of imaginary treasures in the Rio de la Plata, and it was when searching for men to give him further information on the subject, that he lost his flag ship and stores.

It is evident, further, that neither the Parana nor Paraguay could lead him to Peru, and still less to

<sup>1</sup> *Syllabus*, No. LII.

the South Sea. There were besides obstacles absolutely insurmountable, arising from the warlike instincts of the Indian tribes in the upper rivers. And even if the Spaniards with their feeble resources had been able to wage war successfully against them, we do not see what profit could have been derived from their victories, as it was impossible then to plant a colony. We are rather of opinion that Cabot stood a better chance, notwithstanding the loss of the flag ship and provisions, in continuing his route to the Strait of Magellan. When in the Pacific Ocean, he could have ranged the American coast northwards, as far as some port of the Golden Castile, to which, according to instructions received from the King in 1527, Cortes had sent him succour.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. v, docs. xxxi-ii, pp. 456-59.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT RETURNS TO SPAIN.

EIGHT months after he had left La Plata, Sebastian Cabot entered the Guadalquivir, on the day of St. Mary Magdalen, July 22nd, 1530, with only one ship left, and a handful of men, all worn out by sickness or privations,<sup>1</sup> "without glory and without profit:—sin honra é sin provecho."

If we are to believe Dr. Simão Affonso, who was an eye-witness of Cabot's return to Seville, he landed "with only twenty men out of two hundred whom he had taken from Spain; the rest having died from hardship and hunger, or been killed in war."<sup>2</sup> There may not have been many more than twenty of Cabot's companions on board the ship which brought him back to Seville; but the statement relative to the death of one hundred and eighty others, is an exaggeration. In the first place, more than fifty returned with Calderon in the *Trinidad* in 1528.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it likely that the twelve or fifteen Spaniards who disembarked in 1526 at the Puerto de San Vincente where they had a chance of taking passage home in some

<sup>1</sup> "Essos que eran vivos estaban muy trabaxados é sin salud . . . Llegados à España, entraron por el rio Guadalquevir dia de la Magdalena, veynte y dos dias de jullio de mill é quinientos é treynta . . . hasta volver à España, ocho meses." OVIEDO, *Historia general de las Indias*, lib. xxiii, cap. iv, vol. ii, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Doctor Simão AFFONSO. Letter of August 2nd, 1530; published by

Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN; *Historia Geral do Brazil*; Madrid, 1854, vol. i, p. 439, note 26.

<sup>3</sup> "Por manera, que ya avian muerto los indios septenta y çinco hombres, sin los que de su enfermedades y de hambre se murieron, é sin los que en una nao destas avian enviado à España, en la qual fueron mas de çinquenta personas; é los que quedaban vivos en la tierra." OVIEDO, *loc. cit.*

Spanish or Portuguese vessel, all died in Brazil.<sup>1</sup> Again, it is certain that Rojas and several of his companions returned shortly afterwards from the Puerto de San Vincente with Diego Garcia. As to those who were left at Cape Santa Maria, our opinion is that a number managed with the bergantine, although leaky, and the galley, to reach some Portuguese settlement on the Brazilian coast, and eventually returned to Spain. At all events, such was the case with their leader Antonio de Montoya. Others who remained at the cape were rescued by Gonçalo de Mendoza in 1537.<sup>2</sup> Gomara also says<sup>3</sup> that when the ships of Alonso Cabrera entered the Puerto de Patos, in 1538, they brought three of the Spaniards abandoned by Cabot, and who had learned the language of the Indians. There were besides in that port three of Cabot's original companions, Guevara, Arsola, and Malaver. The disaster was, nevertheless, grave enough.

When Cabot landed at Seville he had with him the following survivors of the expedition :

Juan de Junco, Treasurer,  
 Henry Latimer, the English pilot,  
 Alonso Bueno, Pilot,  
 Diego Garcia de Celis, Gentleman,  
 Alonso de Santa Cruz, Supercargo,  
 Antonio Ponce, Clerk,  
 Maestre Juan, Surgeon,  
 Francisco Cesar, promoted to a command,  
 Andres Daycaga, Page,  
 Casimir Nuremberger, Passenger,  
 Francisco Hogaçon, „

<sup>1</sup> Pero Lopez DE SOUSA relates that he met in the Puerto de San Vincente, on the 5th of February 1532, fifteen Spaniards, brought from the Puerto de Patos, who said that they had been abandoned there a long time before. These were doubtless the de-

serters from ACUÑA's ship. Lopez DE SOUSA, *Diario da Navegação*, Lisboa, 1839, 8vo, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Dias DE GUZMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, lib. xc, p. 82.

Luis de Leon, Sailor,  
 Marco Veneciano, „  
 Juan Grego, „  
 Andres, of Venice, „  
 Marcos, also of Venice, Sailor,  
 Pietro, of Nice, „  
 Geronimo, of Chavarri, „  
 Miguel Martinez de Ascoitia, Sailor,  
 Alonso de Valdivieso, Sailor,  
 Fabian de Irausi, „  
 Sebastian Corço, „  
 Aguirre, a Basque „  
 Anton Falcon, Shipboy.

A short time afterwards, there came to Seville other survivors of the expedition, viz. :

Francisco de Rojas,  
 Alonso de Montoya,  
 Fernando Rodriguez.

There were besides on board with Cabot a comparatively large number of Indians, viz. :

The cacique of the Paraguay tribe called Chandules, and his three sons, whom Cabot had induced to come to Europe for the purpose of visiting Spain and learning the language ; but they do not seem to have returned to America, as there is no mention of them in the expedition of Pedro de Mendoca,

The four Indians abducted by Cabot at the Rio de San Sebastian, and

Fifty or sixty other Indians purchased at the Puerto de San Vincente for the Seville associates, with the four for himself.

There were also three Indian women, wives of the Spaniards abandoned by Cabot at the Cape Santa Maria.

The probability is that these sixty-five or seventy Indians were all soon sold as slaves at Seville.

As to the articles of value, they consisted of one

ounce of silver, a few earrings, apparently of the same metal, and a small quantity of furs and hides belonging to sailors.

We cannot dismiss the subject without inquiring whether the expedition of Cabot to La Plata was attended with any useful results whatever. So far as progress in the nautical and geographical sciences is concerned, they are scarcely worth mentioning. The entire coast of the continent of South America visited on this occasion, that is, according to our modern admiralty charts, from  $8^{\circ}$  to  $35^{\circ}$  south latitude, had been known in detail, and very accurately for the time, for at least twenty years, when Cabot set out from Spain.<sup>1</sup> The important points of the coast were even frequent stopping places<sup>2</sup> for the Portuguese ships on their way to the Indian Ocean by the Cape of Good Hope; whilst merchant men of several European nations carried on a certain amount of trade with the Brazilian ports. This is easily shown by the extensive nomenclature in the maps drawn before 1526 which have come down to us.

As to the great estuary of La Plata and the tract of country traversed by its tributaries, as well as the course of the latter, they were known in a general way, even before the expedition of Dias de Solis, since Portugal claimed a right over the entire region on the plea that it had been discovered by Nuno Manuel<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What were the remains of the garrison of the fort abandoned by CABOT, which one Eduardo PIRES is said to have brought back from the coast, and entrusted to Ruy MOSQUERA? CHARLEVOIX, *Hist. du Paraguay*, 12mo, vol. i, p. 51, and Gaspard DE MADRE DE DIOS, *Memorias para a historia da Capitania de San Vincente*, Lisboa, 1797, 4to, p. 90, quoted by Mr. D' AVEZAC.

<sup>2</sup> See the nomenclature in the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima* of our *Discovery of N. America*.

<sup>3</sup> DE VARNHAGEN, *As primeiras negociações*, p. 133, quoted by Mr. D' AVEZAC. When relating a conversation between the wife of CHARLES V. and Alvaro MENDEZ DE VASCONCELLOS, in the autumn of 1531 he cites the sentence: "que cada huma das partes averiguasse quando tinham primeiro os de cada nação descuberto o Rio da Prata; pois que por parte de Portugal fóra elle descuberto por huma armada que lá fora no tempo de el Rey Manoel, e da qual fóra por chefe hum tal D. Nuno Manuel."

and that João de Lisboa, in company with Vasco Gallego Carvalho, had led an expedition to the Rio de la Plata in 1506.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the Rio de la Plata is identical with the large river depicted in 35° lat., and named "Rio Jordan" in maps at least as early as Schöner's globe of 1520.<sup>2</sup> The estuary is amply traced in the Turin<sup>3</sup> chart, although only one of the large streams is marked, which, however, is carried north-westward to about 31°. The Weimar planisphere of 1527<sup>4</sup> depicts, as a continuation of the Rio Jordan, two very important rivers which join the main artery, as is actually the case, in 58°-60° W. longitude, and carried to mountains from which they are made to issue near the Tropic of Capricorn. These delineations, differing, however, in certain respects from the tracings in Ribeiro's planisphere, are also found in the map which we have ascribed to Nuño Garcia de Torenó,<sup>5</sup> and in the Paris Gilt Globe;<sup>6</sup> both of which, in our opinion, were constructed on geographical data anterior to Cabot's voyage. A delineation yet more convincing is that of Maggiolo's portolano of 1527,<sup>7</sup> where the great estuary of La Plata appears with its curious display of islets and shoals, as far as a Rio de San Christoval, which extends beyond the tropic.

In considering the portions of that region of which Cabot may be said to have been the earliest European explorer in 1526-1530, we first notice that he met in one of the islands formed by the delta of the Parana, a sailor, called Francisco del Puerto,

<sup>1</sup> Alexandre DE GUSMÃO, in the *Diário da Navegação de Pero Lopes de Souza*, published by VARNHAGEN, pp. 87 and 94.

<sup>2</sup> GHILLANY, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*; Nürnberg, 1853, 4to, for facsimile of SCHÖNER'S globe.

<sup>3</sup> See plate xix in our *Discovery of N. America*.

<sup>4</sup> KOHL, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860, fol.

<sup>5</sup> *Discovery of North America*, No. 211, p. 596.

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*, plate xxi.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem*, plate x.



whom Solis had left there in 1515. The latter therefore ascended to at least 34° south latitude. That forsaken Spaniard, who had been adopted by Indians living on the banks of the Parana, must certainly have followed its shores northwards during the twelve years which preceded the arrival of Cabot, and, being a seaman, supplied him with practical information.

Christoval Jaques, who had come expressly to La Plata in quest of precious metals,<sup>1</sup> is not likely to have remained among the islets in the estuary which bear his name, but doubtless carried his survey farther up the river although it is impossible to state how far he went in that direction.

Lastly, from the numerous Portuguese and Spanish ships which visited Brazil and the adjoining regions, there must have remained sailors who deserted, were shipwrecked or abandoned on shore, and joined some Indian tribes, passing from one to another, pushing their way westward and southward. In this way we can explain the unvarying tradition of Europeans having descended the great rivers of that part of the country in early times.<sup>2</sup>

Be that as it may, the maps of 1527 which we have cited confirm our remarks concerning an ex-

<sup>1</sup> "Ay otros islas dichos de Christoval Jaques que era un portugues llamado asi, que les descubrio viniendo a este rio de la plata por capitan de una carabela desde la costa de Brazil a fama del oro que se hazia aver." SANTA CRUZ, *Islario*, MS., fo. 119, verso. Besides, we see JAKES, soon after 1526, ascend the Paranaguazu, and capture in the river three French ships. VARNHAGEN, *As primeiras negociações*, p. 130, quoted by Mr. D'AVEZAC, *Considérations géogr. sur l'histoire du Brésil*, in *Bullet. de la Soc. de Géographie*, August and Sept. 1857, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Diaz DE GUZMAN, in his *Argentina*, mentions Alejo GARCIA, father

of another Alejo GARCIA (whom GUZMAN has known personally), as the first Spaniard who went down the Paraguay river, after entering it by the side of Brazil. The facts quoted belong to the year 1526. P. DE ANGELIS, *Coleccion*, vol. i. Father José GUEVARA, *Hist. del Paraguay*, also published by DE ANGELIS, p. 83, speaks likewise of that Alejo GARCIA. According to VARNHAGEN and AYRES DO CAZAL, quoted by DENIS, Alexio GARCIA senior, came probably in 1515 with SOLIS, and, remaining in the country, explored the great streams and their affluents, penetrated beyond Paraguay, and discovered the vast region called "Matto Grosso."

ploration of those mighty streams before Sebastian Cabot. As to his cartographical assertions, whether inscribed in the planisphere of 1544, or in Ribeiro's chart, they are, in that region, remarkably inaccurate. If we accept them as having originated with Cabot, then he did not know the real course of the Paraná River. They lead us to believe that both in ascending and descending that mighty stream, he constantly hugged its western shore, and passed, without seeing it, the elbow which it forms on the opposite bank, about  $27^{\circ} 30'$ . He saw, however, at that point that he was entering another river, which is really the Paraguay, as shown by the names "Santana," "Rio de la Traçon," and "Chandules," inscribed at that place in his planisphere of 1544.

Withal, we hesitate to recognise in the latter map, so far as the course of the great streams is concerned, any of the cartographical data which he brought from La Plata in 1530; much as it resembles the course set forth by Ribeiro, from information sent to him in 1528. In our opinion, that part of Cabot's planisphere was borrowed, not from his own surveys, but from the Portuguese prototype of Wolfenbüttel B,<sup>1</sup> not, however, without introducing modifications of a later date, not less erroneous. Thus Cabot traces only one river, where Wolfenbüttel B marks two, as there should be, viz.: the "Gram Rio de Parana," and the "Paragua."<sup>2</sup> With that exception, the general contexture and details of the region in both maps are very similar. It follows that Cabot explored no portion whatever of the Paranaguazu beyond  $27^{\circ} 30'$ , and probably never suspected its

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, p. 580.

<sup>2</sup> The confusion is so much the greater as the inscription "Rio del Paraguay" is placed in CABOT'S planisphere of 1544, transversally to

the river, and calculated to produce the impression that it belongs to the river flowing from east to west, which is only the "Rio Ypetin," correctly indicated in Wolfenbüttel B.





course eastward; else such a striking configuration would certainly figure on a map made by him.

Thus, if we accept the figures given by Santa Cruz in his *Islario*, and they must be exact as he was one of the party, the original exploration which can be ascribed to Sebastian Cabot amounts only to fifty-six leagues, all in the Paraguay river, viz. :

From the mouth of the Paraguay to the Ipiti,	10 leagues
From the Ipiti to Santa Ana	10 „
From Santa Ana to the Ethica	16 „
Beyond the Ethica	20 „

## CHAPTER IX.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT ARRESTED AND PROSECUTED.

IMMEDIATELY upon landing at Seville, four of Cabot's principal companions, Juan de Junco, Alonso de Santa Cruz, Alonso Bueno, and Casimir Nuremberger, repaired to the Casa de Contratacion and lodged information against their commander. Officials were sent at once to the *Santa Maria del Espinar*, where they instituted a judicial inquiry, interrogated witnesses on the 28th of July, 1530,<sup>1</sup> examined Cabot the next day, and deeming the evidence sufficient, arrested him on the spot.<sup>2</sup>

Thereupon an action was instituted in the name of the Crown, charging Cabot with having disobeyed the instructions given to him when he set out from Spain to go to the Molucca islands.<sup>3</sup>

Catalina Vazquez, the mother of Martin and Fernando Mendez, then brought suit in the name of her daughters. So did the widow of Miguel de Rodas, on her own behalf.<sup>4</sup>

On the 2nd of August 1530, Catalina Vazquez produced witnesses to prove that Cabot, Catalina Medrano his wife, and Miguel Rifos, had conspired against the life of her two sons, and were personally responsible for their violent death. Besides corporal punish-

<sup>1</sup> *Informacion hecha en Sevilla en 28 de Julio dentro de la nao Sta. Maria.* We publish the entire document in our *Syllabus*, No. LII.

<sup>2</sup> Simão AFFONSO, August 2nd, 1530, writes: "esta semana chegou aqui

Gabote . . . o piloto esta presso." VARNHAGEN, *Historia Geral do Brasil*, Madrid, 1854, vol. I, p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. v, p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> For a recapitulation of all those legal proceedings, see *Syllabus*, No. LI.

ment for the offenders, she asked, on the plea that she was a poor widow : “ *muger viuda y pobre,*” whilst Cabot was rich and favoured : “ *hombre rico y favorecido,*” pecuniary damages, to accrue however to her daughters.

Cabot replied by filing a petition to the Council of the Indies, asking that evidence might be collected relative to a charge of rebellion which he had brought against Martin Mendez and Miguel de Rodas. It was granted, and, on the 27th of August, his witnesses were heard.

Francisco de Rojas, in his turn, lodged a complaint against Cabot, and, on the 2nd of November 1530, asked leave to produce witnesses.

Cabot obtained permission to leave the jail upon giving security, on condition, however, of remaining within the precincts of the Court : “ *dada la corte por cárcel con fianzas,*” that is, they gave him the Court as a prison. In other words, he was forbidden to absent himself from Ocaña, a town of Castile, where the Council of the Indies then held its sittings.

On the 6th of October 1530, the Fiscal, Juan de Villalobos, arraigned Cabot on the charges of having committed misdemeanours, abused his authority, and caused the loss of the squadron which had been entrusted to him for the special purpose of going to the Spice Islands.

Three months afterwards, Isabel de Rodas presented to the tribunal the testimonies which she had collected to prove that Cabot was guilty of the charge she had brought against him of having been the cause of her husband's death.

The Council of the Indies, which had to try all these criminal actions, was then composed of Diego Beltrán, Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal, Juan Suarez de Carvajal, Gaspar de Montoya, Rodrigo de la Corte, Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, Juan Bernal,

Diaz de Luco, and Pedro Mercado de Peñalosa, with Garcia Fernandez Manrique, Count Osorno, as president of the Court; all of whom, it is needless to say, were personages of high character. Count Osorno presided at the Council of the Indies for seventeen years (1529-1546); Carvajal was the well-known annalist, and a statesman who enjoyed the confidence of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Charles V.; Suarez de Carvajal was the Bishop of Lugo, who became general supervisor of the Casa de Contratacion and president of the junta entrusted, afterwards, in 1536, with revising the official map of the New World &c., &c.<sup>1</sup> Position and respectability were therefore coupled with the specific knowledge required in a trial of the kind.

The first suit tried was the one brought by Francisco de Rojas, and Cabot was sentenced to one year's exile. That is, he was to be deported to some Spanish possession in Africa.

In the course of the winter, he addressed a petition to Isabella of Portugal, the Queen-Regent of Spain, to the effect that owing to his incarceration and state of health, he was in want, and unable to meet the requirements of the suits brought against him.<sup>2</sup> In consequence, on March 11th, 1531, Her Majesty ordered that he should receive, on account, 30 gold ducats, or 1250 maravedis. Two months afterwards, May 11th, she authorized the Casa de Contratacion to advance him, in addition, 7500 maravedis on his salary of Pilot-Major.<sup>3</sup>

Charles V. was then in Germany. Having been informed through the regular reports which his ministers sent him from Spain, that Cabot had been arrested, he directed, April 10th, 1531, the Council of the Indies to send him details on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, pp. 268, 632, 709, 736.

<sup>2, 3</sup> *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, pp. 429 and 451.



On the 16th of May following, the Council of the Indies replied to His Majesty in these words :

“Caboto fue preso á pedimento de algunos parientes de algunas personas, que dicen que es culpado en sus muertes, y por otros que desterró, y tambien á pedimento del fiscal, por no haber guardado las instrucciones que llevó :—Caboto has been imprisoned on the complaint of some relatives of certain persons whose death was attributed to him, and of others whom he banished, also at the request of the Fiscal, for having disregarded the instructions which he took with him.”<sup>1</sup>

A short time afterwards, Cabot was tried on Rojas' accusation, and sentenced to one year's banishment, and the payment of 20,000 maravedis damages.

July 4th, 1531, in the suit brought by the mother of Mendez, the Court, sitting at Avila, pronounced the following sentence :

“We find that in consequence of the guilt of Sebastian Cabot, as evinced on the trial, we must and do condemn him to be exiled from the kingdoms and realms of Their Majesties for one consecutive year. And we order that he shall suffer that exile in the town that His Majesty, or ourselves shall designate, to commence within sixty days next following the one year of exile to which he has been sentenced on the complaint of Captain Francisco de Rojas. And let him not fail to obey, under penalty of double the exile for the first disregard, and of perpetual exile for the second !”<sup>2</sup>

In addition, he was condemned to pay to the sisters of Mendez 40,000 maravedis and the heavy costs of the suit.

Cabot appealed from those two sentences, but the Council of the Indies, sitting at Medina del Campo, not only dismissed the appeals, but aggravated the penalties, raising them from one to two years banishment in each case.

The two sentences on appeal were pronounced

<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. v, p. 333.

*Méndez y Francisca Vázquez*, in our

<sup>2</sup> *Ejecutoria à pedimento de Isabel Syllabus*, No. LI, 1.

separately on the same day, in Medina del Campo, February 1st, 1532. They both contain the following passage :

“ We find that the sentence [in the Court below] has been justly and legally pronounced, and that notwithstanding the reasons alleged against the same, we must, and do confirm it, with this addition and declaration, however, that we must and do order that the sentence of one year's exile pronounced against the said Sebastian Gaboto, and which he must suffer in a place of our choice, is increased to two years exile, which he shall undergo in Oran, and where he will serve His Majesty at his own cost.”<sup>1</sup>

Cabot was therefore sentenced to four years banishment in a penal colony in Africa. Two of these were as a punishment for his conduct towards Rojas, and two for the cruel treatment he had inflicted on Mendez. Heavy fines, damages and costs were added in each case. The place of exile was in Morocco, where, by the wording of the last paragraph in the sentences, he was subjected besides to military duty against the Moors, his horse and arms to be purchased and maintained in proper trim at his own expense.<sup>2</sup>

His salaries as Pilot-Major and captain, together with his arrears of pay were definitively attached. Cabot opposed this proceeding, but the Queen-Regent, on the 2nd of March 1532, ordered that the damages in favor of Rojas, and of the sisters of Mendez, as well as the costs of all those suits, should be immediately paid out of the amounts due to him by the government, and if there was any thing left, then he might receive 50,000 maravedis.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Idem*, and *Sentencia definitiva*; *Syllabus*, No. LI, o.

<sup>2</sup> This aggravation of the sentence, let it be said, was a customary one in those days. Thus Luis COLUMBUS, the last descendant of Christopher COLUMBUS in the direct male line, who had been sentenced in 1565 to

ten years exile in Oran, had to maintain there ten mounted lancers. Such was also the case in 1506 with Luis CORTEZ, the illegitimate son of the conqueror of Mexico, who had been first sentenced to death.

<sup>3</sup> *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, p. 455.

Other suits, but exclusively of a civil character,<sup>1</sup> were also brought against Cabot, particularly by the Seville associates and several of his companions or their heirs. We do not know how they were decided.

<sup>1</sup> *Informacion pedida por Francisco contra Sebastian Caboto*; Segovia, Sept. Leardo y Francisco de Santa Cruz 28th, 1532. Duchess of ALBA's documents, pp. 118-120.

## CHAPTER X.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT RESUMES OFFICE.

IN the meantime, Charles V. returned to Spain. Cabot at once repaired to the Court, and laid before him a description of the La Plata country. That document which, unfortunately, has thus far eluded our researches, but which may yet be found either at Simancas or in the Archives of the Indies, has been analysed by Herrera. He even publishes an extract (apparently Cabot's own words) referring to the Indians of that region.

The report gave a glowing description of the fertility of the land, which, in certain parts, cannot be over estimated, and of its richness in precious stones<sup>1</sup> which existed but in Cabot's imagination. In fact, except on the right bank of the Paraguay, he only saw denuded plains, the Yebra swamps, and awful Chaco desert, with no valuable metals, beyond a small quantity of silver obtained by Indians in the upper country, who got it from Peru. Cabot's highly coloured account nevertheless prompted the Adelantado of the Canaries to petition the Council of the Indies for leave to explore the land,<sup>2</sup> and induced Pedro de Mendoza to fit out the expedition which

<sup>1</sup> HERRERA, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> "Hoi he tenido carta del Adelº. de Canaria que aun tiene gana de tomar la empresa del rio Parana qual tan caro me cuesta, i para ello enbie

con su criado con cartas para los Señores del Consejo." Letter from CABOT to the Secretary Juan DE SAMANO, June 24th, 1533. *Syllabus*, No. lix.

ended in one of the greatest disasters known in the annals of the New World.<sup>1</sup>

When Cabot left Spain for the Moluccas in 1526, the Emperor, according to Herrera,<sup>2</sup> continued him in the office of Pilot-Major, which, in his absence, was to be filled by Miguel Garcia and Juan Vespuccius, at least so far as examining pilots, which was the most important duty of the post. In 1527 it was entrusted to Diego Ribeiro and Alonso de Chaves.<sup>3</sup> But on the 4th of April 1528, the latter was appointed Pilot-Major,<sup>4</sup> thus superseding Cabot temporarily, for although Chaves lived until 1586, we find Cabot again in possession of the office a couple of years after his return from La Plata.

It is certain that notwithstanding the condemnations pronounced on Cabot by the Council of the Indies, Charles V. again confided to him the post of Pilot-Major. There are no traces, however, in the documents, of a pardon having been expressly granted. The probability is that the action of the Crown was tacitly stayed in the final process, for Cabot's services were evidently still deemed necessary for the discovery of the imaginary western passage.

Be that as it may, he remained at Seville, attending to cosmographical matters for the government. We see him in the spring of 1533 engaged in constructing a planisphere for the Council of the Indies.<sup>5</sup> On the 24th of June following, he wrote to Juan de Samano, its secretary, a letter which has come down to us.<sup>6</sup> In it he complains of his own

<sup>1</sup> "Pedro de Mendoza dió crédito á algunos que culpaban á los que primero avian tomado aquella empresa, é perdiéndose en ella, é prometíanle á él con sus avisos lo que no le dieron." OVIEDO, lib. xxiii, cap. vi, vol. ii, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iii, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* iv, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> "Alonso de Chaves fué nombrado

cosmógrafo, piloto mayor y maestro de hacer cartas, astrolabios . . . por Real cédula con fecha en Madrid á 4 de abril 1528." NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Marítima*, Madrid, 1851, 8vo, vol. i, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from CABOT to SAMANA, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> We republish that letter in fac simile. See *Syllabus*, No. lix.

health and that of his wife. He also laments the recent death of his daughter, and asks that one third of his salary should be paid him in advance, as he wished to repair to Ocaña to present to the Councillors a man whom he had brought from Brazil, and who could give them information about the doings of the Portuguese in that country. This doubtless refers to the recent Portuguese threat of taking possession of the Rio de la Plata.<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that in the exercise of his office of Pilot-Major, he was charged with having been guilty of acts of a reprehensible character. By a royal cedula of March 13th, 1534, the Casa de Contratacion was instructed to inquire into the right by which Cabot submitted pilots to examinations, the manner in which these were carried out, and the offences committed by him with regard to the same.<sup>2</sup>

We must assume that the charge was dismissed, since, nine months afterwards, Charles V., having enacted that pilots for the Indies should be thereafter examined concerning their professional abilities, Cabot, on the 11th of December 1534, was instructed to superintend this examination.<sup>3</sup> He thus a short time afterwards admitted as pilot the famous Juan Fernandez Ladrillero.<sup>4</sup>

In the year following, we see Cabot figuring at Seville as a witness or expert in the action brought

<sup>1</sup> Charles V. then directed VILLALOBOS, the Fiscal of the Supreme Council of the Indies, to interrogate witnesses for the purpose of showing, in opposition to a threatened attempt on the part of Portugal to take possession of the country just abandoned by CABOT, that Spain had exercised sovereignty over it since 1512 and 1515. HERRERA, *Decad.* iv, lib. viii, cap. xi, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Yo vos mando, said Charles V., que fagais ynformacion, é sepais qué derechos son los quel dicho Sebastian

Cabot a llevado e lleva por el examen de los dichos Pilotos, e cómo é de qué manera los a examinado e examina, e qué delyxencias son las que face en los tales examenes . . ." Cédula of March 13th, 1534. *Coleccion de documentos inéditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, 479.

<sup>3</sup> *Real Cedula a los Ofyciales de la Contratacion*, 11 décembre 1543; in the *Coleccion* above quoted, vol. xlii, p. 481.

<sup>4</sup> *Discovery of North America*, p. 721. NAVARRETE, *Viage del Sutil y Mexicana*, Madrid, 1802, p. xliii.

against the Crown by Luis Columbus, to revindicate the rights and privileges granted to his grandfather for the discovery of the New World.<sup>1</sup> At that date, Cabot declared himself to be "fifty years old and upwards." The fact is that he was at least sixty years of age. We notice in his examination two very curious replies. The first is in answer to the following question from the Fiscal:

"Do you know whether it is true that, before any other, Christopher Columbus discovered the [West] Indies, as well as the islands and continent of the [Atlantic] Ocean, and that no one before him possessed any knowledge of the same?"

Cabot replied:

"Solinus, an historical cosmographer, states that among (*sic pro* beyond) the Fortunate Islands, called Canaries, after navigating thirty days,<sup>2</sup> there are isles, named Hesperides, which he presumes to be identical with those that were found in the times of the Catholic Kings, and he has heard many people in this city of Seville say that it was Christopher Columbus, who discovered them."<sup>3</sup>

Cabot's cautious language is worthy of note, particularly when looked at in connection with another answer, is still more surprising. This was given in reply to a question addressed in 1535, that is, ten years after the explorations of Estevam Gomez and

<sup>1</sup> *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. x, p. 201. See also the same, pp. 265 and 266-67. That *Probanza* is evidently identical with the one which the *Memorias* mention at p. 201, as having been executed Dec. 31st, 1535. There are the same witnesses, and the text indicates the same rubric, viz.: *Leg. 2. Pieza 7*. It is impossible to imagine a more confused jumble than this publication of the Spanish Academy of History.

<sup>2</sup> "Forty days," says SOLINUS: "Ultra Gorgadas Hesperidum insulæ, sicut Sebosus affirmat, dierum quadraginta navigatione in intimos maris

sinus recesserunt." *Polyhistor*, cap. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> "Sebastian Caboto dijo que Solino, un cosmógrafo historiador dice que en las islas Fortunatas, que se dicen las islas de Canaria, navegando al occidente por el mar Océano por espacio de treinta dias, e estaban unas islas que las nombran Espéridas, e que aquestas islas Espéridas presume este testigo que son las islas que se descubrieron en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos de gloriosa memoria, e que ha oido decir á muchas personas en esta ciudad de Sevilla, que las descubrió el dicho D. Cristobal Colón." *Memorias de la R. Acad. de Historia*; *loc. cit.*

Giovanni Verrazano,<sup>1</sup> and when all the maps of the Sevillian Hydrography, constructed under the personal supervision of Cabot, set forth an unbroken coast line from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan :

“Do you know, asked the Fiscal, whether the provinces of Paria, Cumana, Manacapana, Venezuela, Santa Maria, Carthagena, Darien, called the Golden Castille, . . . Yucatan, Florida and the land called the Cod Fish country, constitute only one land, usually styled continental, without any break or sea intervening, and whether it is the only mainland ever discovered in the [Atlantic] Ocean?”<sup>2</sup>

This is Cabot's reply :

“All the countries mentioned in the question constitute in his opinion, as far as the Rio de Santi Spiritus,<sup>3</sup> a mainland, because he has seen it, and knows it from the reports of the pilots who have navigated in those regions, and by the marine charts which they brought from there. But as regards the countries beyond the Sancti Spiritus [that is to say], Florida and the Baccauos [Newfoundland], he can not assert whether it is a continent or not.”<sup>4</sup>

That unexpected statement tended, in the interest of the Crown, to deprive the heirs of Columbus of the rights which they claimed over all countries situate beyond the Gulf of Mexico, in consequence of the discoveries achieved by their ancestor, and of the capitulations of 1492.<sup>5</sup>

Alonso de Santa Cruz, Diego Gutierrez and other witnesses did not hesitate to declare, as a certainty,

<sup>1</sup> *Memorias de la R. Academia de la Historia*, vol. x. pp. 265-272.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> The Rio Santi Spiritus was in 21° 15', and was the northern terminus in the map of CHAVES. OVIEDO, vol. iv, p. 16. Even from his own declarations, the only parts of the New World which CABOT then claimed to have visited, extended only from Labrador to Florida, and from Cape St. Augustine to the Rio de la Plata.

<sup>4</sup> “Que todas las provincias con-

tenidas en la pregunta, hasta el rio de Santi Spiritus las tiene por tierra firme, porque así lo ha visto e sabido por relación de los pilotos que lo han navegado, e por las cartas de marear que traen, e que desde el rio de Santi Spiritus en adelante, la Florida e los Bacallaos, este testigo no se determina si es todo una tierra firme ó no.” *Memorias de la Acad.*, *ubi supra*.

<sup>5</sup> See our introduction to B. F. STEVENS'S edition of COLUMBUS'S own Book of Privileges, p. lxi.



that the entire extent of coast mentioned in the question, that is from northern Brazil to Labrador, formed but one continental land, and, further, that the model-map which was in course of construction by order of the Government, demonstrated the fact.<sup>1</sup>

In that Judicial Inquiry, the Fiscal renewed the question, from a cartographical point of view.

"Do you know," says he, "whether all the lands mentioned and a number of others in those regions, are set forth in marine charts used by pilots so as to represent a continuous coast line and land?"

Cabot replied as follows :

"All those lands, or most of them, are set forth and delineated in marine charts, many of which differ from each other, and the licentiate Suarez de Carvajal, a member of the Council of the Indies, has ordered that all marine charts should be collected, and a General Model-Map made to sail by."<sup>2</sup>

Cabot, we do not know for what reason, eluded the real question, but Santa Cruz and Gutierrez replied positively<sup>3</sup> that those lands were duly delineated in the model-chart which was being constructed. That is, the map set forth an unbroken coast line from north to south throughout the New World,—such in fact as the Crown cartographers had always depicted, at least since the Seville charts constructed in 1527; as can be easily seen from those which are still preserved in the Grand Ducal Library

<sup>1</sup> "Alonso de Santa Cruz y Diego Gutierrez lo tienen por cierto, porque así esta sentado en las cartas y en el padron que ahora se hace. Lo mismo opinan otros testigos por lo que han visto ú oído." *Memorias, ubi supra*. For the *Padron* in question, see our *Discovery of North America*, pp. 13-17, and 255-267.

<sup>2</sup> "Todas estas tierras ó las mas de ellas están puestas e figuradas en las cartas de marear e que muchas destas cartas hay diferentes unas de otras, e

que agora el licenciado Suárez de Carvajal, oidor del Consejo de las Indias, ha mandado recoger todas las cartas de marear, e que se haga un padrón general para la navegación." *Probanza* of 31st December, 1535.

<sup>3</sup> "Alonso de Santa Cruz lo sabe porque lo entiende e agora en el padrón perfeto que se hace de la dicha navegación, con acuerdo del Señor Licenciado Carvajal se ponen e asientan todas estas provincias e tierras." *Ibidem*.

at Weimar. There was therefore a conflict of opinion between Cabot, on the one side, and, on the other, the Bishop of Lugo, who presided over the Geographical Commission for constructing the *Padron General*, assisted by cosmographers of great repute. All the charts and globes made after 1536, which have come down to us, show that no account was taken of Cabot's strange reservations and doubts.

After that time, Cabot doubtless confined himself to his duties as Pilot-Major, living in Seville, but visiting the Court occasionally. The numerous voyages which he boasted of having made after his return from La Plata: "molte altre navigationi,"<sup>1</sup> are all imaginary. If, after 1532, he had ever been engaged in any maritime expedition, Muñoz, Navarrete and Vargas Ponce would have found traces of it in the books of the Casa de Contratacion, which these zealous savants have thoroughly examined. Personally, we have never detected in any document the least evidence of voyages accomplished or undertaken by Cabot after his return to Spain in 1530, except one in 1547 to England, where he remained until his death.

Herrera states<sup>2</sup> that in 1515 Sebastian Cabot was appointed captain and cosmographer, but that is a mistake. He never held the latter office, although, at a much later period, he taught cosmography in the Casa de Contratacion.<sup>3</sup> The documents which we have been able to consult, mention him (1512) as "Capitan

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, *Raccolta*, ed. of 1563, vol. iii, fo. 374. A document published in the *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, vol. xiii, p. 409, led us at first sight to infer that Nuño DE GUZMAN had reported the presence of Sebastian CABOT, with a fleet of five ships, off the Pacific coast of New Spain in 1531. He only refers to CABOT'S arrival in Brasil: "avra quatro años y medio o cinco," that is, in 1526.

<sup>2</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* ii, lib. i, cap. 12, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> NAVARRETE, *Bibliotheca Maritima*, vol. i, p. 16, speaking of the appointment of Alonso DE CHAVES, July 11th, 1552, to the Chair of Cosmography in the Casa de Contratacion, says "se le mandó regentar la cátedra de cosmografía, que Sebastian CABOTO, ausenta en Inglaterra, habia enseñado en la casa de la contratacion de Sevilla."

de mar," or naval captain, and (1515) as "capitan de armada," or fleet captain, which terms in those days were apparently synonymous. He continued to enjoy that title and the salary attached to the office, until he removed to England. In 1515, he was also appointed "Piloto de Su Magestad." This appointment, it seems, had to be renewed every year; for the lists drawn up annually, where mention is made of the salary paid to him every four months, begin thus: "Nombranse este año Pilotos de S. A. con sueldo:— There were named this year, Pilots to His Highness, with pay." In 1518, he received, as we have said, the appointment of "Pilot-Major and Examiner of Pilots." The latter was not a separate office; it belonged to the first and constituted its chief duty.

It is only in the cedula appointing Americus Vespuccius Pilot-Major, which office was created for him in 1508, that we find some specific details concerning the duties which that official had to perform.<sup>1</sup>

We notice first that the Pilot-Major was also a teacher, who received fees from the students. Beyond the use of the quadrant and astrolabe, there is no mention of other studies, but we infer that the course consisted of what the cosmographers were afterwards directed to teach. This comprised the first two books of the Sphere, the use of a "relox general," which implies the existence of clocks at this early date, and, what is worth noticing, the manipulation and construction of compasses, astrolabes, quadrants and "vallestillas" (?).

The Pilot-Major himself examined candidates for the profession of pilot, and the licence was granted exclusively upon his own report, without requiring the

Yet the manner in which the Royal Cedula enacted at Monzon, July 11th, 1552, is rubricated in the *Recopilacion de Leyes*, indicates that the chair it-

self was created only at the latter date.

<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. iii, doc. ix, pp. 299-301.

approval of the functionaries who were above him in the Casa de Contratacion.<sup>1</sup> These extensive powers became doubtless a source of abuse, which, we presume, prompted the restrictions set forth in the *Recopilacion de Leyes*. Ordinances enacted by Charles V., but apparently after Cabot had ceased to be Pilot-Major, prohibited this officer from teaching the art of navigation and the use of nautical instruments. This was necessarily transferred to the cosmographers of the Casa de Contratacion, although no regular Chair of Cosmography seems to have been created before July 11th, 1552.

A just, but curious enactment, which is very suggestive, is that prohibiting the Pilot-Major from selling maps or nautical instruments, to applicants for the post of pilot, and from receiving at their hands victuals or gifts of any kind. We are not prepared to say whether those prohibitions are connected with the curious ordinance of March 13th, 1534, above quoted.<sup>2</sup>

The Pilot-Major was required, twice a month, in company with His Majesty's cosmographers, to examine the charts and instruments, improve the same, and preside when modifications were to be introduced in the Model-Map, or *Padron general*. He had also to enter in a book,—which unfortunately is lost,—a list and description of the islands, bays, shoals and ports, based evidently upon the hydrographical data which every pilot was obliged to remit to the Pilot-Major immediately upon arriving at Cadiz from a transatlantic voyage. It was also his

<sup>1</sup> "Le sea dada por vos carta de examination é aprobacion de como saben cada uno dellos lo susodicho; con la cual dicha carta mandamos que sean tenidos é recebidos por pilotos." NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, p. 300. It was only by the ordinance of Sept. 15th,

1604, that one of the judges of the Casa de Contratacion, together with at least six pilots, were required to be present at the examination. *Ley xx*, and VEITIA LINAGE, *Norte*, lib. ii, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 272, note 2.

duty to stamp the maps, astrolabes and quadrants, which were kept under lock and keys.<sup>1</sup>

The Pilot-Major was not prohibited from constructing maps, but, at first, he was not permitted to sell them. Afterwards, this restriction was removed, and he was allowed even to sell copies of the *Padron*, but at a price previously fixed by the Casa de Contratacion.<sup>1</sup>

Sebastian Cabot constructed a number of planispheres and globes, of greater importance than those copies, and which must have been a source of profit and reputation, if we are to judge from Oviedo's remarks already quoted. Yet this historian never cites any of them, although he frequently refers to charts of Santa Cruz, Ribeiro, Chaves and others. In the next chapter, when discussing the scientific claims of Sebastian Cabot, we shall examine the data obtainable concerning his cartographical works.

As to his agency in preparing other transatlantic expeditions, it is well to mention that although the trade between Spain and America had then acquired considerable importance, scarcely any voyages of discovery were attempted by the Spanish government, except in the Pacific, and these belonged to the administration of Hernando Cortés, or of the governors of Darien. Yet we assume that Sebastian Cabot was consulted relative to the expeditions which, in consequence of Jacques Cartier's voyages were sent to the Bacalaos by Charles V. under the orders of Ares de Sea, and Diego Maldonado, in 1540-1541; as it was particularly on account of his supposed knowledge of the Cod-fish regions that Ferdinand of Aragon had originally engaged his services.

On the 5th of November 1544, Cabot, by virtue of his office, prohibited Diego Gutierrez senior, one of

<sup>1</sup> *Recopilacion de leyes de Indias*. Madrid, 1750, fol. 54, *Leyes* i, ii, iii, vol. iii, fos. 285 *sequitur*, and *Discovery of North America*, pp. 256-59.

the Royal Cosmographers, from constructing maps and nautical instruments, on the plea that they were "perjudiciales a la navegación y a los derechos reales." This prohibition was confirmed by the Council of the Indies on the 22nd of February 1545.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of October 1545, Cabot approved the publication of the *Arte de Navegar* of Pedro de Medina, printed at Valladolid in that year. We notice that Cabot is called therein "Piloto mayor y Cosmographo de su Magestad."<sup>2</sup> But the latter title is doubtless a mistake, and the phrase should read: "y los cosmografos," referring to Mexia, Chaves and the above mentioned Gutierrez. The sale of the book was nevertheless prohibited for a time.<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1547, Cabot took upon himself to entrust the post of Pilot-Major during his absence in England, to Diego Gutierrez, whom, two years before, he had declared to be an incompetent cosmographer in important respects. But the Council of the Indies, September 22nd, 1549 gave orders to investigate the matter, as "este Diego Gutierrez no tenia partes para ello:—as this Diego Gutierrez is not competent to fill the office."<sup>4</sup>

That was the last act of Sebastian Cabot in Spain.

<sup>1</sup> NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima*, 1545. MS. cited in the *Lista de los objetos que comprende la Exposition*

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 266, p. 413. *Americanista*, Madrid, 1881, B 52.

<sup>3</sup> Cedula of November 23rd and 29th <sup>4</sup> MS. quoted by Capt. DURO, *Arca de Noé*, p. 521.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE SCIENTIFIC CLAIMS OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

#### (A) HIS CARTOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

SEBASTIAN Cabot certainly enjoyed a high reputation, at least in Italy and England. The Mantuan Gentleman said that he had not his equal in Spain as a man versed in navigation: "Intendeva l'arte del navigare più ch'alcun' altro."<sup>1</sup> Guido Gianeti da Fano told Livio Sanuto that Cabot was held in the highest esteem in England: "all' hora honoratissimo si ritrovata."<sup>2</sup> Ramusio describes him as "a man of large experience, and uncommonly so in the art of navigation and science of cosmography."<sup>3</sup> He possessed the confidence of Charles V. for a long period and to such an extent that notwithstanding his disguised flight to England, Cabot was retained for several years in the office of Pilot-Major, and even had his pension increased.<sup>4</sup>

This fame which, strange to say, has increased with time, prompts us now to examine his scientific labors and his claims to such celebrity.

The cartographical works of Sebastian Cabot must first engross our attention. Although we have been able to gather but meagre details on the subject, these are sufficient to enable us to form a correct

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, *Primo Volume*, f. 374.

<sup>2</sup> M. Livio SANUTO, *Geografia dis-tinta in xii. libri*, Vinegia, D. Zenaro, 1588, folio, recto of f. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Huomo di grande esperienza, et raro nell' arte del nauigare, et nella

scienza di cosmografia." RAMUSIO, *Terzo Volume*, Venetia, 1565, folio; Preface, verso of Aiiij.

<sup>4</sup> Dispatch of Sir Philip HOBY; *Notes and Queries*, London, 3rd series, vol. i, p. 125.

opinion of his style and method, and to believe that all the maps of the world constructed by him in the second quarter of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century resembled, more or less, his planisphere of 1544, which, fortunately, has come down to us.

The maps made by him, mentioned in various documents, are the following :

(A) A mappamundi ordered by Juan de Samano for the Council of the Indies in 1532 or 1533. It is described in a letter from Cabot as follows :

“My intention was to bring [from Seville] that map myself, with two others which I have made for His Majesty. I hope they will give satisfaction to H. M. and the Council, as they can see therein how it is possible to navigate all around [viz.: in all directions], by means of the indications [of the compass, or rhumbs?], just as we do with a chart. Also, why the needle points to the North-East and North-West, and why it cannot be otherwise; to what extent it points to the North-East and North-West before pointing again [due] north, and through which meridians. Thereby, H. M. will have a certain rule for ascertaining the longitude.”<sup>1</sup>

This map is lost, but it certainly revives, so far at least as Cabot's interpretations and alleged applications of the properties of the magnet are concerned, in the planisphere of 1544.

(B) A large map of the world, which Cabot showed at Seville, before 1547, to the Mantuan Gentleman, who says that it was “a mappamundi of large size, exhibiting particularly the navigations of the Portuguese and Spaniards.”<sup>2</sup> This is also lost.

(C) The map which was in the library of Juan de Ovando, the President of the Council of the Indies,

<sup>1</sup> “Veran como se puede navegar por redondo por sus derotas como se ace por una carta y la causa porque nordestea y noruestea la guja y como es forçoso que lo haga y que tantas quartas a de nordestear y noruestear antes que torna abolverce azia el norte y en que meridiano y con esto tendra

Su Magestad la regla cierta para tomar la longitud.” *Syllabus*, No. lix.

<sup>2</sup> “Mostrommi molte cose e fra l'altre un Mappamondo grande colle navigationi particolari si di Portoghesi come di Castigliani.” RAMUSIO, *loc. cit.*



but which is not likely to have been made for him, as he entered the Council only in 1572. This was sold at his death, in 1575. It is likewise lost. The only details which we possess concerning it, are that it was on parchment and illuminated.<sup>1</sup>

(D) The mappamundi which Cabot sent from London to Charles V., on the 15th of November 1554 (*sic pro* 1553, n.s.), by Francisco de Urista, and which may be the same as C, just described. This supposition is based upon the fact that on the 20th of September 1575, an Italian cosmographer in the service of Philip II., called Giovanni Battista Gesio or Gessio, claimed a mappamundi found among the property of Ovando, on the plea that it belonged to His Majesty.

Sebastian Cabot describes this map as follows :

“Two drawings which form a mappamundi divided at the equator, whereby Your Majesty will find the causes of the deviation of the needle from the pole, and the reason why it again returns to a line pointing directly to the arctic and antarctic poles. The other figure is for taking the longitude in any place the observer may be.”<sup>2</sup>

We interpret the word “figura,” as meaning that there was only one map, but in two sheets, one for the northern, the other, for the southern hemispheres. The latter doubtless set forth a magnetic point, or line with no variation, upon which he based his imaginary pretension for finding the longitude at sea.

<sup>1</sup> “Túvolo en su poder hasta su muerte el visitador y presidente del Consejo de Indias Juan de Ovando. Asi consta por memorial del cosmografo Juan Bautista Gesio al Rey, fecha de Madrid y 20 de Setiembre de 1575, en donde dice, que en la almoneda de libros de Ovando estaba un mapa antiguo de pergamino iluminado hecho por Sebastian Gaboto, y pide ser recobre, porque le aseguran pertenece à S. M.” M. Jimenez DE LA ÉSPADA, *Relaciones geograficas de Indias, Peru*, Madrid, 1881, 4to, p. xxx, note. That GESIO

or GESSIO was an Italian cosmographer in the employ of PHILIP II. He died Sept. 14th, 1580. *Lista de la Exposicion Americanista*, B, Nos. 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> “Dos figuras que son un mapa mundi cortado por el equinocio, por donde V. M<sup>d</sup>. vera las causas de la variacion que haze la aguja de marear con el polo, y las causas porque otra vez torna a volver derechamente al polo artico ó antarctico ; y la otra figura es para tomar longitud en qualquier paracelo que el hombre estuviere.” *Syllabus*, No. lix.

There was a more ample description of it, which Cabot remitted to Jean Scheyfve, the ambassador of Charles V. in England, and which was in 1554 in the hands of Francisco de Erasso, the secretary of the Council of Charles V. We have vainly endeavoured to discover that document.

(E) The map which Guido Gianeti de Fano saw in the possession of Cabot, in London, in the reign of Edward VI. This was described to Livio Sanuto as marking a meridian, based upon a point of no magnetic variation, placed one hundred and twenty miles to the west of the island of Flores, one of the Azores. The point may have been exact, but here again it certainly could not serve the purpose which Cabot imagined.<sup>1</sup>

(F) A map which he gave to the King of Castile (Charles V., or Philip II.), and still in existence in 1598, when Andres de Cespedes, Cosmographer-Major, wrote his *Regimiento*. The only detail which we possess concerning this map, is that "like Jodocus Hondius, Cabot therein placed the 43° longitude between Goa and Mozambique."<sup>2</sup>

(G) Cabot, of course, possessed charts made by himself, which, Hakluyt says, were preserved in England as late as 1582.

"This much concerning Sebastian Cabot's own discoverie may suffice for a present taste, but shortly God willing, shall out in print all his own mappes and discourses drawne and written by himselfe, which are in the custodie of the worshipful master William Worthington . . . who (because so worthie monuments should not be buried in perpetual oblivion) is very willing to suffer them to be

<sup>1</sup> "Et a quello ancora, che io dappoi vidi con gli occhi miei in una carta da navigare diligentissima fatta a mano, e tutta ritratta à punto da una propria del detto Caboto; nella quale si riconosce il luogo del detto Meridiano esser per miglia cento e dieci lontano verso Occidente dalla Isola detta Fiori di quelle pur delli Azori." M. Livio SANUTO, *op. cit.*, fo. 2, recto.

<sup>2</sup> CESPEDES, *Regimiento de Navegacion*; Madrid, 1606, folio, part ii, fo. 137.

overseen and published in as good order as may be to the encouragement and benefite of our countrymen.”<sup>1</sup>

These charts were never published, and they too are lost. The only detail about them is the remark of Hakluyt, that one showed that “from the mouth of the ryuer [La Plata], Cabot sayled vp the same into the lande for the space of three hundred and fiftie leaques.”<sup>2</sup>

(H) The engraved planisphere dated 1544, preserved in the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library, and which is the only cartographical work of Cabot now in existence.

For a description of the planisphere itself, its origin and several editions, we refer the reader to our *Syllabus*<sup>3</sup>; limiting ourselves at present to a critical examination of certain parts.

Considered as a graphic exposition of geographical positions and forms, this planisphere must rank as the most imperfect of all the Spanish maps of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century which have reached us.

Leaving aside the incomplete and faulty nomenclature,<sup>4</sup> which may be ascribed to the fact that the map was not engraved in Spain, thus precluding Cabot from correcting the proof sheets, it contains the grossest cartographical and geographical errors.

To commence with, Kohl noted, long before us, that the old world in Cabot's planisphere is very inferior to the same in the Italian and French maps of the time. That high authority makes also the following statement :

“Even the coasts of the best and earliest known of all the seas,

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*, Lond., 1582, 4to, in the dedication to Sir Philip SIDNEY.

<sup>2</sup> EDEN, *Decades*, ARBER'S edition, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> *Syllabus*, No. lxiv.

<sup>4</sup> See Hispaia, S. Migel, S. Juan

Estevanez, Juanino, Binimi, Nicaxagoe,” &c. &c. Also the strange division of sentences, such as “pora quinopede pasar,” “aqui de san barco panflo de narnaez,” noted by KOHL, *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Portland, 1869, 8vo, p. 363.

the Mediterranean, are much misshapen and misplaced. Spain itself, and also Great Britain, the countries in which Sebastian Cabot passed the greater part of his life, are very carelessly represented; as for instance, Ireland is made as large as England and Scotland together. Iceland has the longitude of the Shetland Islands! and it is placed directly north, instead of North West of Scotland."<sup>1</sup>

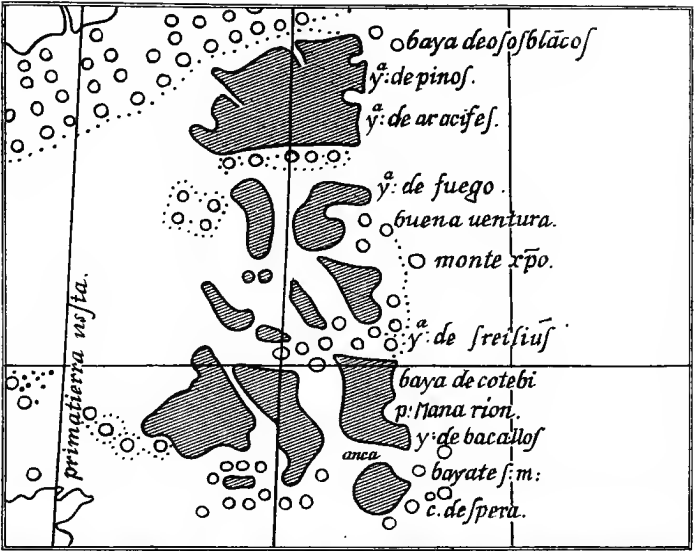
As regards the New World, we are surprised to find how inferior its positions and outlines are, when compared with those of the Weimar maps, for instance, although these were constructed fifteen years previous. Labrador and Northern Canada which, naturally, should be much more exact than in the other charts of the time, are particularly defective. The entire coast of Nova Scotia is  $2^{\circ}$  too far south, whilst Riberio depicts it, in 1529, a great deal nearer its real latitude. So with the West Indian islands, where Cuba is placed by the Sevillian cartographer between  $19^{\circ}$  and  $23^{\circ}$  lat. north, its true place, whilst Cabot inscribes it between  $20^{\circ}$  and  $24^{\circ}$ . The east coast for the part corresponding with our Rhode Island, and following the same as far as New York, which is comparatively exact in the Weimar charts (1527, 1529) in Verrazzano's (1529), in the planisphere of the Laurentiana (before 1530), in Wolfenbuttel B (about 1530), &c. &c., is extremely incorrect in Cabot's map, although he must have had in his hands the geographical data brought by Estevam Gomez in 1526.

If now we examine the regions which he claimed to have discovered (Newfoundland), and those which he has certainly visited (La Plata), we notice with surprise how the shapes and positions are inaccurately and incompletely rendered.<sup>2</sup>

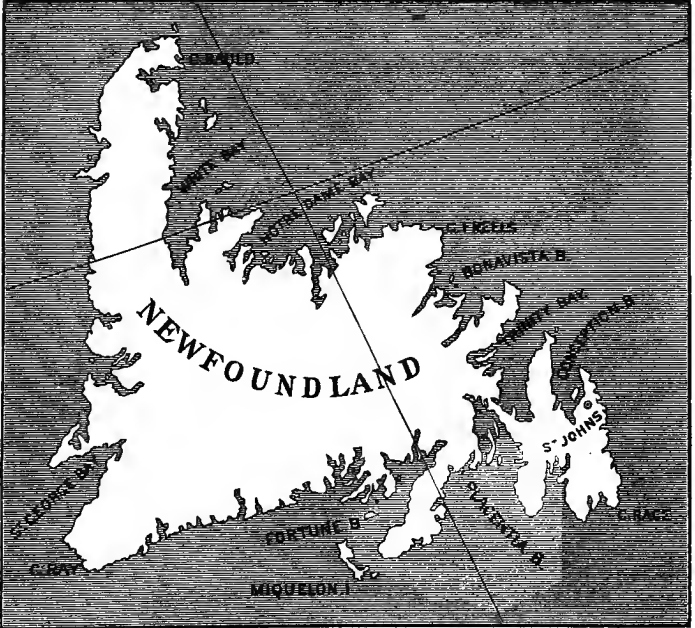
Breaking up Newfoundland into such a multitude

<sup>1</sup> KOHL, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> See the adjoining representations of Newfoundland in CABOT'S planisphere and in our Admiralty charts.



NEWFOUNDLAND ACCORDING TO SEBASTIAN CABOT.



NEWFOUNDLAND IN MODERN MAPS.



of fragments is certainly more erroneous than representing that vast island as still forming part of the continent, such as we see it depicted in the early charts. Because, in reality, Newfoundland is separated from the mainland by a channel only a few miles wide. We have shown, too, that all this portion of Cabot's planisphere was borrowed from a French map made at Dieppe in 1541, and not from original tracings of either John or Sebastian Cabot, as everybody supposed. His responsibility is not lessened thereby. He was bound to correct those erroneous delineations, if reliance is to be placed in his statements so often repeated.

As to his representation of the La Plata region,<sup>1</sup> it is almost as inexact as the preceding. The course of the Parana, particularly, is most defective, considering that the all-important elbow formed near Corrientes, and carrying the stream eastwards, is entirely omitted. Cabot even continues the river due north, confusing it with the Paraguay.

We could multiply examples of such imperfections. Let us note, however, that Cabot does not therein persist in the strange declaration made by him on oath, in 1535, that he did not know whether north of the Gulf of Mexico America was a continental land or not. In this planisphere, the east and west coasts of the New World are duly traced without any break from the Arctic regions to the Strait of Magellan.

On examining the longitudinal inscriptions of the planisphere of 1544, in the belief that they were at least based upon data furnished by Cabot himself, the astonishment is still greater. As Kohl has justly noticed, they are full of legends about sea monsters, people with one foot, or one eye, in short, all the old fables related by Adam of Bremen and other

<sup>1</sup> We refer the reader to the maps in chapter viii. for a comparison.

authors of the Middle Ages. In the inscription "No. VII," where the La Plata River and Cabot's expedition are described, mention is made of a report to the effect that in the mountains there are men with faces like dogs, and the lower limbs like those of an ostrich.<sup>1</sup> In No. IX, where the waters of Iceland are described, it is related that there had been seen a fish of the species called "Moræna,"<sup>2</sup> a veritable sea serpent, and so colossal that it would attack a vessel and devour the sailors. Spectres or ghosts speaking in the air,<sup>3</sup> are also mentioned in the inscription on Ireland. The inscription "No. XII" treats of a nation of monsters with ears so large that they cover the whole body,<sup>4</sup> &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> "Algunos dellos dizen que en ellas dichas sierras ay hombres que tienen el rostro como de perro, y otros de la rodilla abaxos como de abestrux."

<sup>2</sup> "Ay grandissima multitud de pescado, y muchos dellos de monstruosa forma, an uisto los que en este mar nauegan morenas grandissimas que parescen grandes sierpes, y acometer a los nauios para comerse los nauigantes."

<sup>3</sup> "Y dizen que muchas uezes oyen hablar spiritus y llamarse por sus nombres, y parescer a personas uiuas."

<sup>4</sup> "Aqui ay monstruous semeiantes a hombres que tienen las orcias tan grandes que les cubre todo el cuerpo." This detail seems to have been borrowed from the illustrations in the mappamundi of the *Ptolemy* of 1522. See the description in our *Notes on Columbus*, p. 177.



## CHAPTER XII.

THE SCIENTIFIC CLAIMS OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

(B) HIS ALLEGED DISCOVERIES IN MAGNETICS.

IN our opinion, Sebastian Cabot owed his great reputation, as a scientist, not so much to the maps which he constructed, as to a supposed profound knowledge of the mariner's compass and its mysteries. Many writers even ascribe to him the discovery both of the declination and variation of the magnetic needle. In fact, Cabot discovered neither, nor indeed anything useful or practical relative to the same, his own boasts to that effect notwithstanding.

We beg to draw a distinction between two terms used in English interchangeably, viz. : *declination* and *variation*. The *declination* is the deviation, westward or eastward, of the magnetic needle from the true north point, whilst the *variation* is the change in the declination in different parts of the world, or at different times in the same place. This implies the existence of two distinct orders of phenomena, and two different discoveries. The legend, to which people still cling, attributing either or both to Sebastian Cabot, can also be traced to himself. Here is what Livio Sanuto wrote before 1553, in the life time of Cabot, although the account was printed only in 1588.

“I was for many years the friend of a gentleman called Guido Giannetti di Fano, a man worthy of esteem for his learning and

virtuous habits. From him I first learnt, not without wondering, that the needle of the mariner's compass, when rubbed with a loadstone, does not always point to the meridian of the observer, but to a place some degrees distant from that meridian, which place, whatever its distance may be, is nevertheless indicated by that needle, sometimes at that meridian itself, at other times somewhat near it, and again at a great distance. It was Sebastian Caboto, a Venetian, and most excellent pilot, who, from experience and experiments carried out while sailing to the Indies, discovered that secret, which he afterwards disclosed to the most serene King of England. Giannetti had the great honour of being present (as I have heard from others). Cabot demonstrated at the same time what that distance was, and that it did not appear the same in every place."<sup>1</sup>

Sanuto's statement shows that the declination and variation were both explained to Edward VI. by Sebastian Cabot as phenomena hitherto unnoticed, and of which he claimed to be, according to an eye witness, the discoverer. This is the sole origin of the story that he achieved these two great discoveries. William Gilbert<sup>2</sup> (1600), Father Athanasius Kircher<sup>3</sup> (1641), Father George Fournier<sup>4</sup> (1643), Fontenelle<sup>5</sup> (1712), Foscarini<sup>6</sup> (1752),

<sup>1</sup> Livio SANUTO, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> "Sebastianus Cabottus primus innenit quod magneticum ferrum variaret." G. GILBERTUS, *De Magnete magnetisque corporibus, et de magno magnete tellure*; Londini, 1600, sm. folio, p. 4. He quotes Livio SANUTO, lib. iv, cap. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Father Athanasius KIRCHER, *Magnes sive de magnetica arte*; Romæ, 1641, 4to, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> "Et l'on dit que ce fut Oviedo qui observa le premier que l'aiguille regardait droit au nord, proche des îles du Corbeau et des Fleurs, et que Cabot remarqua fort exactement les déclinaisons que l'aymant faisoit en divers endroits des costes de l'Amérique qu'il découvrit." FOURNIER, *Hydrographie*, Paris, 1643, pp. 541, 545. GILBERT also says (*op. cit.*) "Gonzalus Oniedus primus scribit in sua historia in meridiano Azorum

ferrum non variare," which is correct. But although OVIEDO described the magnetic phenomenon in 1525, and 1535 (*Sumario*, BARCIA's edit., p. 48, and *Historia Gl. de las Indias*, vol. i. pp. 23 and 44), he never laid claim to any discovery of the kind. On the contrary, he speaks of the line with no variation in terms implying that it was generally known.

<sup>5</sup> "La déclinaison vient 300 ans après. Le premier qui l'ait publiée a été Cabot, Vénitien, en 1549." FONTENELLE, *Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences*, for 1712, printed 1714, p. 18. The date shows that his source of information is CABOT's longitudinal inscription, No. 1, borrowed from KOCHAFF, (CHYTRÆUS), *Variarum Itinerarum Deliciæ*, Herborn, 1594, sm. 4to, p. 773.

<sup>6</sup> FOSCARINI, *Della letteratura veneziana*, 1752, fol., vol. i, p. 439.

were all of that opinion. Unfortunately, they also (with the exception of Fontenelle, who derived his belief on the subject indirectly from the legend in the Cabotian planisphere), based their credence exclusively upon Sanuto's *Geographia distinta*. In fact, no author before these ever mentions Cabot's name in connection with the phenomena of the magnetic needle. If he had made any discovery of the kind, Oviedo (1535), Petro de Medina (1545), Martin Cortes (1545-1551), Pedro Nuñez (1546), Jacobo de Saa (1549), and Ramusio, who all took great interest in magnetics, and were in a position to be among the first to learn whatever transpired on the subject, particularly in Spain, could not have failed to mention it, when treating of the "propiades del iman, y variaciones de la aguya."

Almost all modern encyclopedias not only follow the above mentioned writers, but go so far as to fix a date for these pretended discoveries of Cabot, viz. : 1497. Their starting point we presume to be the inscription north of Greenland, in Ruysch's mappamundi (1508), stating that "here the mariner's compass ceases to work, and the ships which have iron on board cannot return." As the commentator of that map, Marcus Beneventanus, speaks of having been informed of the discoveries accomplished by the English : "atque Britannorum quos Anglos nunc dicimus," scholars versed in cosmography may have inferred that there was a connexion between the legend, which certainly indicates an observation of the magnetic declination, and Cabot's voyages in that country under the English flag.<sup>1</sup> We believe that here again it is an inference from Sanuto's

<sup>1</sup> "Hic compassus navium non tenet nec naves que ferrum tenent revertere valent." That inscription is placed in RUYSCH's map, according to its own graduation, in 85°-90° latitude N., and 350°-360° longitude W. See BIDDLE, *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 177 ; HUMBOLDT, *Examen. Critique*, vol. iii, p. 32, note, and GHILLANY, *Geschichte des Martin Behaim*, p. 4.

statement, where the alleged magnetic discoveries of Cabot are said to have resulted "dalle osservazioni per lui fatte, mentre egli navigava alle Indie."<sup>1</sup>

That Sebastian Cabot had no share whatever in the discovery of these phenomena will appear perfectly clear from the following facts and reasons.

First, as to the *magnetic declination*. This must have been observed ever since a real compass came into use.<sup>2</sup> When we think of the great and continuous attention with which mariners at sea necessarily watched the magnetic needle, it is difficult to conceive that in the course of the xiii<sup>th</sup> or xiv<sup>th</sup> century the declination failed to be noticed, not, of course, in the Atlantic Ocean beyond the Azores before Columbus, since he was the first navigator who reached the Oceanic regions where the phenomenon appeared to him, but elsewhere. At all events, on the night of the 13th of September 1492,<sup>3</sup> that is, five years at least before any of the Cabots, Columbus noticed that the needle deviated from the polar star, which was then believed to be the true north point. He therefore observed what we call the magnetic declination.

Second, as to the *magnetic variation*. Here again, if Columbus ever made a discovery in that order of phenomena, it was the variation proper, on the 13th of September 1492, 21st of May 1496, and August 16th, 1498.<sup>4</sup> The latest date is thus two years before Sebastian Cabot could have observed that peculiarity of the needle.

<sup>1</sup> SANUTO, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> LIBRI, *Histoire des Sciences mathématiques en Italie*, Halle, 1865, vol. ii, p. 72. D'AVEZAC, *Aperçus historiques sur la Boussole*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, March 1858 ;

HUMBOLDT, *Cosmos*, London, 1849, vol. ii, p. 656.

<sup>3</sup> NAVARRETE, vol. i, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 8, 9, 254, Venetia, 1571, and Fernando COLUMBUS, *Historie*, fo. 149, recto.

Another phenomenon of the kind, the discovery of which is also erroneously attributed to Sebastian Cabot, is that of the line with no variation. This belief is likewise derived from a phrase of Sanuto, to the effect that Cabot showed Edward VI. the "meridian" where the needle pointed to the true north point, which "meridian," Sanuto adds, Cabot inscribed on a map 110 miles west of Flores, one of the Azores.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that Cabot marked in his maps a line which he considered as indicating constantly and exactly, from one pole to another, the true north point. This we find mentioned in his letter to Samano,<sup>2</sup> and in the description of the mappamundi which he sent to Charles V.,<sup>3</sup> in 1553. Also, in his planisphere of 1544 can be seen, about 45° west longitude, a line bearing this inscription: "Meridiano adonde el aguia de marear muestra directamente el norte." But it does not follow that Cabot was the first to find a line with no variation. Long before him Columbus too advanced the opinion, (May 23rd, 1496), that the compass in a certain part of the Atlantic Ocean approached nearer the Polar star than it did in the Mediterranean Sea, and that the needle finally attained the said star, in 30° longitude and 28° latitude, several days after losing sight of Flores. As the Polar star, according to the notions of the time, was considered to be at the true north point, Columbus certainly noted that in some place west of the Canaries,<sup>4</sup> there was no magnetic variation. He doubtless also imagined,

<sup>1</sup> "Et a quello ancora, che io dappoi vidi con gli occhi miei in una carta da navigare diligentissima fatta a mano, e tutta ritratta à punto da una propria del dette del detto Caboto; nella quale si riconosce il luogo del detto meridiano esser per miglia cento e dieci lontano verso Occidente dalla Isola

detta Fiori di quelle pur delli Azori." SANUTO, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 283.

<sup>4</sup> Wilfried DE FONVIELLE, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, vol. cxv, No. 12, p. 450; HUMBOLDT *Examen Critique*, vol. iii, p. 38.

like Sebastian Cabot and others after him, that the said place was a point of a great circle passing through the poles of the earth. Let us add that certain remarks of Oviedo, so early as 1525,<sup>1</sup> imply a current belief in that phenomenon, and although well acquainted with the scientific efforts of Sebastian Cabot, he never cites his name when describing that or any other magnetic fact.

The manner in which Bartolommeo Compagni, the informer in England of Livio Sanuto, mentions<sup>2</sup> the line with no variation used in Cabot's map as a meridian, leads us to believe that in his opinion, Sebastian Cabot was likewise the inventor of maps exhibiting the magnetic variations. It is true that the Cabotian planisphere of 1544, sets forth not only one such alleged line, but two. The first extends from one pole to the other (which is scarcely admissible, when we examine the curves described by all magnetic lines known),<sup>3</sup> in Cabot's 335° longitude, which corresponds to about our 25° longitude west. The other is a point, much more than a line, although its linear character is implied. This is between 140°-155° longitude and 5°-10° latitude of the said planisphere. But Alonso de Santa Cruz has always passed in Spain as the inventor of that class of maps, one of which he exhibited to the great Junta of pilots presided over by the Bishop of Lugo at Seville in 1536, and which attracted much attention. It is described in the documents of the time as follows :

“Una carta marina de variaciones magneticas, para que viese cuales eran en todas las partes del mundo, y pudiesen los pilotos guiarse con este conocimiento en sus derotas :<sup>4</sup>—A marine chart of magnetical variations, that it may be seen what they are in all

<sup>1</sup> OVIEDO, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> SANUTO, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Atlas des Erdmagnetismus* (BERGHAUS'S) *bearbeitet von Dr. George Neumayer*; Gotha, 1891. See “An-

derung der magnetischen Deklination im Zeitraum von 1600-1858.”

<sup>4</sup> NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de opusculos*, Madrid, 1848, 8vo, vol. ii, p. 68.

parts of the world, and that pilots may guide themselves with that knowledge in their routes."

In 1536, Sebastian Cabot was at the height of his professional influence in Spain, owing chiefly to his position of Pilot-Major. By virtue of that important office, he was a member of the Junta, and certainly attended its sittings. Yet not a single historian of the period ascribes to him the merit of that invention, or of any other application of magnetic phenomena for such a purpose. Felipe Guillen, Alonso de Santa Cruz,<sup>1</sup> Rodrigo de Corcuera, these are the names which we always find mentioned at Seville<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere in Spain in connection with the properties of the needle or their cartographical representation.

<sup>1</sup> VENEGAS, *Diferencias de libros que hay en el universo*, Toledo, 1546, 4to, cap. xvi.      <sup>2</sup> NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64, 67, and his *Historia de la Nautica*, p. 190, *seq.*

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE SCIENTIFIC CLAIMS OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

#### (C) HIS FIRST METHOD FOR FINDING THE LONGITUDE AT SEA.

A method for finding the longitude at sea was, naturally, one of the first problems which navigators attempted to solve. When the deviation of the magnetic needle from the true north point, and the variation of that deviation had been methodically noted, these two phenomena were supposed to afford means for determining the longitude. Not only mariners, but astronomers and mathematicians, especially in the first quarter of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1</sup> studied the question assiduously, and many actually thought they had solved it practically. Even an apothecary of Seville, Felipe Guillen, who, let it be said, was endowed with a real scientific spirit, invented an instrument for that purpose, based upon the variation of the compass, and which was extensively used on land and at sea, we do not know with what success. Guillen's reputation on that account was such, that João III. summoned him to Portugal, and rewarded his efforts in 1525.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> APIANUS, WERNER, &c. &c. The *Perle de Cosmographie*, and the *Traité sur les variations de l'aiguille aimantée*, written by Pierre CRIGNON, the Dieppe pilot, in 1534, are also said to have contained "un système de l'aimant par lequel l'auteur croit avoir trouvé le secret des longitudes." DELISLE,

*Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences*, Paris, 4to, 1712, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this truly interesting character, see the satire *Trovas a Felipe Guilhem*, by the "Portuguese Plautus," Gil VICENTE, and biographical notes, written in the time of GUILLEN, in *Obras de Gil Vicente correctas e emen-*



As we may well imagine, Sebastian Cabot also occupied himself with that important problem, and boldly asserted that he had discovered its solution. The earliest reference to that pretended discovery is to be found in the conversation which he had at Valladolid, on the 31st of December 1522, with Gasparo Contarini. The Venetian ambassador reports it in these words :

“We spoke of many things pertaining to geography, among which Cabot mentioned a very clever method observed by himself, which had never been previously discovered by any one, for ascertaining by the compass the distance between two places, from east to west, as Your Serenity will hear from his own lips when he comes to Venice.”<sup>1</sup>

Any one at all conversant with the subject knows full well that such a discovery is impossible; because those quantities, so called, cannot be measured at sea with sufficient precision. Even if the required accuracy could be obtained, the determination for the time being would scarcely serve in the future, since those magnetic lines shift their positions and we do not know the law which regulates such displacements. Besides, the lines upon which that alleged theory is based, are very far, indeed, from being meridians, as can be easily seen in maps exhibiting that class of magnetic phenomena. It is quite certain, therefore, that if Cabot ever put forward a theory for ascertaining the longitude at sea by means of the compass, it was absolutely worthless. It is true that a number of savants in the time of Cabot,

*dadas*, Hamburgh, 1834, 8vo, vol. iii, p. 377; NAVARRETE, *Opusculos*, vol. ii, p. 67, and the documents lately published by Mr SOUSA VITERBO, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos xvi e xvii. Segunda serie.* Coimbra, 1894, 8vo, pp. 19-27.

<sup>1</sup> “Lui ragionando cum me de molte cose di geographia fra le altre

me disse uno modo che l'hauea osservato per la via del bossolo di cognosser la distantia fra due lochi da levante al ponente, molto bello ne mai più osservato da altri, come da lui venendo Vostra Serenità, potrà intendere.” Dispatch of CONTARINI, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxviii, p. 350.

and even until the close of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, Giambattista della Porta<sup>1</sup> and Livio Sanuto,<sup>2</sup> for instance, shared the illusion, whilst others, like the Portuguese pilot Bartholomeu Velho,<sup>3</sup> continued to invent instruments for that purpose, but the idea was nevertheless chimerical, as William Gilbert finally showed, to the satisfaction of every thinker.<sup>4</sup>

Even the idea of interrogating magnetic phenomena with the object of finding such a method did not originate with Sebastian Cabot. Twenty-six years before Cabot's declarations to Contarini, Christopher Columbus, on the 23rd of May 1496, endeavoured to find the longitude at sea, by means of the needle, and actually believed that he had succeeded.

In the Journal of the second voyage of Columbus, under the above date, there is the following statement, which we translate from the Italian version, as the original Spanish is lost.

"This morning, the variation of the Flemish needles was, as usual,  $\frac{1}{4}$  towards the N.W., whilst the variation of the Genoese needles, which, generally, was the same as the variation of the Flemish ones, stood null, or very feeble, towards the N.W. Afterwards, when we get more to the East, that variation of the Genoese needles will become N.W. [*sic pro* N.E.].<sup>5</sup> This fact proves that we were more than one hundred leagues west of the Azores, for, when we found ourselves just one hundred leagues from

<sup>1</sup> DALLA PORTA, *Magie naturalis sive de miraculis rerum naturalium*; Neapoli, 1589, folio, lib. vii, cap. xxxviii, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> LIVIO SANUTO, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> In the remarkable inventory of VELHO's nautical instruments, globes, charts, &c., published by Mr SOUSA VITERBO (*op. cit.*, p. 32), we notice the following: "Que se puisse scauoir la longitud et distance du lest vest par l'instrument orizonta, qu'est de l'aguylle de nauiguer: la quelle vertu procede de la pierre d'aimant et partant de quel se veulle portt de mer, soit orient ou occident, se puisse

facilement scauoir, la longitud tous les jours uniuersellement; et aussi par ledit instrument lon puisse scauoir la longitud a tout heure par vn' aultre maniere."

<sup>4</sup> Wm. GILBERT, see the chapter "An longitudo terrestri inueniri possit per variationem quomodo mundi longitudino magnetis ope possit vestigari," in *Tractatus sive Physiologia nova de Magnete*, Sedini, 1633, 4to, lib. iv, cap. ix, p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> "Per l'auuenire hanno a noruestare andando il Leste." Fernando COLUMBUS, *Historie*, Venet., 1571, cap. lxiii, fo. 149 recto.

those islands, which was ascertained from the sparse agglomerations of sargass weeds on the sea, the variation of the Flemish needles was  $\frac{1}{4}$  towards the N.W., whilst the Genoese ones pointed exactly towards the North Star, and remained in that direction gradually as we advanced to the E.N.E. This we were able to verify the following Sunday, May 22nd [*sic pro* 26th]. From that indication, and the exactness of his [Columbus's] point, he then [says his son] learned that he was one hundred leagues from the Azores."<sup>1</sup>

Without endeavouring to account for the extraordinary statement of Columbus, viz. : that when he was one hundred leagues west of the Azores, his Genoese needles, which until then had pointed to the same direction as his Flemish ones, suddenly taking a new course, formed an angle of  $\frac{1}{4}$  towards the east, which went on increasing as he steered further eastward, whilst his Flemish needles continued to point as they did at first, and to form an angle of  $\frac{1}{4}$  towards the west, although when two freely moving magnetic needles are disposed precisely in the same manner, they will preserve their parallelism at all times and everywhere, we wish to draw, for the present, only one conclusion from the above extract. It is that Columbus believed, long before Sebastian Cabot, that a relation existed between what is called longitude and the declination of the magnetic needle and, further, that the variation might serve to ascertain the ship's position with respect to a given meridian, eastward or westward. Nor was it, in Columbus's mind, a mere theory, as he claimed to have actually determined his position by means of the variation of the Genoese needles : "dal quale indicio,—et dalla certezza del suo punto conobbe allhora, che si ritrouaua cento leghe lontano dalle isole de gli Astori."

It is scarcely necessary to add that although Columbus, for aught we know, may have really been on the 26th of May 1496, just one hundred leagues

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.*

west of the Azores, it is certain that he cannot have derived such a certitude from the variation of his compass ; for the simple reason that those magnetic lines are irregularly curved, and do not coincide with the direction of the meridian. At all events, the notions of the great Genoese on the subject show that Sebastian Cabot cannot even lay claim to originality in these erroneous ideas.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE SCIENTIFIC CLAIMS OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

#### (D) HIS SECOND METHOD FOR TAKING THE LONGITUDE.

SEBASTIAN Cabot devised another method for taking the longitude at sea. This time, it was not by means of the variation of the magnetic needle, but by the declination of the sun.

That method is set forth in a work written by the celebrated cosmographer, Alonso de Santa Cruz, Cabot's companion in the expedition to La Plata, and entitled as follows :

“Libro de las Longitudes y manera que hasta agora se ha tenido en el arte de navegar, con sus demonstraciones y ejemplos :—The Book of Longitudes, and the method known to the present time in the Art of Navigation, with its demonstrations and examples.”

It is dedicated to Philip II., and has never been printed. Nor is it dated. The fact that Cabot is mentioned as occupying the post of Pilot-Major in England, shows that it was written by Santa Cruz after 1547. Reference is also made therein to the Junta of cosmographers and astrologers (*i.e.* astronomers), presided over by the Marquis de Mondejar, to examine the memoirs written, and instruments constructed by Apianus to find the longitude. We have been unable, notwithstanding arduous researches, to ascertain when that Junta met. Santa Cruz, addressing himself to Philip II., says only that it was “called by order of His Majesty.” At first sight, this implies a date subsequent to 1556, which

is the year when that prince ascended the throne. On the other hand, Apianus, who had for many years intercourse with Charles V., died in 1552, and Philip II., by virtue of his prerogatives as Regent of Spain ("Principe Gobernador"), may have convoked such a Junta as far back as 1543. Withal, there is nothing to prevent Cabot from having written the description of his method long before it was communicated to Santa Cruz. So that, upon the whole, we possess no data enabling us to fix the time when he made this alleged discovery.

After discussing the methods proposed by Guillen, Apianus, Werner and others to find the longitude at sea, Santa Cruz describes Sebastian Cabot's, which is the fifth in the *Libro de Longitudes*. The description is based upon a written treatise of Cabot, the original of which we have failed to find. But the reader may rest assured that it is faithfully reproduced, at least as to its substance, in the analysis of Santa Cruz. For this reason we venture to give here this curious document, which forms an interesting chapter in the history of nautical science, and initiates us into Sebastian Cabot's mode of scientific thought and deductions. We must, however, warn our readers that his method for determining the longitude at sea by the declination of the sun, is just as useless and erroneous as the one which he claimed to have discovered for obtaining the same results by the variation of the magnetic needle.

"The method of Sebastian Caboto, Pilot-Major to His Majesty in England, for obtaining the longitude [at sea], has been communicated by a certain person to Your Majesty [Philip II.]. I briefly explained this method to Your Majesty as soon as it came to my knowledge, in order that Your Majesty might add it to the other known methods of finding the longitude. I now proceed to develop it as fully as I have the other methods :<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> We have modified the phraseology absolutely necessary to render his of SANTA CRUZ only so far as it was text intelligible to modern readers.

First, in order to find the difference of longitude of any points, however distant they may be from one another, East to West, or West to East, we must know that, in a little less than a year, the sun in its course passes through all the signs of the Zodiac, taking something more or something less than a month to move through each of these divisions ; thus it passes through almost one degree per day.

Moreover, we must not forget that the Zodiac [Ecliptic] retreats from the Equator, after cutting it at two points which are the zero-points of the signs *Aries* and *Libra* graduated into degrees and minutes.

Now, the declination of any part of the heavens, whether divisions of the Zodiac [*sic pro* Ecliptic] or stars, etc., being merely the distance of that part from the Equator, the two points of intersection of the Zodiac [*sic pro* Ecliptic] and the Equator have a declination zero ; likewise, the declinations of the divisions of the Zodiac [*sic pro* Ecliptic] increase with their distances from the Equator up to the signs of *Cancer* and *Capricornus* which are at a distance of about  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  : when in one of these two signs, the sun's declination equals  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ,—its greatest possible value ; in every other sign, its declination is more or less great, according to the position of the sign in the Zodiac, but it is always less than  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . Further, we must bear in mind that, as each degree of the Zodiac [*sic pro* Ecliptic] has a declination of a definite value, so also the sixty minutes of any degree have certain declinations proportional to the distance of these minutes from minute zero.

Thus, the zero-point of the first minute of the first degree of *Aries* having a declination zero, and the zero-point of the first minute of the second degree of the same sign having a declination of  $24'$ , it is evident that these  $24'$  must be distributed proportionally among each of the  $60'$  through which the sun moves in the Ecliptic in the space of one day,—approximate time necessary for the sun to pass through one degree of the Ecliptic. By calculating, we see that a motion of  $2\frac{1}{2}'$  in the Ecliptic causes a variation of one minute in the sun's declination.

Now let us suppose that, on the tenth of March, the sun is at the zero-point of the first minute of degree one of sign *Aries*, its declination being zero, and that at the same moment it crosses the meridian of Seville : when, in consequence of the diurnal rotation of the celestial sphere, the sun has come to the 90th degree west of the meridian of Seville, its proper motion in the Ecliptic will have brought it to the 15th minute of degree one of *Aries*, at this moment its declination will be  $6'$ .

The Spanish original, however, is inserted in our *Syllabus*, No. LXXXV, faithfully copied entire from the authentic manuscript now preserved in the Madrid National Library.

When, continuing its course towards the West, still in virtue of the diurnal rotation, it comes to the degree of longitude 180 west of Seville, it will have moved, by its proper motion, through 30' of the first degree of *Aries* and will then have a declination of 12'. On reaching the 270th degree of longitude west of Seville, it will be at the 45th minute of the first degree of *Aries* with a declination of 18'.

On its return to the meridian of Seville, it will have passed through 360° by its apparent diurnal motion, *plus*, through the 60' of the first degree of *Aries*, its declination will then be equal to the 24' mentioned above.

The sun now enters the first minute of the second degree of *Aries*, moving through the minutes of this degree, according to its proper motion, as has been explained for degree one.

We see from the above that the transit of the sun over the meridians mentioned above enables us to deduce that the sun's declination for the moment of transit, although the difference of the sun's declination from one meridian to another diminishes as the sun approaches the tropics. The difference of declination between two positions of the sun in the Zodiac [*sic pro* Ecliptic] distant by one minute cannot exceed 24'; near the tropics it is very slight; it even equals zero when the sun is actually at one of them.

On this principle, a book ought to be constructed containing tables [*i.e.* Ephemerides], in which should be inscribed, for every day of the year, the sun's declination computed for the meridian of Seville,—that being the starting point for navigators towards the West and North, and near the meridian of Lisbon, the starting point for the South and East.

In order to obtain tables of greater precision, the sun's declination should be inscribed for each minute of degree in the Ecliptic, because the differences of declination from one minute to another are not equal. This Ptolemy clearly demonstrates in his *Almagest* where the differences of declination are obtained by arcs and chords from which angles of position result.

The differences of declination for an interval of one degree in the Ecliptic being known, we obtain, by the Rule of Three, the difference of declination for an interval of one minute belonging to the same degree, saying: If an arc in the Ecliptic of a certain number of minutes corresponds to a certain chord or difference of declination, then another arc of the Ecliptic will correspond, in the same proportion, to another chord or difference of declination.

Thus Ptolemy obtained in his time the declinations of the sun for all the degrees of the Zodiac [*sic pro* Ecliptic], on the hypothesis that the sun's greatest declination was 23° and 53'. The navigators of our days use the number 23° 33' for the sun's



greatest declination; Orontius [Fine] in his book makes it equal  $23^{\circ} 30'$ ; I do not hold this value to be exact, neither does Vernezio [Johannes Werner] according to whose observations it is  $23^{\circ} 28'$ . My own [Santa Cruz's?] observations made at Seville with graduated instruments of great precision have given me the value of  $23^{\circ} 26'$  for the sun's greatest declination.

With this value as a basis, I [Cabot, or Santa Cruz?] have computed the sun's declinations for the meridian of Seville so that by augmenting or diminishing the computed declinations according to their places of observations pilots can obtain the sun's declination for the meridians of said places.

The lack of accuracy with regard to the sun's declinations, as inscribed in the books now used by pilots, is a cause of serious errors in the results deduced by them from observations of altitudes. An error of  $\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$  or more in the declination employed, and an error equally great committed in the observation of the sun's altitude may produce an error of almost one degree in the latitude, which is a serious inconvenience when seeking cape or port.

Setting aside this cause of error, let us suppose that the above mentioned tables are compiled with all desirable precision, there should then be constructed an instrument graduated into  $90^{\circ}$  each of which shall be subdivided into  $60'$ .

This instrument may be a quadrant with an alidade or ruler fixed at the centre, such as in the astrolabe, and provided with two pinules serving for observations of altitudes.

Then it will be necessary to know, for the place of observation, the sun's maximum meridian altitude when in the tropic of *Cancer*; its minimum meridian altitude when in the tropic of *Capricornus*; and its mean meridian altitude when in the Equator. These altitudes being noted on the instrument, all the intermediate altitudes will give us the sun's declinations when on either side of the Equator.

One of the sides of this quadrant must be fixed to the ground in such a manner that the instrument inclines neither to one side nor the other, as Ptolemy advises in his *Almagest*. The sun's declination for the meridian of Seville being known for all the days of the year, and the sun's declination for any given meridian being obtained by observation, we can deduce the difference of the sun's declination on the meridian of Seville and the meridian in question, and thence the difference in longitude according to explanations given above."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We express our sincere thanks to our gifted countrywoman, Miss Dorothea KLUMPKE, in charge of an important department in the Paris National Observatory, for her able translation into English of a French version of the above extremely difficult text. We are also under the

Santa Cruz then proceeds to state his objections to Cabot's method. These we must give, as showing the principal reasons which the greatest Spanish savant then living could urge against the theory.

"I think these explanations are sufficient," says Santa Cruz, "for setting forth this method. It seems, nevertheless, to be attended with certain drawbacks which would prevent us from achieving the end proposed by its use.

First, pilots will not be able to make use of the quadrant on ship board owing to the great dimensions of the instrument which are requisite for its graduation into degrees and minutes of degrees. Further, the motion of the ship will render impracticable the condition of stability required by the preceding considerations.

Secondly, it is impossible to obtain, with sufficient accuracy, the sun's declination for all the days of the year. When the sun passes through the signs *Gemini, Cancer, Sagittarius, Capricornus*, its declination cannot be obtained within one minute owing to the slight difference of declination from one day to another."

Other reasons are given, and in short, the theory set forth in the above document amounts to this: The latitude being known, the question is to determine the sun's declination by observation of its meridian altitude. The sun's declination, at the moment of transit over the first meridian, is also known for the date of observation by means of tables established for every day of the year. From the difference of these two declinations is computed the time elapsed between the two transits of the sun over the first meridian and the meridian of observation, viz.: the longitude, on the hypothesis that, for this interval of time, the motion of declination is proportional to the time elapsed.

In whatever manner we may consider the problem of longitudes, we shall finally be compelled to compare the time of the first meridian with the simultaneous time of observation. The chronometer, still

greatest obligations to the late without whose obliging and scientific Admiral FLEURIAIS, and to Lieut. aid we could not have written the BAUVIEUX of the French Navy, present chapter and the next.

better the telegraph, now give us this result in a simple manner.

Formerly the time of observation was obtained by observing the heavens. The moon, because of its proper motion comparatively great, is the only body which enables us to obtain that time with a certain precision. However, for the moon whose motion is about  $360^\circ$  in 27 days = 2332800 seconds of time, an error of one second of arc in the determination of the lunar distance from the neighbouring stars, corresponds to  $\frac{2332800}{1296000}$  = about two seconds of time; and an error of 10 seconds in observation corresponds to 20 seconds of time = 300 seconds of arc = 5 minutes of arc, that is, 30 times the error of observation.

Now if the moon's daily motion among the stars, which is, on an average, from  $12^\circ$  to  $13^\circ$  per day, is justly considered as being very slight, what shall we say of the sun's motion, which does not equal one degree in 24 hours ( $360^\circ$  in one year)?

Setting aside, in this explanation of Sebastian Cabot's theory, the absolute errors regarding the motion in declination, which does not vary proportionately to time, we sum up our objections as follows :

The sun's declination oscillates in one year from  $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  North to  $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  South, that is,  $47^\circ$  in 365 days, or 169200 seconds of arc in about 31536000 seconds of time.

Thus an error of one second of arc in the determination of the sun's declination, according to Cabot's method, would lead to an error in longitude of 251 seconds of time.

With observations of the present day made within 10 seconds of arc, the above would lead to an error in longitude of 2511 seconds of time = 42 minutes of time = 630 minutes of arc =  $10\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ .

Now, taking into consideration that in the middle

of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century observations of altitude within one minute were taken *on land* with great difficulty, because telescopes (invented only in 1609), verniers and levels of precision, were then unknown, the error in longitude, when following Cabot's method, would have actually reached *sixty degrees*, that is, one-sixth of the circumference of the globe !

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE SCIENTIFIC CLAIMS OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

#### (E) HIS NAUTICAL THEORIES, AND SAILING DIRECTIONS.

IN Cabot's planisphere of 1544, there is a legend describing his theory for directing and measuring the course of ships by scientific principles and observations, coupled with two applications of the same, which amount to real sailing directions. But the language is far from being clear, either in the Spanish or Latin, and the theories are based upon postulates still less intelligible. We will nevertheless give here a verbatim translation of the original Spanish text, and add our understanding of the difficult passages.

"Explanation by the Author, with certain reasons for the deviation of the compass from the North Star.

Sebastian Caboto, Captain and Pilot-Major of His S[acred] C[atholic] C[æsarean] Majesty the Emperor Charles, fifth of the name, and the King our lord, has constructed this [geographical] figure projected on a plane, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1544, drawn with the degrees of longitude and latitude, and directions of the winds,<sup>1</sup> as in a marine chart, imitated partly from Ptolemy, partly from modern discoverers, Spanish as well as Portuguese, and partly from the discoveries of his father and himself, whereby you will be able to navigate just as you would with a chart, taking into account the variation of the [magnetic] needle from the North Star.

For instance. When desiring to sail from Cape St. Vincent to Cape Finisterre, you give orders to steer northwards by your compass, and will reach that cape; but the course really followed by your ship will have been North by East, because at Cape St. Vincent your needle

<sup>1</sup> The Latin version gives here: "ventorumque situm."

deviates, from the north, one point towards the north-east. It follows that when you order your ship to steer northwards by your compass, your [real] course will be north by east. In the same manner, when leaving Salmedina (which is a reef outside San Lucar de Barrameda), to go to [A]naga Point in the island of Teneriff, you will order to steer south-west by your compass, and will reach the said [A]naga Point where it is marked on the chart. But your course will not be south-west, because your compass deviates at Salmedina from the north a full point to the eastward of north. The real route shall be a full point to south of south-west. You will be able therefore to say that when sailing from Cape St. Vincent northwards, your [real] course shall be south-west by south.<sup>1</sup>

You will consequently steer in the same manner in all other parts of this Universe, taking into account the variation of your compass from the North Star ; for the said compass neither points to nor remains in the direction of the north in all places, as common people believe ; because the loadstone does not possess, as it seems, the property of causing the needle to point to the north in all places. On the contrary, experience shows that in one place only it possesses the property of maintaining the needle fixed and stable. This shows that it is directed in a straight line, whatever may be the wind ["viento"], and not in a circular line [*sic*], and that is the cause of the said variation. For, if the needle pointed to the north, always and everywhere, it would not vary at all, being then directed in a circular line [*sic*], and you would always be in a parallel ; which is impossible when [steering] in a straight line over a round body.<sup>2</sup>

You should also notice that the more you increase your distance, eastward or westward, from the meridian where the needle points due north, the more the direction of your needle, that is, the flower-de-luce which marks the north, will deviate from the latter. This shows clearly that the needle is directed in a straight line, and not in a circular one.

You ought to know likewise that the meridian where the needle points due north, is the one which passes thirty-five leagues from the island of Flores, the last of the Azores westward. This is the opinion of persons who have acquired great experience on the subject after daily navigations westward to the Indies of the Oceanic Sea. Thus Sebastian Cabot, when steering towards the west, found himself in regions where north-east one quarter north of his compass pointed exactly to the north. It follows clearly

<sup>1</sup> CABOT commits here a gross error. *true*, and not to South-West one quarter South *true*.  
The South-West (course) *magnetic*, with one point of easterly variation, corresponds to South-West by West

<sup>2</sup> Concerning that passage, see *Syllabus*, lxvi, c.

from those observations that the magnetic needle really swerves from the North Star."

Here again, we find the mistaken notion that the curves of equal magnetic declination are meridians. And Cabot not only bases his sailing directions on that most erroneous belief, but makes it serve, with just as little propriety, towards explaining the *cause* of the magnetic declination! Another of his fallacies in connection with the above, we find set forth in the curious phrase: "forçado por circular." How can the direction of a force be otherwise than in a straight line?

We shall now examine the sailing directions which he laid out when crossing the Atlantic on his way to the Moluccas, by way of the Strait of Magellan.

The seventh question of the Fiscal in the judicial inquiry of the 2nd of November 1530, was as follows:

"Do you know whether it was through bad sailing and command on the part of Sebastian Cabot, when in the region ('paraje') of the Cape Verd islands, that he altered his course a quarter [one point], which took him to St. Augustine?"

To complete the question, it is necessary to add that, according to one of Cabot's own witnesses, it was when off the island of Palma that the change was ordered and carried out.<sup>1</sup>

The object of the question addressed by the Fiscal was to ascertain whether Cabot, in shaping out that course, had wilfully gone to Brazil instead of the Molucca and thereby caused the failure of the expedition, or if he had betrayed, in giving such sailing directions, a great lack of seamanship.

Montoya, Calderon, Master Juan, Celis, Hogaçon, and Junco testified that Cabot ordered the change, which, in the positive opinion of four of them, was

<sup>1</sup> "Maestre Juan dixo que sabe quel dicho Sebastian Gaboto fizo mudar una quarta despues de partidos de la ysla de la palma."

the primary cause of the misfortune that happened afterwards. But it is principally in Captain Caro's deposition that we find specific reasons enabling us to ascertain whether Cabot was to blame or not, and to what extent.

That deposition of Captain Caro, who commanded the *Santa Maria del Espinar* at the time of the occurrence, is as follows :

" On the very day that Cabot prescribed the route which the pilots were to take in the region (*parage*) of Cape Verde, he gave orders to alter the course which they were following to the southward, and to steer a point more to the westward. Deponent was then informed that one of the pilots objected to such a change of course, on the ground that this change would carry them to the coast of Brazil, and that in the winter, which commences in May, ships encounter [in that region] south-easterly, and other contrary winds which hinder navigation. Having nevertheless steered that point, and [encountered] the average prevailing wind—south-south-west, particularly as the winds were light, they came to the Brazilian coast, and could not weather Cape St. Augustine . . . Deponent believes that if Sebastian Cabot had not given orders to change the said course, or if he had steered one point south-east, or done what the said pilot told him, he could have sailed without falling in with the coast of Brazil. Deponent therefore believes that the failure of the voyage was caused by the bad seamanship of Cabot."<sup>1</sup>

Captain Diego Garcia, in the account which he gives of his own voyage from the Cape Verd islands to the Rio de la Plata, nearly at the same time as Cabot, and who obtained the information upon which he bases his opinion from the latter's officers and pilots when they met in Paraguay, makes the following statement :

" To navigate over that route requires great caution and [nautical] science, because there are encountered great currents, which come from the rivers of Guinea, and carry ships to the north-west region. Cabot did not know how to deal with those currents."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Probanza* of November 2nd, 1530. *Syllabus*, No. LII, i.

<sup>2</sup> GARCIA'S Report to His Majesty. *Syllabus*, No. XLIX.



The gist of these criticisms is that after leaving Palma (one of the westernmost Canary islands) on his way to the Strait of Magellan, Cabot ordered his pilots to discontinue sailing southward, and commanded to steer south by west, and south-south-west. Those experienced seamen found fault with that direction, being of opinion that the proper course was south, and south by east. Their reasons were that the route laid out by Cabot would bring them too near Capes St. Roque and St. Augustine, where, in April–May, there blew contrary winds, and, besides, that it was necessary to avoid the strong currents which flow from the rivers (as they believed) of Guinea and carry ships to the north-west.

We will endeavour to ascertain whether Cabot had scientific reasons for altering the usual course, or whether, on the other hand, the criticisms of his pilots were justified. Lieutenant Bauvieux, of the French Hydrographic Bureau, to whom we submitted the question, which is altogether of a technical character, was kind enough to supply us with the first elements in a discussion of this kind, viz. : the route followed at the present time by sailing vessels, and the practical principles upon which it has been established.

According to this distinguished naval officer, sailing vessels going from Europe to the South Atlantic regions are instructed to pass in the proximity of the Cape Verd islands, and to cross the equatorial line between  $23^{\circ} 40'$ ,  $24^{\circ} 40'$ , and  $27^{\circ} 40'$  longitude West (Greenwich). (They draw near one or the other of those limits according to the season of the year.) This rule applies to ships going to the Cape of Good Hope, as well as to those which are bound to any of the ports of the east coast of South America, or to the Strait of Magellan. The object of this recommendation is to enable them to cross, at its narrowest

width, the zone of calms and baffling winds which separate the N.E. and S.E. trade winds.

The western limit of the crossing point of the equatorial line is fixed in the meridian of  $27^{\circ} 40'$  longitude West. This enables ships to round easily Capes St. Roque and St. Augustine, avoiding the influence of the equatorial current and South-East trade winds, which they first meet with when about to cross the line. For the same reason, the eastern limit is located as far as  $23^{\circ} 40'$ , or  $24^{\circ} 40'$  longitude West, from April to October, in order to keep still farther away from the coast of Brazil, where, in that season of the year, contrary winds and currents prevail. Experience shows that the line may be crossed between these limits, without fear of being carried too much towards the great elbow which projects eastwards from Cape St. Roque to Cape St. Augustine. If, on the other hand, hoping to weather those capes with greater ease, the line is crossed more to the eastwards, then the zone of calms and baffling winds is encountered at its greatest width. That zone blends with another of the same character which extends from about one hundred leagues west of the African coast to  $22^{\circ} 40'$  longitude West. Finally, still more to the East, about  $20^{\circ} 40'$ , or  $21^{\circ} 40'$  longitude West, ships meet the current of the Gulf of Guinea, which carries them with great force towards the east of that gulf.

After crossing the line, and doubling Capes St. Roque and St. Augustine at a distance of from eighty to one hundred leagues, ships when traversing the region of the S.E. trade winds, are carried westward, beyond Trinity island. The advantage of this course is to get as far to windward as possible into the region of the brave west winds, about the fortieth degree of South latitude. This steering westward is limited only by the necessity of avoiding

the zone of the local winds and currents of the South American coast, which approach it within a distance varying from 60 to 100 leagues.

In short, it has been ascertained that the most advantageous route from Europe to the Strait of Magellan, between April and October (which is the time of the year in which Cabot made his attempt), is to pass at a short distance from Cape Verd islands; cross the line at  $23^{\circ} 40'$  or  $24^{\circ} 40'$  longitude West, sail by about one hundred leagues from Cape Frio, and thence steer in the direction of the Strait of Magellan.

It follows from the above, that when, off Palma, Cabot's pilots steered south and east of south, they were absolutely in the right, and, consequently, in ordering a change of course to south by west, and south-south-west, which amounts to a deviation of  $22^{\circ} 30'$  from the right course, he acted like an inexperienced mariner. Whether, for reasons best known to himself, Cabot intended to go to Cape St. Augustine first, and range the entire American coast southward, or believed that south by west and south-south-west, after leaving Palma, was the real route to the Strait of Magellan, it is unquestionable that in either case the course which he laid out was wrong, even according to nautical notions in those remote times.

Impartiality prompts the critic to examine the question also from another point of view.

Notwithstanding Maestre Juan's declaration that the order to steer westward was given when off Palma, it may have been uttered when the squadron stood further south, and more to the westward. Ramirez mentions great rains experienced "on the coast of Guinea."<sup>1</sup> This implies a ranging of the

<sup>1</sup> "Con muchas aguazeros que sobre la costa Guinea ovimos." *Syllabus*, No. XLVI.

African coast to about the latitude of Cape Verd. If so, that was the parallel where Cabot commanded to steer south by west and south-south-west. But the exact longitude in which the order was given remains yet to be ascertained. If Cabot stood at  $21^{\circ}$ , or thereabout, he did well to sail westwards, but to no considerable distance, and it is not likely that his pilots would have objected to such a course then. Navigators knew full well, even in those days, how important it was to get away as soon as possible from the local winds and currents of the African coast, particularly in April–May. We have only to recollect the expressions used on that occasion by Cabot's pilots :

“Porque se llegara a la costa del Brazil y en el ynvernio que es desde Mayo en adelante siguian en aquella costa los vientes Suestes e otros vientos contrarios e no podrian navegar :—Because they would fall in with the coast of Brazil, and in winter, which is from May onwards, there blow on that coast the south-easterly and other contrary winds, and it will be impossible to steer.”

Nay, they were also familiar with the equatorial current, although erroneously attributing it to the rivers of the coast of Guinea :

“Hay grandes corrientes que salen de los rios de Guynea que abaten los navios a la vanda del Norueste :—There are great currents which originate in the rivers of Guinea, and impede ships in the North-West region.”

It is curious, too, to notice that when Diego Garcia says : “Este Cabo [St. Augustine] se corre al susudeste, mas para doblar el Cabo navegamos por el sur, e á los veces tomamos la quarta del sueste,” he anticipates the sailing directions which Admiralties prescribe at the present day.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philippe DE KERHALLET, *Considerations générales sur l'Océan Atlantique*, Paris, 8vo ; 4th edit., 1860. LABROSSE, *Indicateur des routes maritimes de l'Océan Atlantique Sud*, Paris, 1872, 8vo, and the English Admiralty Chart of the world showing tracks followed by vessels with sail, No. 1078.

The equatorial current combined with the western course ordered by Cabot could not but carry him too near the Brazilian coast, where he encountered the winds and current which, as his pilots and officers had justly predicted, prevented his ships weathering Cape St. Augustine. In fact, it took him two months to cross from the Cape Verd islands to the Brazilian coast. And when he had been driven into Pernambuco, it was only after three months more that, notwithstanding strenuous and repeated efforts, he finally succeeded in weathering the Cape.<sup>1</sup> The description given by Luis Ramirez and by Cabot's own witnesses also show that he went direct to the very Oceanic region which experienced navigators strove to avoid.

<sup>1</sup> The 14th question on behalf of CABOT is as follows: "Si saben que por espacio de tres meses syempre hizo el tiempo contrario por lo qual S. Caboto no pudo seguir su viaje?" Nine witnesses testified in the affirmative, after having declared "quel tiempo les hera contrario e que por esto surgió en la costa del brasyl." RAMIREZ's description of the weather and winds when endeavoring to cross the line also answers perfectly the Atlantic region which sailors familiarly call the "Black Pot."

## CHAPTER XVI.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT AGAIN SETTLES IN ENGLAND.

WHILE still enjoying the confidence of Charles V., Sebastian Cabot recommenced his intrigues, this time with the English government. We see him, in 1538, endeavouring to obtain a position in England, and succeeding in getting Sir Thomas Wyatt to recommend him to Henry VIII. There is a memorandum from that ambassador to Sir Philip Hoby on his leaving Spain for England, on the 28th of November 1538, which is quite conclusive on that point. It is as follows :

“To remember Sebastian Cabote. He hath here but 300 ducats a year, and he is desirous, if he might not serve the King, at least to see him, as his old master. And I think therein. And that I may have an answer in this.”<sup>1</sup>

Cabot, however, accomplished his object only two and a half years afterwards.

We possess a dispatch sent from London by the Imperial Ambassador in England to the Queen of Hungary at Brussels, on the 26th of May 1541, which contains this interesting passage :

“About two months ago, there was a deliberation in the Privy Council as to the expediency of sending two ships to the Northern seas for the purpose of discovering a passage between Islandt and Engronland for the Northern regions where it was thought that, owing to the extreme cold, English woollen cloths would be very acceptable and sell for a good price. To this end the King has

<sup>1</sup> James GAIRDNER, *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. xiii, part 1, vol. ii, No. 974, p. 415.

retained here for some time a pilot from Seville well versed in the affairs of the sea, though in the end the undertaking has been abandoned, all owing to the King not choosing to agree to the pilot's terms."<sup>1</sup>

In 1541 Cabot lived in Seville, and since the death of Estevam Gomez, all trace of whom disappears in 1537,<sup>2</sup> he was the only mariner in Spain who had, or pretended to have, a knowledge of the seas "between Iceland and Greenland." We have therefore every reason to believe that the pilot meant was Sebastian Cabot, inasmuch as only a couple of years before, as we have just seen, he had made efforts to be employed by the King of England. If his name is not given, it is because neither the writer nor the receiver of the dispatch knew, or attached importance to such a detail. The diplomatist who conveyed the information is Eustace Chapuys, a native of Savoy, who was sent by Charles V. in 1529 as ambassador to England, where he remained many years, and never visited Spain. His correspondent was Mary of Austria, the sister of Charles V., born and brought up in Brussels, who married in 1523 Lewis, King of Hungary, with whom she lived until he was killed, at the battle of Mohacz in 1526. Mary then returned to the Low Countries, of which she was regent from 1531 until 1555, going then to Spain, apparently for the first time, to lead a secluded life, like her illustrious brother. Under the circumstances, it is natural that no attention should have been paid to the pilot's name, supposing even that it ever was uttered in the presence of Chapuys.

Edward VI. had been on the throne seven or eight months when the Privy Council, which governed the kingdom during his minority, accepted,

<sup>1</sup> GAYANGOS, *Calendar*, vol. vi, *de Indias*, vol. xlii, p. 468, and 1537, part I, No. 163, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> The last mentions of Estevam GOMEZ are of the years 1533, *Doc. ined.* *Indias*, vol. ii, p. 200.

on the 29th of September 1547, Cabot's offer to enter the service of England.<sup>1</sup> On the 9th of October following, it issued a warrant or order on Sir Edmund Peckham, High Treasurer of the Mints, to the amount of £100, "for the transporting of one Shabot [*sic*] as Pilot to come out of Hispain to serve and inhabit in England."<sup>2</sup> The individual meant is evidently Sebastian Cabot, and as we notice in the first rank among the members of the Privy Council at that date, the Earl of Arundel, who became afterwards one of the principal founders of the famous Moscovy Company, of which Cabot was made Governor several years later, we are inclined to think that the object may have been already some intended voyage to Cathay by the North-East.<sup>3</sup>

Cabot was then at least seventy-three years old, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, and the services rendered by such distinguished cosmographers as Alonso de Chaves, Pedro de Medina, Alonso de Santa Cruz and Diego Gutierrez junior, all Spaniards by birth, (which must be noted, as laws enacted in 1527 and 1534 prohibited foreigners from being pilots<sup>4</sup>), was still maintained by Charles V., in the high position of Pilot-Major. An annuity had even lately been added to his salary. Yet, as we have just seen, Cabot was engaged for more than ten years in underhand dealings with the

<sup>1</sup> The pension granted to CABOT by EDWARD VI., January 6th, 1548, is made to date from the preceding Michaelmas Day: "a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo præterito huc usque se extendit, et attingit," which corresponds with September 29th, 1547.

<sup>2</sup> John Roche DASENT, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, London, 1890, vol. ii, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Clement ADAMS, *Newe Navigation by the North-east in the yeere 1553*, in HAKLUYT, vol. i, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> "El que se huviere de examinar de Pilotos o ha de ser natural de estos Reynos de Castilla, Aragon, y Navarra: y ningun estrangero sea admitido, ni se le despache titulo de Piloto, ni de Maestre para las Indias ni se le ha de permitir que navegue a ellas, ni tener carta de marear ni pintura, ni descripcion de las Indias." Laws of August 2nd, 1527, and December 11th, 1534, in *Recopilacion de leyes de Indias*; laws xiv-xv, vol. iii, p. 286.



English ambassador at the Court of Spain, proffering his services to England.

About two months, as we suppose, after the warrant had been issued by the Privy Council, Cabot left Spain,<sup>1</sup> on a leave of absence, and without relinquishing either his office of Pilot-Major, or his pension. He even himself selected, to fill the office during his absence, Diego Gutierrez senior, an incompetent cosmographer, but a personal friend on whom he could rely. The Casa de Contratacion, however, objected to the choice, and demanded that Gutierrez should be examined regarding his professional abilities.<sup>2</sup>

Edward VI. speedily rewarded Cabot, granting him, January 6th, 1548-49,<sup>3</sup> an annuity of £166, 13s. 4d., and certain functions in maritime affairs, but not the title or office of Pilot-Major of England as is generally believed.<sup>4</sup>

The Emperor growing impatient at the protracted absence of his Pilot-Major, instructed Antoine Perrenot, then bishop of Arras and his envoy in Flanders, to claim from Thomas Cheney the British Minister at Brussels, the return of Cabot to Spain. Cheney and Sir Philip Hoby, in consequence,

<sup>1</sup> "Thexchequier had warrant for 6<sup>li</sup> to Henry Oystryge by hym taken up by exchange for conducting of Sebastian Sabott." Sept. 11th, 1549; DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> "En 22 de Setiembre de 1549 (?) informaba la dicha Casa de Contratacion del concepto que merecian los pilotos y cosmografos, y decia que Diego Gutierrez servia de piloto mayor con poder que le dejó Sebastiano Gaboto, y era conveniente proveer el oficio, por que este Diego Gutierrez no tenia partes para ello." Quoted by Capt. Fernandez DURO (from vol. 90 of the Muñoz Collection of MSS.). Ever since 1544, the maps made by GUTIERREZ were reported to

be "erradas y perjudiciales à la navegacion y derechos del Rey." Also cited by Capt. DURO, *Arca de Noe*, p. 521.

<sup>3</sup> "6 dii Januarij anno 2 Reg. Ed. VI." HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 10. The pension was for £166, 13s. 4d. "in consideratione boni et acceptabilis servitii nobis per dilectum servientem nostrum Sebastianum Cabotam impensi atque impendendi:—in consideration of the good and acceptable services done, and to be done unto us by our beloved servant Sebastian Cabota." HAKLUYT and RYMER.

<sup>4</sup> As to the title of Pilot-Major of England, see *infra*, chapter xvii.

addressed the following despatch to the Privy Council, on the 25th of November 1549 :

“Whereas one Sebastian Gabote generall pilot of the emperours Indies is presently in England forasmuch as he cannot stand the King your Mr. in any greate [stead] seing he hath smale practise in these sees and is a verie necessary man for the emperour whose servaunt he is [and] hath a pencion of hym, his ma<sup>tie</sup> desyreth sume ordre [to] be taken for his sending over in suche sorte as his [ma<sup>ties</sup>] Ambassadour shall at better length declare vnto the King your Mr's counsell.”<sup>1</sup>

The request of Charles V. was at once transmitted to the Privy Council, which, on the 29th of January, replied to the Spanish Ambassador that “the Lords would deliberate and make him answer with conveniant spede.”<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, on the 21st of April 1550, an answer was given by the channel of Sir Philip Hoby, that “Cabot was not detained in England by them, but that he of himself refused to go either into Spayne or to the emperor, and that he being of that mind and the Kinges subiecte, no reason, nor equite wolde that he shulde be forced or compelled to go against his will.”<sup>3</sup>

A fact worthy of notice is that in 1550 Cabot should be called a British subject. We have shown that he was not born within the realm of England. To possess such a title required him therefore to have obtained *ex donatione regis* letters patent from one of the first Tudors, or an act of Parliament. In either case, it was a favour which would have precluded Cabot from serving, as he did, for forty-eight years, a foreign prince, without forfeiting the privileges conferred by naturalisation.

It is certain that when Cabot was in company with

<sup>1</sup> STRYPE, *Memorials of the Reformation*, vol. ii, p. 190; *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, vol. i, p. 125, and *Syllabus*, No. lxix.

<sup>2</sup> DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. NICHOLS, *Literary remains of King Edward VI.*, London, 1857, 4to, vol. i, p. cxxxix.

Englishmen, he made himself pass as a countryman of theirs; which may have proved easy, for we imagine that having come when young to England, and lived there at least sixteen years in succession (1496-1512), he spoke English perfectly. Then there were no records of births, nor even of baptism, as these date only from the Council of Trent; and as he was not less than seventy-five years old at the time of Charles V.'s demand, no one probably could gainsay his assertions on the point. He therefore assumed his title of British subject not from letters patent, but from his alleged birth in England. This, if true, although he was the son of an alien, would have caused him to be born within the allegiance, and under the protection of Edward IV. At all events, the above-quoted document is the only one which has come to our knowledge wherein he is mentioned as a "Kinges subiecte." Must it be inferred that he was made so immediately upon his coming to England in 1548? All we can say is that hitherto no traces have been found of such an act, either on the part of the King, or Parliament, at any time. On the contrary, we shall soon see that shortly afterwards he called himself a subject of the Republic of Venice.

Sebastian Cabot, it seems, again established his home in Bristol.<sup>1</sup>

It has been stated that he obtained in 1550, from Edward VI. a "renewal of the patent of 1495-6,"<sup>2</sup> and that the original document was on file in Her Majesty's Public Record office in London. The statement is both erroneous and improbable. The facts are simply these: On the 4th of June 1550, Cabot declared on oath that he had lost the copy which he possessed of the letters patent granted

<sup>1</sup> STRYPE, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Charles DEANE, *John and Sebastian Cabot; a study*. Cambridge, Mass., 1886, 8vo, p. 56, note 2.

to his father, himself and brothers on the 5th of March, 1496. At the same time, he petitioned to obtain another copy of the document. The King granted the petition, but on condition that if the transcript which had been given to him at the time was ever found again, it should be handed back to the Chancery. Nothing else.<sup>1</sup>

On the 26th of June 1550, the King further bestowed on him a gratuity of £200,<sup>2</sup> and, if we are to believe Strype,<sup>3</sup> another of like amount in March 1551. It is interesting to see how Cabot showed his gratitude.

In the month of August following, he sought an interview with Giacomo Sorenzo, the Venetian ambassador in London. Although scarcely more than a year before (April 1550), he had given assurances to members of the Privy Council that he owed allegiance to Edward VI. (else they would not have described him in a State paper as "King's subiecte"), he represented himself to the envoy of Venice as a Venetian. This is shown by sentences in two despatches of September 1551, viz.: "el fedelissimo nostro Sebastiano Gabato," and "the Seigniory were well pleased that one of their subjects (referring to Cabot), should deserve the Council's good will." He then offered his professional services to the Republic, and remitted to Sorenzo a detailed statement of his plans, with request to forward it to Venice. But Sorenzo, like Contarini, thirty years before, under similar circumstances, thought it was necessary for Cabot to go in person to Venice. And here again, we see two wily Italians concoct anew the plan of 1522, based upon

<sup>1</sup> See the original text, *Syllabus*, No. lxxxiii, from the Patent Rolls in the Public Records.

<sup>2</sup> "1550, June 26. A warrant to the Exchequier to paie unto Sebastian

Cabotto ccl<sup>li</sup>, by waie of the Kinges Majesties reward." DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> STRYPE, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 76.

an imaginary claim arising from some alleged estate of Cabot's mother and aunt, dating so far back as the beginning of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century. What is more, they even succeeded in obtaining from Lord Wriothesley the promise to recommend the matter to Peter Vannes, the English ambassador at Venice, with request to interfere personally so as to secure the good will of the Venetian government!

Peter Vannes, accordingly, laid the matter before the Council of Ten, and remitted to Gio. Battista Ramusio, its secretary, at Cabot's suggestion, the memoir in which the latter set forth his plans and project. On the same day, September 12th, 1551, the Venetian government sent a despatch on the subject to its representative in England, and the British ambassador conveyed to the Privy Council the results of his endeavours on behalf of Cabot. Peter Vannes, certainly, did not imagine that he was endeavouring to promote a design levelled against the interest of his country.

Those two documents, which happily have come down to us, are too interesting not to be summarised here:

#### I.

##### “THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN TO GIACOMO LORENZO, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND:

By his letters addressed to them on the 17th ult. have heard what he had to tell them about their most faithful Sebastian Cabot which pleased them much. Commend him greatly for his diligence in giving them a detailed account of his qualities and parts. Desire him in reply to let Cabot know that they are extremely gratified by his offer. As to the request made to the ambassador by the Lords of the Council about the credits and recovery of property claimed by him to say that the Signory wishes to do whatever may be agreeable to the King and their Lordships; but as no one in Venice knows Cabot, it would be necessary for him to come in person to identify himself and prove his rights, the matters in question being of very ancient date. Gave this same answer to his Majesty's ambassador, who made the demand of them in accordance with his (Lorenzo's) letter.

To communicate the whole to Cabot that he may ask and obtain leave to come to Venice to favour the suit that Cabot may return to them as soon as possible, and in the meanwhile to endeavour to obtain from Cabot as many particulars as he can about his design respecting this navigation, giving the Chiefs especial notice of the whole.<sup>1</sup>"

## II.

"PETER VANNES, ENGLISH AMBASSADOR AT VENICE,  
TO THE COUNCIL :

Touching Sebastian Cabot's matter, concerning which the Venetian Ambassador had also written, he has recommended the same to the Seignior, and in their presence delivered to one of their secretaries Baptista Ramusio, whom Cabot put in trust, such evidences as came into his hands. The Seignior were well pleased that one of their subjects by service and virtue should deserve the Council's good will and favour ; and although this matter is about 50 years old, and by the death of men, decaying of houses and perishing of writings, as well as his own absence it were hard to come to any assured knowledge thereof, they have commanded Ramusio to ensearch with diligence any way and knowledge possible that may stand to the said Sebastian's profit and obtaining of right."<sup>2</sup>

The precise purport of Cabot's offer to Venice can only be inferred from the above despatch of the Venetian government to Sorenzo, as the memoir remitted by Vannes to Ramusio has not yet been found in the archives. The expression "particolare informatione delle qualità e conditioni sue :—a detailed account of his [Cabot's] qualities and parts," is made to cover the object of those negotiations. But the instruction given to Sorenzo, "to obtain from Cabot as many particulars as he could about his design respecting this navigation :—di sforzarvi di intendere da lui più avanti quei maggior particolari che potrete dir, e il disegno suo di questa navigation," shows that once more the project was to lead

<sup>1</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. *Foreign Series ; Edward VI.*, p. 171, v, No. 711.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. B. TRUMBULL, *Calendar*,

a Venetian fleet to Cathay, through the imaginary passage which Cabot pretended to have discovered and visited.

We have been unable to ascertain what became of those intrigues, or when they ceased.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT'S EMPLOYMENT IN ENGLAND.

NO office was created for Sebastian Cabot, or specially given to him, when, in 1548, he "came out of Hispain to serve out and inhabit in England." Alonso de Santa Cruz, writing in the life-time of Cabot, calls him "piloto mayor de su Magestad en Ynglaterra";<sup>1</sup> which must be understood in the sense of "Pilot-Major to His [Spanish] Majesty, and [now] in England." But Hakluyt, writing fifty years after the alleged appointment, says: "King Edward VI. advanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be Grand Pilot of England." And as he adds that this was "before he entered into the Northern Discovery,"<sup>2</sup> the date of the preferment would have been between 1549 and 1553. Biddle, however, has given excellent reasons to prove that Sebastian Cabot never held the office, although the probability is that he performed in England duties pertaining in some respects to such a post:

"There is preserved," Biddle says, "in the Landsdowne MSS. (No. 116, art. 3) a Memorial presented by Stephen Burrough, an English seaman of considerable note, the object of which is to enforce the necessity of appointing such an officer. It appears by an accompanying document that Burrough himself was forthwith appointed 'Cheyffe Pylot' for life, and also 'one of the foure masters that shall have the keeping and oversight of our shippes, &c.' It is declared the duty of the Chief Pilot to 'have the examination and appointing of all such mariners as shall from this

<sup>1</sup> SANTA CRUZ, *Libro de las Longitudes*, in our *Syllabus*, No. lxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, vol. iii, in the Dedication.



time forward take the charge of a Pilot or Master upon him in any ship within this our realm.' This is the duty supposed to have been assigned to Cabot, but it seems difficult to reconcile the language of Burrough with the previous existence of any such office. His memorial recites 'Three especial causes and considerations amongst others, wherefore the office of Pilot-Major is allowed and esteemed in Spain, Portugal and other places where navigation flourisheth.' Had any such duties ever been exercised in England, he would of course have referred to the fact, and insisted on the advantages which had resulted, more particularly as he was educated in the school of Cabot, and expressly names '*the goode olde and famuse man Master Sebastian Cabota.*'"<sup>1</sup>

Stephen Burrough's Memorial does not bear any date, but it is in a handwriting of the time of the commission from Queen Elizabeth appointing him "Cheyffe Pylot for life."<sup>2</sup> This is of January 3rd, 1563, which we must assume to be the date when the office was created. If so, Cabot had then been dead four or five years. Besides, in no official document, particularly those like the grant of pensions or gratuities for services rendered, where such a title would naturally be affixed to his name, is Sebastian Cabot ever called "Pilot-Major of England."

On the other hand, there is no means of ascertaining what were the special duties assigned to him. We are inclined to share Biddle's opinion that Cabot "would seem to have exercised a general supervision over the maritime concerns of the country, under the eye of the King and the Council, and to have been called upon whenever there was occasion for nautical skill and experience."<sup>3</sup> In support of this belief, he cites the case of one John Alday offering as an

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*; Philadelphia, 1831, Appendix C, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Mr George F. BARWICK, of the British Museum, who, at our request, has examined the Lansdowne MSS. referred to by BIDDLE, kindly reports that No. 116 is a volume of Mr. STRYPE'S collection containing many

original Burghley papers, and some duplicates so that these are undoubted MSS. of the xvii<sup>th</sup> century. No. 3 is described as "A copy of the appointment of Stephen BOROWGHE to the office of Chief Pilot of England, with his own reasons for the necessity of such an office, 1563."

<sup>3</sup> BIDDLE, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

explanation of his not having gone as master on a proposed voyage to the Levant, that "he was letted [stayed] by the Prince's letters which my Master Sebastian Gabota had obtained for that purpose to my great grieve."<sup>1</sup> Biddle also refers to Cabot having been called upon to be present at the examination of a French pilot who had long frequented the coast of Brazil,<sup>2</sup> and even presumes that the minute instructions for the navigation of La Plata, published by Hakluyt, may be from his pen. If so, Cabot must have greatly modified his views in that respect from what they were in 1526. The course directed in Hakluyt's *Ruttier*, for sailing from Cape Verd to Brazil is "South-South-East, and when within 5 or 6 degrees of the Equinoctial, South-East and by South." This, it will be remembered, is the route which Cabot's pilots in 1526 charged him with having declined to follow, thereby causing the failure of the expedition.

His biographers also give him credit for great and successful exertions on behalf of the Merchant Adventurers in their struggle with the Steel-yard,<sup>3</sup> or tradesmen of the Hanseatic towns established at

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. ii, part ii, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iii, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> "Steelyard, so named by reason of the steel which the Easterlings in great quantitie brought thether to sell, and is a verie large and spacious house lying vpon the Thamis side, for that they were enioined to dwell all in one house." WHEELER, *A Treatise of Commerce, wherein are showed the Commodities arising by a wel ordered and ruled Trade, such as that of the Societie of Merchantes Adventurers is proved to bee.* Middleburgh, 1601, sm. 4to, p. 87.

The house of the Easterlings (in Dowgate?) was still standing in 1565. CHYTRÆUS, who visited it at that time, copied the following distichs "Londini in domo mercatorum Germanorum, vocata Stilard." (*Variorum in Europa itinerum Delicia*, 1599, s.l., 8vo, p. 594.)

*Hæc domus est lata, semper bonitate repleta,*

*Hic pax, hic requies, hic gaudia semper honesta.*

This is a joyful home—with kindness overflowing,

Here peace and rest abide, unsullied bliss bestowing !

*Aurum blanditiæ pater est, natusque doloris.*

*Qui caret hoc, mæret ; qui tenet, hic metuit.*

Gold is the sire of cajoling—itsself is begotten of pain—

Who lacks it languishes sadly. Who holds, dwells in dread to retain.

that place in London. The English company was, as our readers are doubtless aware, an association of merchants known, as early as 1399,<sup>1</sup> under the name of "Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury," and after 1505 and 1513, as "the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England," by virtue of acts of Parliament passed in the latter year.<sup>2</sup> The interest and sympathies of the people and of the Crown were naturally with this association; and the downfall of its rivals, "the Easterlings," was hailed with great satisfaction throughout the kingdom. The first time, to our knowledge, when the name of Sebastian Cabot is found connected with that great event in the history of British Commerce, is not earlier than the publication of Campbell's *Lives of the British Admirals*, where the statement is as follows:

"At last the Company of Merchant Adventurers, at the head of which was our Sebastian Cabot, on the twenty-ninth of December 1551, exhibited to the Council an Information against the Merchants of the *Steelyard*, to which they were directed to put in their Answer. They did so, and after several Hearings and a Reference to the King's Solicitor General, his Counsel learned in the Law, and the Recorder of London a decree passed on the twenty-fourth of February, whereby these merchants of the *Steelyard* were declared to be no legal corporation."<sup>3</sup>

Campbell wrote only in 1742, and although accustomed to quote authorities very freely, he does not cite any as regards his statement that Cabot "in 1551 was at the head of the Company of Merchants

<sup>1</sup> WHEELER even says (*op. cit.*, p. 7), that in 1399 the Brotherhood received from HENRY IV. a charter of privileges, which was confirmed by act of Parliament. ANDERSON, however, in his *Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, 1764, folio, vol. i, pp. 233, 260, 282, states that the charter was granted only in 1406, and confirmed by HENRY VI. in 1430.

<sup>2</sup> ANDERSON (*op. cit.*, pp. 323, 335, 343), repeats that their name of "Merchant Adventurers of England," dates from the 20th year of HENRY VIIth's reign.

<sup>3</sup> CAMPBELL, *Lives of British Admirals*; Dublin, 1748, 8vo, vol. i, p. 232.

Adventurers." For that period, or concerning the Steelyard contest, he refers in general to Edward Vith's writings, and to Wheeler, neither of whom mentions Cabot's name.

Biddle is still more positive than Campbell :

"The important agency of Cabot," says he, "in a result so auspicious not merely to the interests of commerce but to the public revenue, may be judged of from a donation bestowed on him a few days after the decision. 'To Sebastian Caboto, the great seaman,<sup>1</sup> 200 pounds, by way of the King's majesty's reward, dated in March 1551.'<sup>2</sup>"

and he only cites, in support of his assertion, John Strype's *Memorials*.<sup>3</sup>

Strype does not give the reasons for that alleged gratuity, nor is there any evidence that, if ever granted at such a time, it was, to use Mr Nichols' expressions (which are exclusively derived from Biddle) "upon the decision of the Privy Council adverse to the claims of the merchants of the Steel yard, declaring that they had forfeited their charter."<sup>4</sup>

Strype states no authority whatever for the alleged grant upon which Biddle bases his assertion. On the other hand, every sedulous student of English history will bear witness to the unreliable character, in many respects, of Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*.<sup>5</sup> If a reward of the kind had been

<sup>1</sup> The words "the great seaman" are an interpolation of STRYPE, which, it must be said, is, in his text, printed between brackets.

<sup>2</sup> BIDDLE, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> STRYPE, *Ecclesiastical Memorials relating to Religion and the Reformation*; Oxford, 1822, 8vo, vol. ii, part ii, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. NICHOLS, *Literary Remains of King Edward VI.*; London, 1857, 4to, vol. i, p. clxxxix, note. The assertion of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. viii, pp. 169-170, that

CABOT "was called upon to settle the disputes between the merchants of the Steelyard and the merchant adventurers," and that "for his good offices on this occasion, CABOT was awarded by the crown in March 1551 a further gratuity of £200 (quoting STRYPE, II, ii, 76)," is equally erroneous in every respect. Nowhere does STRYPE connect CABOT'S name with the Steelyard.

<sup>5</sup> See the authorities cited by ALLIBONE, under the head of *Strype*. Mr John Roche DASENT, the learned editor of the *Acts of the Privy*

granted to Cabot in March 1551, we should see it recorded among the acts of the Privy Council, just as we find in that valuable collection the gratuity of June 26th, 1550. Strype does not cite the latter donation, but employs the same terms for the one which he is the only writer to mention. His *Memorials* state: "200l. by way of the King's Majesty's reward." In the Ordinances, we read: "cc<sup>li</sup> by waie of the Kinges Majesties rewarde." Only the dates differ. So far from finding in the repetition of that formula an indication of authenticity, we are rather inclined to consider it as pointing towards a lapsus on the part of Strype, who not uncommonly commits such errors, mistaking dates, and attributing to one event, the details of another.<sup>1</sup> This is the more likely, as he ignores the pension granted to Cabot the year previous.

At all events, neither in Strype nor in any history written within two centuries after the event, where the contest with the Easterlings is described, is to be found the least mention of Cabot in connection with that important affair. We are loth to believe that John Wheeler, who, as secretary of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers, wrote in 1601 a sort of documentary chronicle of that institution, would have failed to cite Cabot, if he had found traces of such an important part played by him. Thomas Carte, "the historian for facts," as Warton calls him,<sup>2</sup> whose description of the removal of the Steelyard men is the most satisfactory, even gives it to be understood that Cabot's influence in the English

*Council*, whom we had requested to ascertain whether there was in the archives of his office, a confirmation of STRYPE's statement relative to that gratuity, also says, "I have generally found Strype unsafe."

<sup>1</sup> For instance, he confounds the expedition of Thomas WINDHAM in

1553 to Guinea and Benin, with WILLOUGHBY's voyage to the Arctic region in that year, by this statement that for the latter "the King lent two ships, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*." See HAKLUYT, vol. ii, part ii, p. 11, and BIDDLE, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by LOWNDES.

Company was exercised only after the privileges of the Hanse had been annulled.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the matter involved related neither to cosmography nor navigation, and we do not see of what particular use Cabot's specific experience could have been in such an emergency.<sup>2</sup> Be that as it may, if Edward VI. actually granted a reward to Cabot in March 1551, it is sufficiently explained by the fact that he had been then in the employ of the British Crown for three years past; and the fact of its date, or alleged date, being close to that of the revocation of the Steelyard privileges, should be viewed as a mere coincidence.

So with the statement that "in December 1551, Sebastian Cabot was constituted Governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers for life."<sup>3</sup> This seems to be derived from Campbell's above cited assertion, blended with the apparently precise, but still more erroneous one that "the Company of Merchant Adventurers was formed and incorporated on 18th December 1551."<sup>4</sup> Every writer at all conversant with the subject, or who does not limit his investigations to second hand authorities, knows that the Company in question was "formed" at least forty years before 1551, and "incorporated" only on February 6th, 1555.

The title of the instructions, however, prepared on the 9th of May 1553 for the expedition of

<sup>1</sup> "This decree and the timely arrival of Sebastian (son of John) Cabot, a Venetian, into this kingdom, &c." Thomas CARTE, *General History of England*; London, 1747-55, folio, vol. iii, p. 266. We make this quotation simply to show the general impression left on the mind of historians, for CABOT had been in England about three years when the decree was rendered, Feb. 24th, 1551. DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 487. King EDWARD enters his mention of the

"decree made bi the borde," under the date of "23rd February." NICHOLS, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 401-402.

<sup>2</sup> The probability is that the principal mover in that undertaking was rather such a man as William CHESTER, or Sir George BARNES.

<sup>3</sup> Clements R. MARKHAM, *Life of John Davis*; London, 1889, &c. p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1886, vol. viii, p. 170.

Willoughby, states that they were "compiled, made, and delivered by the right worshipfull Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, Gouvernour of the mysterie and Companie of the Marchants aduenturers." The document is also signed: "I, Sebastian Cabota, Gouvernour." The designation is confirmed in the heading of the description of the first part of the voyage, in the handwriting of Willoughby, found on board the *Bona Speranza*, and dated "Anno 1553." He is called therein "Master Sebastian Cabota, Esquire, and Gouvernour of the mysterie and company of the Marchants Adventurers of the citie of London."<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt therefore that in May 1553 he was already in possession of the office. But, so far as documents go, the appointment does not date from 1551. Let us add that John Sturgeon held that office in 1549,<sup>2</sup> and Sir William Dansell so late as March 1551-52.<sup>3</sup> This is another proof, at least, that Sebastian Cabot could not have been during the Steel-yard contest, "at the head of the Company of Merchant Adventurers," as Campbell says, and others frequently repeat.

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> WHEELER, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> DASENT, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. iii, pp. 501, 531.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS TO CATHAY.

THE letters patent granted by Henry VII. to the Cabots so far back as 1496, show that England was the first nation which endeavoured to follow the example of Spain in the sphere of transatlantic discoveries. The authorisations given by Portugal to João Fernandez of Terceira, which are the earliest on record for that country, bear date only October 28th, 1499.<sup>1</sup> Yet the historian should not give too much credit to the Tudors in that respect. The expeditions were conditioned to cost nothing whatever to the Crown of England. In reality, the grants can be considered merely as licences given to speculators to undertake voyages beyond the Atlantic Ocean at their own cost. This stipulation we find repeated in the letters patent granted to John Cabot in 1498; in 1501 to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst and John Thomas of Bristol, in partnership with João Fernandez, (evidently the same individual who had obtained a like privilege from King João II., two years previous), Francisco his brother, and João Gonzales, of the Azores; <sup>2</sup> and in 1502 to three of these grantees, associated with Hugh Elliott.<sup>3</sup>

The Crown continued to authorise enterprises of

<sup>1</sup> *Les Corte Real*, p. 44. *Discovery of North America*, p. 676.

<sup>2</sup> BIDDLE, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, pp. 222, 312-320; *Discovery of North America*, pp. 46, 47, 687.

<sup>3</sup> HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, vol. i, p. 219; RYMER, *Fœdera* vol. v, pars iv, p. 186; *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 267; *Discovery of North America*, pp. 46 and 692.



the kind. We see one which was to be carried out soon after 1504,<sup>1</sup> and another, it seems, which returned in September 1505.<sup>2</sup> Then twelve years elapse before documents, or historical accounts, begin to mention again voyages projected or attempted by Englishmen to the "New Ilandes." Among these, we notice particularly the expedition which failed by the "faint heart" of Thomas Pert or Spert, in 1516, and that of 1521, which Henry VIII. prepared at the cost of the Twelve great Liveries of England, both of which we have already discussed.<sup>3</sup>

There is no doubt that this King was anxious to carry the British flag beyond the regions then known. In 1525, he promised Paulo Centurione, a noted Genoese navigator and cosmographer, to equip several vessels for a voyage of discovery: "Et Paulo poi passo in Ingliterra, et fu ben veduto dal Re, il quale li pro metteua alquanti naui per andare a discoprir paesi noui." The project failed on account of the untimely death of Centurione: "ma il bono et laborioso Paulo amfalo in Londra, et ando a cercare i paesi dell' altro mondo," adds Agostino Giustiniani,<sup>4</sup> somewhat jocularly. Centurione seems to have entertained the same notion which in 1553 prompted the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor: "that noble adventure of seeking for a passage into the eastern parts of the World, through the unknown and dangerous seas of the North,"<sup>5</sup> and to the establishment of the Muscovy Company in 1555. The project of Centurione is stated in these words: "Condur le speciarie e le altre mercanzie di Colocut e di Tauris in le parti nostre di Europa per via di Moscovia," so that even in this instance the idea

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, pp. 47 and 698.

<sup>2</sup> *Excerpta historica*, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, pp. 168-170.

<sup>4</sup> Agostino GIUSTINIANI, *Castigatis-*

*simi Annali*; Genova, 1537, folio, lib. vi, fo. cclxxviii.

<sup>5</sup> HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, vol. i, p. 243; STRYPE, *op. cit.* vol. ii, p. 402.

cannot be said to have originated with Sebastian Cabot.<sup>1</sup>

There is evidence that British ships continued to cross the Atlantic, but these were chiefly fishing expeditions to the Newfoundland banks. Meanwhile the question of a passage to Cathay by the North did not cease to engross the mind not only of the King, as we have just seen by his promise to Centurione, but of British merchants, in and out of England. We still possess a letter from Robert Thorne, in charge of a branch in Seville of a rich Bristol firm, inviting his Majesty to open a way into the Northern seas to reach the east coast of Cathay. Like Centurione's project, it was to be by the North-East, as is shown by the following description :

"If this will go towards the Orient, "wrote the enterprising merchant to the King," they shall enjoy the regions of all the Tartarians that extends towards the midday, and from thence they may go and proceed to the land of Cathaio Oriental . . . So that now rest to be discovered the said North parts, the which it seemeth to me, is only Your Majesty's charge and duty."<sup>2</sup>

The date of the letter we only know to be 1527. It may have been in the beginning of the year. If so, there is no impossibility of its having prompted the following expedition of John Rut<sup>3</sup> of Ratcliff, yeoman of the Crown.

Rut was rather illiterate.<sup>4</sup> From December 1512 to July 1513, he was master of the *Gabriell Royal*,

<sup>1</sup> This CENTURIONE is evidently the same individual mentioned in Sir Wm. MONSON'S *Naval Tracts* (p. 480, in CHURCHILL, vol. iii) as follows:—"The Genoese in the year 1520 proposed a journey by land from the East Indies to Muscovy and Russia, and one Paul Centereano, a merchant of Genoa, was employed in it, and went, with authority from that state, to

Basilus, then King of Russia, with offer to bring that trade thither. Basilus rejected that offer."

<sup>2</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. i, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. BREWER, *Calendar, Domestic and Foreign*, No. 3213.

<sup>4</sup> "John Rut writ this letter to King Henrie in bad English and worse writing." PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, vol. iii, p. 309.

and shortly afterwards, of the *Maria de Loreta*.<sup>1</sup> On the 27th of May 1527, he received from Henry VIII. a pension of £10,<sup>2</sup> and, June 10th following,<sup>3</sup> sailed out from Portsmouth with two ships, the *Samson*, and the *Mary of Guilford*. We do not know whether Lord Edmund Howard, who had begged Wolsey<sup>4</sup> to employ him in an expedition to Newfoundland, "and so find his wife and children meat and drink," was on board.

In 53° lat. N. the two ships fell in with "many great Ilands of Ice." They therefore tacked about, and, steering southwards, made their landfall on the continent in 52°, that is, in Labrador, if the latitude is exactly given. Thence the two vessels went to Cape Race, and were sailing together, when in a storm, at night, July 1st, the *Samson* disappeared, and never was heard of afterwards. We do not know therefore what can have been Frobisher's authority for his statement to Hakluyt that she sank "in a dangerous Gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland and the Country lately called by Her Majestie, *Meta Incognita*."<sup>5</sup>

On the 3rd of August, Rut cast anchor in St. John, whence he expected to go to Cape Speer (the "Cavo da Espera" of the early Portuguese maps), to meet the *Samson*, which, according to instructions, was

<sup>1</sup> BREWER, *op. cit.*, Nos. 3591, 3977, 3980, 4377.

<sup>2</sup> This date, which we borrow from the *Calendars*, makes us doubt the exactness of the one which HALLE gives for RUT's departure from the Thames: "Furth they set out of the Thames the twentie day of May," unless we reconcile them by the supposition that the King's grant was forwarded to him while yet at Portsmouth.

<sup>3</sup> "Exivimus a Plemut quæ fuit x Junii." Letter of Albertus DE PRATO, quoted by PURCHAS.

<sup>4</sup> BREWER, *op. cit.*, No. 3731.

<sup>5</sup> According to the map of Michael LOK, that "*Meta incognita*" is in 68° lat. N., and the "dangerous Gulph" can only be Baffin's Bay. Now RUT's expressions lead us to believe that the storm, in consequence of which the *Mary of Guilford* became separated from the other ship, burst when they were sailing southward after leaving Cape Race; that is, more than 20° from the place where FROBISHER locates the shipwreck of the *Samson*.

to take refuge there in case they should become separated and wait six weeks for her companion ship. Hakluyt says he was told that John Rut with the *Mary of Guilford* returned to England in the beginning of October 1527. Be that as it may, we find Rut in England from September to December 1528, still in command of the *Mary of Guilford*, and entrusted by the King with bringing wine from Bordeaux.<sup>1</sup>

There is also the expedition of Master Grube, composed of two ships which, after leaving Portsmouth, June 10th, 1527, reached Cape Race July 21st following.<sup>2</sup>

A third similar voyage of discovery is also of the year 1527. Its existence, however, is inferred only from a statement of Gines Navarro,<sup>3</sup> to the effect that he met in the West Indies an English captain who related that he was returning from a voyage undertaken with another vessel to discover the country of the Great Khan, by way of the Northern Sea. This is tantamount to a search for the North-West passage.

The last of these English expeditions in the first half of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century is that of Master Hore, from April to October 1536, to Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland, preparatory, it seems, to an exploration still more to the westward. It was composed of two ships, the *Trinitie* and the *Minion*, with one hundred and twenty men on board, among whom were "many gentlemen of the Inns of Court, and of the

<sup>1</sup> Royal MSS. 14. B. xxix, Brit. Mus., quoted by Rev. E. ARBER in his excellent work *The first three English books on America*, p. xxvi. Our brief account, which comprises nearly all that is known of RUT'S voyage, we take from a letter written by him to Henry VIII., and dated St. John, Aug. 4, 1527. It is confirmed by another of Albertus DE PRATO, "a

Canon of St. Paul in London, which was a great mathematician, and a man indued with wealth." Unfortunately, only two sentences of that letter have reached us. *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> PURCHAS, vol. iii, p. 809, and *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> HERRERA, *Decad.* ii, lib. v, cap. iii, p. 115, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 295-6.

Chancerie." They were at one time in such distress that one of them killed and ate his companion.<sup>1</sup>

We have already noticed the intention expressed by Henry VIII. in 1541, of sending an expedition to find a passage between Iceland and Greenland, and his efforts to enlist for the purpose the services of a pilot brought from Seville, whom we have every reason to believe was Sebastian Cabot himself. What is more, "to prosecute the olde entermitted discoverie for Catai," remained such a favorite project with the English, that a special Cathay Company was formed under the reign of Elizabeth, in 1576.

We must not fail to note in this brief recapitulation that all these expeditions projected, or attempted under the British flag, were prompted, from the first, by a desire to discover a strait leading to the Spice Islands, first by the North-West, and then by the North-East. And at a time when Spain, discouraged by the fruitless efforts of Estevam Gomez, limited her action in that respect to the discovery of Magellan, England persevered in the fallacious hope of reaching Cathay through some imaginary passage. It is true that Venice, as we shall soon see, entertained the same delusion, but the Tudors were the last, in that age of maritime efforts and discoveries, who endeavoured to realise the idea. This will serve to explain the events which we have now to relate.

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. iii, pp. 129-131, on the authority of his cousin and homonym, Richard HAKLUYT, of the Inner Temple. See also, Robert

Pierce CONDON, *History of Gravesend*; London, 1843, 8vo, p. 213, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 297.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS TO CATILAY BY THE NORTH-EAST.

THE strife with the foreign traders of the Steel-Yard, or Easterlings, had been carried on chiefly by and in favor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers. But when, in 1551, the privileges so long enjoyed by the Hanse in British ports and cities had been annulled, neither English commerce nor English shipping improved, contrary to the expectations of the parties who had made such strenuous efforts to break that odious monopoly.

It was under these circumstances that the Merchant Adventurers hoped to check the decay of trade in England, by discovering a new outlet for their manufactured goods, at that time almost exclusively woollen. In the words of Clement Adams :<sup>1</sup>

“For seing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingals, by the discouerie and search of newe trades and countreys was marueilously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obtaine the like, they thereupon resolued vpon a newe and strange nauigation.”<sup>2</sup>

Then, and then only, as we believe, was Sebastian

<sup>1</sup> “The staple commodities of the kingdome, whereof Wooll and cloth were the chiefe.” Gerard DE MALYNES, *The Center of Commerce*; London, 1623, 4to, pp. 87-88.

<sup>2</sup> *The newe Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of Moscouia, by the North-Eastern. Written in*

*Latin by Clement Adams*; HAKLUYT, vol. i, pp. 237-243. It is not known who made this translation. The original Latin is to be found only in the folio edition of 1600, and in *Rerum moscoviticarum auctore*; Francof. 1600, folio, p. 143.

Cabot brought in contact with the Merchant Adventurers. We also think that it was Cabot who suggested to them the route by the North-East, notwithstanding the "impediments" which, he confessed, "by sundry authors and writers had ministered matter of suspicion in some heads, that this voyage could not succede for the extremitie of the North-pole lacke of passage, and such like."<sup>1</sup> Now, after three hundred and forty years, it would not be impossible to find "wavering minds, and doubtful heads inclined not only to withdraw themselves from the adventure of such a voyage, but also diswade others from the same," and for identical reasons.

According to Clement Adams, the Merchant Adventurers began first of all to deal and consult with Cabot, and after much inquiry and conference, it was at last concluded that three ships should be prepared for an expedition beyond the seas. The capital was raised in the following manner :

"By this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money should publicquely bee collected to serue for the furnishing of so many shippes. And lest any private man bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken that euery man willing to be of the societie, should disburse the portion of twentie and fve pounds a piece : so that in short time by this meanes the summe of sixe thousand pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought."<sup>2</sup>

It follows that if the enterprise was under the auspices of the Company the funds were supplied by the public. Nor did the English government participate, except to the extent of granting to Willoughby "a passport to go beyond the seas with four servants, monies (£40), and his (gold) chain."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements*, HAKLUYT, vol. i, pp. 226-230.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>3</sup> STRYPE, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 76, 254.

The three ships were the following :<sup>1</sup>—

1. The *Bona Esperanza*, 120 tons, flag ship, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Captain General of the fleet.

William Gefferson, master.

Roger Wilson, mate.

Six merchants, and twenty-six petty officers and men, in all thirty-five men on board.

2. The *Edward Bonaventure*, 160 tons, Richard Chancelor, Captain and Pilot-Major.

Stephen Burrough, master.

John Buckland, mate.

Two merchants, a clergyman, seven passengers, and thirty-seven petty officers and men, in all fifty men.

3. The *Bona Confidentia*, 90 tons, Cornelius Durfoorth, master.

Richard Ingram, mate.

Three merchants, and twenty-three petty officers and men, in all twenty-eight men.

The expedition numbered therefore one hundred and thirteen members all told. Each of the three ships had with her a "pinnesse" and a (rowing) boat.

What seems to us worthy of notice is the appointment of a board of twelve counsellors for the observation of Cabot's ordinances, "and all others which hereafter shall be made." It was composed of the chief officers, two merchants, a gentleman, and John Stafford, the clergyman.

On the 9th of May 1553, Cabot drew up very minute instructions for "the intended voyage for

<sup>1</sup> We extract our list from the copy in full found in one of WILLOUGHBY'S ships, and published by HAKLUYT, vol. iii, pp. 29-32. The term "pinnae" applies both to a small vessel navigated with oars and sails, having generally two masts rigged like those of a schooner, and to a boat usually rowed with eight oars. (WEBSTER, and JAL, *Glossaire nautique*, Paris, 1848, 4to, p. 1175.) We do not know which of those two is meant. If the former, then the squadron numbered not less than six vessels.



Cathay.”<sup>1</sup> Some of these, in the opinion of a competent judge “now indeed appear rather childish, but others might still be used as rules for any well-ordered exploratory expedition.”<sup>2</sup> Among the latter, there is one on which several admirers of Sebastian have laid a certain stress. It is where he says that “every nation and region is to be considered advisedly, and to use them with prudent circumspection, with gentleness and curtesy.” This advice is certainly humane and judicious, but by referring to the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, it will be seen that it is borrowed from the instructions which the Council of the Indies prescribed in 1523 to Cabot himself for the expedition to La Plata.<sup>3</sup>

The next day, Wednesday, May 10th, 1553, the little squadron sailed from Ratcliffe.<sup>4</sup>

On the 11th, it passed before Greenwich, in presence of the Court<sup>5</sup> and a great concourse of people.

Not till July 14th did the ships sight the west coast of Norway, in 65°–66° N. lat.

July 27th they reached the Loffoden isles, and

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, 1886, vol. iii, pp. 16–24. The document ends as follows: “In witness whereof I Sebastian Cabota, Gouverneur aforesaid, to these present ordinances, have subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere aboue written.”

<sup>2</sup> NORDENSKIOLD, *Voyage de la Vega*, Paris, 1883, 8vo, vol. i, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> ANGHIERA, *Decad.* vii, cap. vi, p. 495; *supra*, chapter v, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> The two leading authorities for the voyage of WILLOUGHBY are, 1st, the *Journal* of the expedition, supposed to have been written by himself, and in which the dates are given in the old style of computation, here adopted, as the voyage was made before 1582; and, 2nd, the account written in Latin by Clement ADAMS,

“as he received it at the mouth of the said Richard CHANCELER,” but put in writing after the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, the method of which he necessarily follows. To obtain the dates according to our present mode of reckoning, the reader is aware that he has only to add 10 days to each of the dates old style.

<sup>5</sup> WILLOUGHBY says that the squadron passed Greenwich “saluting the Kings Majesty then being there.” Clement ADAMS is more explicit: “But (alas) the good King EDWARD (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reason of his sicknesse was absent from the shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorrowful accident of his death followed [July 6th, 1553].”

cast anchor, apparently in  $62^{\circ} 20'$  N. lat.— $17^{\circ} 10'$  E. lon. A council was held, and they decided that in case the ships became separated by a storm, they should endeavour to reach the island of Vardœ<sup>1</sup> ( $70^{\circ} 20'$  N. lat.— $31^{\circ} 10'$  E. lon.), and there wait a reasonable time for each other.

July 30th they weighed anchor, and continued to steer northwards, ranging the coast of Finmark.

In the night of August 3d–4th, in  $69^{\circ} 35'$  N. lat., near the Senien islands, a tempest scattered the squadron. Willoughby's flag ship and the smaller vessel, after having been separated, succeeded in finding each other, remained henceforth together, but never saw Chancellor's ship again.

The *Bona Speranza* and *Bona Confidentia* continued to sail in company north-eastwards, rounded the Cape, which Stephen Burrough at the same time (but on board Chancellor's ship,) named Cape North, and then entered the Arctic Ocean.

The two ships sailed north, reaching, on the 14th of August, according to their calculation, as far as  $72^{\circ}$  latitude. We are unable to say how far eastwards they went, perhaps to the Kōlgujew islands (Nordenskiöld).

August 18th, "the winde comming at the N.E. and the *Confidence* being troubled with bilge water and stocked," Willoughby "thought it goode to seeke harbour for her redresse," and sailed south-south-east, then west-south-west, until, after sundry gyrations, he sighted, September 18th, a "hauen which runneth into the maine about two leagues." It was the entrance of the Varzina, a river of Eastern Lapland, the mouth of which is in  $68^{\circ} 20'$  N. lat., and  $38^{\circ}$

<sup>1</sup> Vardœ is the name of the island, and Vardœhus, that of its castle. WILLOUGHBY, CLEMENT ADAMS and the English writers of the time use the term "the Wardhouse." We employ here these expressions indiscriminately. See the plates in NORDENSKIÖLD, *op. cit.*

30' E. long.<sup>1</sup> There the commanders of the two ships resolved to winter.

"Wherefore," says Willoughby, "we sent out three men south-south-west, to search if they could find people, who went three dayes journey, but could find none : after that, we sent other three westward foure daies journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men south-east three dayes journey, who, in like sorte returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

There were very many seale fishes, and other great fishes, and upon the maine, beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers strange beasts, as gulouines (or ellons?), and such other which were to them vnknown, and also wonderfull."

Willoughby and his men kept alive in that desolate region until at least the month of January 1554,<sup>2</sup> but soon afterwards perished of cold,<sup>3</sup> to the last man. Their remains were discovered on board the two ships by some Russian fishermen, the following summer.

If we are to believe a legend which is still current, the corpse of Willoughby was found seated at a table in the cabin of the flag ship, with a pen in his hand, the ship's journal before it, and all his companions around him in various life-like attitudes; somewhat after the fashion of Madame Tussaud's wax figures.

The earliest mention of that story is to be found in a dispatch from Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian

<sup>1</sup> "We passed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughby, with all his company perished, which is called Arzina reca, that is to say, the riuier Arzina." Anthony JENKINSON, 1557, in HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 195. NORDENSKIÖLD says it is the river which debouches into the Arctic Ocean "in 68° 20' N. lat., and 38° 30' E. long. and is called in recent maps the Varzina."

<sup>2</sup> "In Ianuarie after he was alieue as appears by a Will of Gabriel WILLOUGHBY his kinsman, subscribed by Sir Hugh W. which will I now

have and keepe as a relike of that worthie discouerer." PURCHAS, *Pilgrimes*, 1625, vol. iii, p. 463, in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> It is erroneous to say (MILTON, Thomas RUNDALL, and others) that WILLOUGHBY and his companions died of starvation. Henry LANE writes that when the ships were found "much of the goods and *victuals* were recovered," and he ascribes their death to "want of experience to have made caves and stoves." HAKLUYT, 1886, vol. iv, pp. 198 and 199.

ambassador at the English Court, dated from London, November 4th, 1555, and is as follows :

“The vessels which departed hence some months ago bound for Cathay, either from inability or lack of daring, not having got beyond Moscovia or Russia, whither the others went, in like manner last year, have returned safe, bringing with them the two vessels of the first voyage, having found them on the Muscovite coast, with the men on board all frozen ; and the mariners now returned from the second voyage narrate strange things about the mode in which they were frozen, having found some of them seated in the act of writing, pen still in hand, and the paper before them ; others at tables, platter in hand and spoon in mouth ; others opening a locker, and others in various postures, like statues, as if they had been adjusted and placed in those attitudes. They say that some dogs in the ships displayed the same phenomena. They found the effects and merchandize all intact in the hands of the natives, and brought them back hither with the vessels.”<sup>1</sup>

That interesting statement is erroneous in several important particulars.

As we shall show hereafter, only one of the four vessels of Willoughby's expedition, viz. : the *Edward Bonaventure*, returned then safe to England. Nor did any of the English discover the derelict vessels, still less with the men on board all frozen to death. The discovery was made by Russian fishermen in the summer of 1554.<sup>2</sup> And as in Lapland snows melt from the branches so early as April, whilst in May and June the thermometer ranges from 30° to 68°,<sup>3</sup> the discoverers cannot but have found the bodies of Willoughby and his companions in a complete state of decay. There is no more truth therefore in the ghastly scene depicted by Giovanni Michiel, and

<sup>1</sup> For the Italian text, see Luigi PASINI, *I Navigatori al Polo Artico*, Venezia, 1880, 8vo, pp. 6-7, note, and for the above translation, RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. vi, part 1, p. 240, No. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Henry LANE's letter contains the earliest statement that the dead bodies “were found with the shippes the

next summer Anno 1554, by Russe fishermen.” HAKLUYT, vol. iv, p. 198. LANE was one of the Englishmen who accompanied CHANCELOR and KILLINGWORTH to Moscow in 1555, and his statement therefore is entitled to credit.

<sup>3</sup> LAESTADIUS, quoted in the article of the *British Encyclopedia*.

frequently repeated since, than in the legend of the *Flying Dutchman*, of which that dispatch is also the source.

As for Chancelor, having safely weathered the storm, he went, as had been agreed, to Wardoehus, hoping to meet Willoughby. After waiting there in vain for seven days, he sailed north-eastward "so farre, that hee came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearly vpon the huge and mightie sea," that is, in about 70° latitude. He then steered south, entered what we call the White Sea, and dropped anchor at the entrance of the Dwina. Learning, to his great surprise, that he was in the Russian Empire, he quitted the ship with a number of his companions to visit the Tzar in Moscow.<sup>1</sup> They were hospitably received by Iwan Wasilejevitch.<sup>2</sup> On the 2nd of February 1554<sup>3</sup> that potentate remitted to them a letter for Edward VI., who was believed to be still living. But Chancelor and his companions did not leave Moscow until the spring, when they set out for the mouth of the Dwina, to join their ship. The *Edward Bonaventure* left the White Sea in the summer of 1554, arriving in England apparently the following autumn.

This voyage of Richard Chancelor was thought to hold forth promises of success, so far as finding a new outlet for English manufactured goods, although it was far from being the market which Sebastian Cabot had led the Company to expect. Furs it cared little for,<sup>4</sup> and "waxe, tallowe, traine oile, hem and flaxe," however desirable in themselves, were

<sup>1</sup> Clement ADAMS, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Richard CHANCELOR, in HAKLUYT, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> HAKLUYT, *Ibidem.*

<sup>4</sup> "Of fures we desire no great

plentie, because they be dead wares." Letter of the Company to KILLINGWORTH, April 28th, 1557; HAKLUYT, 1886, vol. iii, p. 167.

certainly not as valuable as the "infynyt Treasures, as golde, sylver, precious stones, bawmes, spices, drugges and gumes [to use Jenkinson's expressions]," which the Merchant Adventurers doubtless hoped, on Cabot's representations, to obtain from Cathay.

The Company possessed several charters or letters patent, but it failed to be a body corporate within the meaning of the law. Led on by the Marquis of Westminster, these enterprising Englishmen applied in consequence for a charter of incorporation, which was granted to them by Philip and Mary in the first and second year of their reign, February 26th, 1555, under the following title :

"The Marchants Aduenturers for the discourie of lands, territories, iles and seigniories vnknown, and not by the seas, and Navigations, before their saide late aduventure or enterprise by sea or navigation commonly frequented."<sup>1</sup>

Cabot's appointment by this charter as Governor of the Company, is in terms which must be stated :

"And in consideration that one Sebastian Cabota hath bin the chieftest setter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and constitute him the said Sebastian to be the first and present gouernour of the same fellowship and commualtie, by these presents. To have and enjoy the said office of Gouvernour, to him the said Sebastian Cabota during his naturall life, without amoving or dismissing from the same roome."

The new corporation, which we will now call by the name under which it is generally known, viz. : "The Muscovy Company,"<sup>2</sup> lost no time in making use of its recent privileges, and prepared an expedition to the White Sea.

As an initiatory step, Philip and Mary, on the 1st of April 1555, wrote a letter to the Tzar, to be

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. i, pp. 267-272, and R. LEMON, *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1547-80, vol. i, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> The archives of the Company were unfortunately destroyed in the great London fire of 1666.

remitted in person at Moscow by Richard Chancellor and George Killingworth, the newly appointed agent of the Company in Russia.<sup>1</sup>

On the 1st of May following, detailed instructions were prepared,<sup>2</sup> but the expedition was not ready to sail until the end of the month. This is shown by a dispatch from Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian Ambassador in London, dated May 21st, which contains the following paragraph :

“The three ships prepared by these English Merchants for the voyage to Muscovy and Cathay, being already loaded and supplied with every requisite, will depart this week with greater hope of prosperous navigation out and home than the last time.”<sup>3</sup>

The allusion in the last few words is to Willoughby's two vessels, concerning which the Company was yet without any news.

Here again Giovanni Michiel was misinformed. The Muscovy Company did not equip three ships. Two only were fitted out and dispatched, viz. :

1. The *Edward Bonaventure*, Richard Chancellor commander-in-chief, John Buckland master. She had also on board John Brooke, “merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse,” George Killingworth, and other agents and passengers to the number of eleven.

2. The *Philip and Mary*, John Howlet, master and John Robins, pilot.<sup>4</sup>

They sailed down the Thames about the first week in June 1555.

For the better understanding of what followed, it is necessary at this juncture to quote three clauses of the instructions given to Richard Grey and George Killingworth on this occasion :

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, Edinburgh, 1886, 8vo, vol. iii, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> PASINI, and RAWDON BROWN, *ubi supra*.

<sup>4</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 84.

“It is to be had in minde, that you vse all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men may passe from Russia either by land or by sea to Cathiaa and what may be heard of other ships . . . .”

“It is committed to the said Agents, that if they shall be certified credibly, that any of our said ships be arriued in any place whereunto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the discretion of the Agents shall bee appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate and condition, to visite, refresh, relieue, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the companie, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and wel-beloued brethren of this our societie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnes of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their absence for their commoditie, no lesse then if they had bene present.”

“When the ships shal arriue at this going forth at the Warehouse . . . to consider whether it shal be expedient for the Philip [and Mary] to abide at the Warehouse the returne of the Edward [Bonaventure] out of Russia, or getting that she may returne with the first good wind to England without abiding for the Edward.”

“It is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conueniently, and profitably provided, bought and laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Warehouse. . . . But by all means it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any forrein place. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

The two ships arrived in the second or third week of July, as we presume, at the Warehouse, where the *Philip and Mary* remained. Our impression is that Chancelor and Killingworth were there informed of the sad fate of Willoughby, the news of which would not have reached the Danish officials of the place before the previous autumn.

The *Edward Bonaventure* continued her course, alone, eastwards, and may have ranged at that time the north-east coast of Lapland, in search of Willoughby's ships, on the indications furnished at the Warehouse. Be that as it may, she reached the mouths of the Dwina in August 1555, discharged her goods and

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. iii, pp. 84, 85, Nos. 16, 17, 20.



passengers, and, under the command of John Buckland, sailed for Vardœ, coasted Lapland again, but from east to west, and finally stopped in the haven of the Varzina. That was the time when, as we think, the remains of Willoughby and of his companions, together with the papers and merchandize remaining in the ships, or in the hands of the natives, were collected and put on board the *Edward Bonaventure*, according to Killingworth's instructions. That ship thereupon went to Vardœ, where she joined the *Philip and Mary*, and, together, they sailed for England, arriving in London at the beginning of November 1555, with their melancholy cargo.

These are the ships the arrival of which is mentioned in the above-cited dispatch from the Venetian Ambassador dated November 4th, 1555.

We base the above description upon the statement of Henry Lane, almost an eye-witness, as he accompanied Killingworth, viz.:

"This yeere [1555] the two shippes [the Bonaventure, and Philip and Mary] with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and his people, were sent vnto by Master Killingworth."

"Anno 1556. The Company sent two [*sic pro* three] ships for Russia, to bring home the two ships which were frozen in Lappia."<sup>1</sup>

These two latter vessels perished on the homeward trip, but, as we have seen, the remains of Willoughby and of his companions were not on board. It is because Milton (who has no other source of information than Hakluyt) mixed those two voyages homeward, that we find in his account the following erroneous statement:

"Whereof the English agent at Mosco having notice sent and recovered the ships with the dead bodies, and most of the goods, and sent them to England; but the ships being unstaunch, as is

<sup>1</sup> LANE, in HAKLUYT, edition of 1886, vol. iv, pp. 199-200.

supposed by their two years wintering in Lapland, sunk by the way *with their dead* and these also that brought them.”<sup>1</sup>

The *Edward Bonaventure* and the *Philip and Mary* were again dispatched to the White Sea the following spring, with “extraordinary masters and saylers to bring home the two ships which were frozen in Lappia.”<sup>2</sup> But to Buckland’s vessels the Company added a pinnace, the *Searchthrift*. The squadron therefore numbered three vessels, and not two only, as Henry Lane says. We reason in this wise :

The Venetian Ambassador, speaking of the arrival of the ships, November 4th, 1555, uses the plural. More than one therefore arrived in London at that date. Only the *Edward Bonaventure* and *Philip and Mary* could have then come from the White Sea, as there were no others. We see the *Philip and Mary* form part of the squadron which was partially wrecked on the coast of Norway, when coming from the Arctic Ocean, on its way to England, November 10th, 1556. We must infer from these facts that she accompanied the *Edward Bonaventure* on her trip to Vardœ at least, in the spring of 1556. This inference amounts to a certainty when we take into consideration that the *Searchthrift*, which was the third vessel, had on board when she started, only ten men, all told, on account of her diminutive size.<sup>3</sup> To suppose then that the *Edward Bonaventure* alone went with the latter, would imply that the “extraordinary masters and saylers sent to bring home Willoughby’s two ships,” amounting to nearly sixty men, were all

<sup>1</sup> MILTON, *Brief History of Muscovia*, in his *Prose Works*, New York, 1847, 8vo, vol. ii, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> Henry LANE’S letter to William SANDERSON; HAKLUYT, vol. iv, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> “A pinnesse, named the *Searchthrift*. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen BURROUGH, with his brother William, and eight other.” *Ibidem*.

packed, with her own crew of forty hands on board the *Bonaventure*; which is scarcely probable.

As to the third vessel, she was, as we have said, the *Searchthrift*. This is shown by Stephen Burrough's statement that, April 30th, 1556, when off Gravesend, on his way to the north-eastern regions, he "went aboard the *Edward Bonaventure* where the worshippfull company of marchants appointed him to be vntill the sayd good ship arriued at Warehouse."<sup>1</sup>

The three vessels, apparently under the chief command of Stephen Burrough (as far as Vardœ) departed from Ratcliffe on "Saturday being S. Markes day," consequently not on the "23rd of April," as Burrough is made by Hakluyt to say, but on the 25th.<sup>2</sup>

On the 27th, they stopped at Gravesend, and finally set out on their voyage, Wednesday, April 29th.

On May 15th, the two ships sighted the coast of Norway (in 58° 30' lat.), on the 20th reached the Loffoden islands (67° 30' N. lat.), and a week afterwards North Cape.

We infer that the three ships arrived at Vardœ during the last few days in May 1556, and that it was the *Philip and Mary*, which, from the Warehouse, went in search of Willoughby's two ships, to bring them home. According to our theory, she found the *Bona Speranza* and the *Bona Confidentia* still riding at anchor in the haven of the Verzina, put on board the crews she had brought from England, and, in the middle of June, went with the two ships to join the *Edward Bonaventure* in the Dwina.

As to the *Edward Bonaventure* and the *Searchthrift*, they sailed out together as far as the entrance of the

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. iii, p. 116.

White Sea, and, June 7th, in about  $66^{\circ} 40'$  lat. N., and  $42^{\circ}$  long. E., parted company.<sup>1</sup> Stephen Burrough steered in the direction of Cape Kanin, to continue the explorations eastwards initiated by Willoughby and Chancelor in 1553. The *Edward Bonaventure*, under the command of John Buckland, went to the mouth of the Dwina to await orders.

We must now return to the agents of the Company whom we left at the entrance of the Dwina in the summer of 1555.

After embarking their goods on board a boat, they ascended that river and its affluent, the Suchona, as far as the city of Vologda ( $59^{\circ} 13'$  N. lat.) where they arrived on the 11th of September 1555. The merchandize intended for barter was stored in that place under the care of seven of the party, and, on the 28th of September, Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Price, Robert Best, and Killingworth repaired by post to Moscow, where they arrived on the 4th of October 1555.

On the 10th following, the English envoys were received by the Tzar, to whom they delivered Philip and Mary's letter, asking that special privileges should be granted to the Muscovy Company. These were conceded in the form of letters patent on the 20th of November 1555. Having obtained their object, the English decided to return home as soon as informed of the arrival of the ships in the White Sea, which was not until the summer of 1556. They finally set out from Moscow, in the end of June, or beginning of July 1556, leaving in that city, to attend to the business of the Company, Killingworth, Grey and Lane.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. iii, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> These details are borrowed from KILLINGWORTH'S letter of November 27th, 1555. HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 88. We have been unable to find when

and how that letter was sent to the Company. It cannot have been forwarded by the *Edward Bonaventure*, which was already in London at the beginning of that month. We must

When Chancelor arrived at the mouth of the Dwina, he found at anchor, as we believe, not less than four English ships, viz. : the *Bona Confidentia*, the *Bona Speranza*, both just brought from the Varzina by John Howlet, the *Philip and Mary*, under the command of that officer, and the *Edward Bonaventure*. Chancelor, July 20th, 1556, embarked on board the latter, taking with him Ossip Gregorjevitsch Nepeja, the ambassador sent by the Tzar to the Court of England, with a suite of sixteen Russians.

“Ouer and aboue ten other Russies shipped within the said Bay of St. Nicholas [old name of the White Sea], in one other good ship to the same company also belonging called the *Bona Speranza* . . . which good ships comming in good order into the seas, and trauersing the same in their iourney towards the coast of England, were by the contrary winds and extreme tempests of weather seuered the one from the other, that is to say, the saide *Bona Speranza* with two other English ships also appertaining to the saide company, the one sirnamed the *Philip and Mary*, the other the *Confidentia*, were driven on the coast of Norway, into Drenton [Drontheim] water, where the saide *Confidentia* was seene to perish on a rocke, and the other, videlicet, the *Bona Speranza* with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to winter there, whereof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the *Philip and Mary* arrived in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and seuen. The *Edward Bonaventure* trauersing the seas four moneths, finally the tenth day of Nouember of the aforesaide yeere of our Lorde one thousand five hundred fiftie and sixe, arrived within the Scottish coast in a Bay named *Pettislego* [near Aberdeen], where by outragious tempests, and extreme stormes, the said ship being beaten from her ground tackles, was driuen vpon the rockes on shoare, when she brake and split in pieces in such sort, as the ground Pilot [Chancelor] vsing all carfulnesse for the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shore and so to save and

assume that it was not sent to the Company until July 1556, reaching London, at the soonest, December 6th following, by the messenger who brought news of the great shipwreck on the coast of Scotland. HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 143.

preserue the bodie, and seuen of the companie or attendants of the saide Ambassadour, the same boat by rigorous waues of the seas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seuen Russes, but also diuers of the Mariners of the sayd ship."<sup>1</sup>

The only surviving ship of the expedition, viz., the *Philip and Mary*, took refuge in the port of Drontheim, where she wintered (1556-57).<sup>2</sup> That vessel, which was destined to do yet good service for the Company in the Arctic regions, sailed homeward from Drontheim in March 1557, arriving at London, as we have just seen, April 18th following.

As to Stephen Burrough, he continued to explore alone the Arctic seas.<sup>3</sup> This bold and skilful seaman rounded Cape Kanin, ranged the north coast of the continent eastward, as far as the river Petchora, which he entered. Returning to the Ocean, he sailed northward to the Novaia Zemlia, landed on its south coast, Saturday, August 1st, 1556, and sighted both the Kara Strait and Waigaty island. Five days later he was turned back by ice, and returned to the westward. Finally, the *Searchthrift* reached the White Sea again, and went to the mouth of the Dwina, where she wintered, at Kholmogory, from September 11th, 1556 until May 23rd, 1557.<sup>4</sup>

We find in Rymer<sup>5</sup> the grant of a pension for life of £166, 13s. 4d. made by Queen Mary on the 27th of November 1555 in favour of Sebastian Cabot. This is called by all his modern biographers a "re-

<sup>1</sup> Account of the reception of the Russian Ambassador in London; HAKLUYT, *ibidem*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 160, 166.

<sup>3</sup> It is well to recall that the pinnace of Stephen BURROUGH had on board, besides himself and his brother William, only eight men, and that is with such a small ship and crew that he explored the Arctic regions during two years.

<sup>4</sup> *The Navigation and discoverie toward the riuer Ob, made by Master Steuen Burrough, passed in the yere 1556*; HAKLUYT, vol. iii, pp. 124-129, 152. The *Navigazione di Sebastian Caboto nelle parte Settentrionale*, in vol. ii of RAMUSIO, editions of 1583, and 1606, pp. 211-219, is only that Journal of Stephen BURROUGH.

<sup>5</sup> RYMER, *Fœdera*, ed. 1741, vol. vi, part iv, p. 40.

newal," or a "confirmation," of the annuity for the same amount granted by Edward VI. on the 6th of January 1548-9. This is an absolutely gratuitous assumption. Neither in the text of the grant itself, nor in any other document known, is there the least indication that it was not a new pension altogether, and irrespective of the one bestowed nine years previous by Mary's brother. Biddle seems to believe that although granted for life, it was to expire on the death of the reigning monarch and required to be renewed by his successor.<sup>1</sup> We cannot imagine by virtue of what principle the grant of a pension made by the King, should differ in its legal consequences from such a grant made by a private individual. Certainly that is not one of the royal prerogatives. We do not read in the grant of 1548-9, as in the one of 1557, the formula "dedimus et concessimus, ac Præsentes, pro Nobis Heredibus et successoribus nostris," but every lawyer knows that in England the King's grant is good for himself and successors, though his successors are not named.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE, *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 214. *Reports de Sr Henry Yelverton*, Lond.,

<sup>2</sup> WOOD *versus* HAUKSHEAD, in *Les* 1674, folio, p. 15.

## CHAPTER XX.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT'S ALLEGED INFLUENCE.

THE Arctic voyages which we have just described, are considered to have been a great "enterprise," which "stands by itself, and was destined to exercise an important influence on the commerce and naval greatness of England."<sup>1</sup> It is unquestionable that these efforts of the Company of Merchant Adventurers proved beneficial both to Great Britain and Russia. As MacPherson justly observes,<sup>2</sup> the Russians before those times having no seaports nor shipping on the Baltic shores, their rich furs, hemp, &c., were carried to other parts of Europe from the ports of Livonia, lately possessed by the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem. Thus the English made a useful and profitable discovery of a trade by sea with Russia. It was considered in this light by foreign nations, from the first. So early as April 3rd, 1557, we see the Venetian Ambassador in England write to his government: "London merchants greatly favor the Muscovite [envoy] because they expect through his medium to enrich themselves by commencing a trade in those parts."<sup>3</sup> But we should not infer thereby that the prosperity of the Muscovy Company dates from its efforts in the White Sea. Giovanni Michiel bears witness to the wealth of the Merchant Adventurers already at

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> RAWDON BROWN, *Calendar*, vol.

<sup>2</sup> MACPHERSON, *Annals of Commerce*, London, 1805, vol. ii, p. 114.

vi, *loc. cit.*



that time. "Many," says he, "possess of from 50 to 60,000*£*,"<sup>1</sup> which was then a very large fortune.

The admirers of Sebastian Cabot ascribe to him, almost exclusively, the merit of those results. They combine the expeditions to the northern coasts of Russia with the discovery of Newfoundland accomplished by his father, and speak of him as "being the author of the maritime strength of England, who opened the way to those improvements which have rendered the English so great, so eminent, so flourishing a people."<sup>2</sup>

These hyperbolic praises are altogether unmerited. Richard Chancellor alone is the man who, so far as that north-east trade and its consequences are concerned, deserves to be thus extolled and admired!

Let us examine the facts :

The Merchant Adventurers desire to find a new market for English manufactured goods. Encouraged by the example of the Spaniards and Portuguese, they turn their attention towards Cathay. Sebastian Cabot boasts of knowing a new route to those regions. It is, he says, by the north-east.

This idea, to commence with, does not originate with him, for, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> Paulo Centurione proposed it a quarter of a century before to Henry VIII., who even accepted the scheme, which was not attempted only owing to the untimely death of the bold Genoese adventurer.

Cathay, and nothing but Cathay, is Cabot's object. His instructions to Willoughby are explicitly "for the intended voyage for Cathay," and "Orient or Occident Indias" through "the extremitie of the North Pole."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>2</sup> CAMPBELL, *Lives of the British Admirals*, vol. i, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. iii, pp. 16, 23.

Willoughby and Chancelor advance no further than  $50^{\circ}$ – $55^{\circ}$  E. longitude. The ice drives them back. Willoughby goes to the south-east coast of Lapland, and Chancelor to the White Sea.

When Chancelor finds himself in the Gulf of Archangel, he is amazed to learn that his ship has taken him to Russia, which he never suspected to extend so far North. He courageously resolves to visit the capital of the Tzar, ascends the Dwina in a boat, rowing eight hundred and sixty miles; then travels a long distance by land, and finally arrives at Moscow. There he enters with Iwan Wasilejevitch into negotiations, which were the origin of those great benefits to England and the Muscovy Company.

We fail to see the direct or even praiseworthy agency of Sebastian Cabot in these great results. Certainly, the idea of landing in Northern Russia and opening in that region a market for English merchandise never entered his mind. Nay, we make bold to say that if Cabot had ever been made to imagine such an intention on the part of Chancelor, he would have made strenuous efforts to prevent it. We need only recollect what were his notions of that country, so late at least as 1549.

In his famous planisphere, first engraved in 1544, and re-edited in London by Clement Adams in 1549, that is, when Cabot was residing in that city, there is a delineation of the European and Asiatic northern shores, south of his  $73^{\circ}$  latitude, near the *Circulus Arcticus*. The tracing of the coast, however, comes to an end at what corresponds with our  $50^{\circ}$  longitude.<sup>1</sup> That maritime region is the one which Willoughby was instructed by Cabot to sail through, whilst its shores are described by him in these words :

<sup>1</sup> See E. REMBIELINSKI'S lithographed facsimile of Sebastian CABOT'S planisphere, in JOMARD'S *Monuments de la Géographie*.

“Aqui ay monstruos semeiantes a hombres que tienen las orejas tan grandes que les cubre todo el cuerpo y mas adelante hazia oriente dicen que ay unos hombres que no tienen coyuntura ningna [sic] hazia las Kodillas [*sic pro* rodillas] ny en los pies estan debaxo del poder del Gran Can. En la prouinçia, de Balor laqual tiene çinquenta dias de andadura son hombres siluestres habitan en los montes y florestas:—Here are monsters resembling men, whose ears are so large as to cover the entire body, and, further on, towards the east, it is said that there are human beings whose knees and feet are devoid of articulations. The Great Khan rules over them. In the province of Balor, which [covers a space of] fifty days journey, are wild men who live in mountains and forests.”<sup>1</sup>

This could hardly be a desirable market for “sorting clothes and Hampshire kersies.”

And as regards the growth of the English marine, the researches so ably carried on in the Navy records<sup>2</sup> will show that it really took shape under Henry VII. and remained comparatively stationary between 1515 and 1565, with no particular increase in 1547–1548, when Sebastian Cabot removed to England, and still less to the end of his life. True it is that Henry VIII. instituted the Navy Board (treasurer, surveyor, controller, &c.) in the form, though extended, in which it still exists to-day. But this organisation is of the year 1546, and at that time Cabot was still living in Spain, and not in correspondence with the English Government, which accepted his services only in 1547.

<sup>1</sup> *Legend* xii.

<sup>2</sup> By M. OPPENHEIM, Esqr.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### LAST YEARS OF SEBASTIAN CABOT'S LIFE.

CHARLES V. was still thinking of Sebastian Cabot. He had waited until July 11th, 1552, before appointing Alonso de Chaves to replace him in the Chair of Cosmography of the Casa de Contratacion.<sup>1</sup> Even the post of Pilot-Major had not yet been entrusted to anyone else when on September 9th, 1553, the Emperor wrote from Mons in Hainault, to Queen Mary, the following letter in French :

“Most High, Most Excellent, and Most Powerful Princess, our very dear and beloved kind sister and cousin.

As I desire to confer about certain matters relative to the safety of the navigation of my kingdoms and dominions with Captain Cabote, previously pilot of my Spanish realms, and who with my assent and consent went to England several years ago, I very affectionately ask of you to grant a leave to the said Cabote and allow him to come near me, so that I may make to him the aforesaid communication. And by so doing you will give me great pleasure, as I have directed my ambassador to your Court to state particularly to you. Meanwhile I pray the Lord to have you in his holy keeping.”<sup>2</sup>

The expression “de nostre gré et consentement” in that letter is only an euphemism; for when in November 1549, Charles V. demanded of Sir Thomas Cheyney that Cabot should be sent back to Spain, he did so in very haughty terms: “Cabote is my

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery of North America*, p. 710. text, and TURNBULL, *Calendar*;

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HOPPER, *Notes and Queries, Foreign*; vol. i, No. 31, p. 10, for vol. i, 1862, p. 125, for the original abstract in English.

servant, he has a pension of me," &c. Cabot again demurred, this time alleging the state of his health. We readily understand why he was not anxious to return to Spain, after his disguised flight to England in 1547. The following passages in the letter written by Cabot to his former master on this occasion, November 15th, 1554, are interesting :

"I was almost ready to set out for the purpose of kissing the hands of Your Majesty, and give explanations relative to the affair communicated on my part through Francesco de Urista, when I was seized with regular attacks of fever, and it depends on their severity, whether I shall be able or not to undertake the journey, being very weak, and feeling certain to die before reaching my destination. That is the reason, and also because if my malady gets worse, on account of my voyage, I apprehend I shall die."<sup>1</sup>

If we take into consideration that a trip to Brussels was all that was asked of him, and that two years afterwards he was seen to banquet and dance in the hall of the inn at the sign of the Christopher, in Gravesend, the terms of his letter will seem somewhat exaggerated.

Then, to mitigate the effect of such a refusal, Cabot makes the following characteristic statement :

"But before coming to such extremity, I want to disclose to Your Majesty the secret which I possess."

That secret was that he had been frequently interrogated by the Duke of Northumberland and the Ambassador of France in England (Montmorency-Laval-Boisdauphin) about Peru, and that the two nations had formed the project of sending a fleet to the Spanish possessions on the Amazona, for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the country.

When Cabot wrote that letter, Northumberland had been beheaded the year before, and Boisdauphin

<sup>1</sup> *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, vol. iii, p. 512.

recalled to France. But it was not a chapter of retrospective history which the wily Venetian meant to relate to Charles V. In his own mind, the danger still existed for Spain, as can be seen from this sentence :

“And as by the said river, in assailing easily the Spaniards wholly unprepared, and scattered in the country, they may succeed in their nefarious project, which would be a great disgrace to Your Majesty, let Your Majesty provide against it at once ; for what I am now writing is absolutely certain and true.”<sup>1</sup>

Such a project can have been entertained only while Northumberland virtually governed England (1550-1553).

It was therefore a state secret, and one which Cabot could not reveal to a foreign nation without betraying the trust reposed in him by the English government, in whose employ he then was, and continued to be. Apologists may perhaps urge, in extenuation of Cabot's conduct, that when he revealed those facts to the Emperor, England and Spain were not at war. Nay, the son of Charles V. had lately married Mary Tudor, and France, under the circumstances, may have intended to carry on the enterprise alone. But when Northumberland made the pact with Henry of Valois the two nations were likewise at peace. To tell Charles V., therefore, that while he was relying upon the friendship of England, she meditated driving him out of his richest American provinces, was not such a disclosure as a man in the employ of the British government had a right to make.

In the preceding chapter, we left Cabot at Gravesend, supervising the departure of Stephen Burrough's expedition in search of Willoughby's vessels. It may not prove amiss to insert here the description, often cited, of the festivities offered to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem.*

the little squadron before sailing to the North-East. We give it in Burrough's own words :

"The 27 being Munday the right worshipfull Sebastian Cabota came aboard our Pinnesse [the Search-thrift] at Gravesend, accompanied by diuers gentlemen, and Gentelwomen who after they had viewed our Pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboard, they went on shore, giuing to our mariners right liberall rewards: and the goode olde gentleman Master Cabota gaue to the poore most liberall almes, wisching them to pray for the good fortune, and prosperous successe of the Serchthrift our Pinnesse. And then at the sign of the Christopher, hee and his friends banketed, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere; and for very ioy that he had to see the towardnes of our intended discouery, he entered into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed most gently, commending vs to the gouernance of almighty God."<sup>1</sup>

We suppose that soon afterwards Cabot fell into his dotage, and could therefore attend neither to the management of the Muscovy Company, nor to the duties which we presume were entrusted to him as adviser in maritime affairs. On the 21st of February 1556-7, he no longer exercised the functions of Governor. The office was then held, and we do not know for how long previous, by Anthony Hussie,<sup>2</sup> who had been one of the grantees of the charter of 1555. This explains why Cabot did not figure in the reception of the Russian ambassador at that date, with "the merchants aduenturers for Russia to the number of one hundred and fortie persons,"<sup>3</sup> and, April 29th following, when "the said merchants

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT, vol. iii, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> "A letter to Mr HUSSEY, Governour of the Marchautes aduenturers . . . for the payment of xxx<sup>m</sup>li in permission money." DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, *sub anno*, 1556-7, Feb. 21st, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> In preparation of the arrival of the Duke (*i.e.* Ambassador) of Moscovia, the Privy Council sent "a letter to th<sup>e</sup>

officers of the Wardrobe in the Tower, to deliver to Mr HUSSEY, Governour of the Marchautes aduenturers, or to three of that Company which he shall send for that purpose, a bed of estate with furniture and hangings for the chamber of the Duke of Moscow." *Diary of Henry Machyn*, edited by J. G. NICHOLS, London, 1848, pp. 127, and 355 note.

assembling themselves together in the house of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gaue vnto y<sup>e</sup> said Ambassadòr, a notable supper garnished with musicke, enterludes and bankets."<sup>1</sup>

Yet, the fact that Hussie's name is not mentioned first among the signers of the important letter of instructions sent April 28th, 1557 by the Company to Killingworth, Gray and Lane,<sup>2</sup> may indicate that he was only governor *de facto*, owing to Cabot's feebleness of mind or body.

If we are to believe modern biographers of Sebastian Cabot, "Philip of Spain saw in him the man who had left his father's service, had refused peremptorily to return, and who was now imparting to others the benefit of his vast experience and accumulated stores of knowledge."<sup>3</sup> Also, that when Philip reached London on the 20th of May 1557, one of his first objects is said by those modern writers, to have been, through spite or revenge, to induce Queen Mary to bear upon Cabot, so as to compel him to deprive himself of one-half of the annuity which she had granted him on the 27th of November 1555. We then find the following additional statement:

"May 27th (*sic*) 1557, Cabot resigned his pension. On the 29th a new grant is made, but in a form essentially different. It is no longer to him exclusively, but jointly with William Worthington; 'eidem Sebastiano et dilecto seruianti nostro Willielmo Worthington.' On the face of this transaction Cabot is cheated of one-half of the sum which had been granted to him for life."<sup>4</sup>

There is not a particle of evidence that Philip had any agency whatever in those proceedings; nor was Cabot "called upon" then, or at any time, to resign his pension; and, so far from being cheated in any

<sup>1</sup> HAKLUYT of 1886, vol. iii, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 166-176.

<sup>3</sup> BIDDLE, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 216.



manner, Cabot rather received a favour on that occasion.

In the first place, one of the two documents cited in support of that alleged machination, viz. : the act of May 27th, 1557, does not exist at all.<sup>1</sup> The other, which bears date May 29th, allows of no other inference than this : Old age preventing Cabot from discharging his duties efficiently, and not being disposed to resign the position, an assistant was required. On the other hand, the pension had been granted to him for the term of his natural life, also on account of services done and *to be done* : "impensi atque impendendi." The financial condition of England at the time was not prosperous. The Queen even, Hume says, "owed great arrears to all her servants,"<sup>2</sup> while the impending war with France, which Philip had dragged her into, required that retrenchments should be made in all branches of the public service. Under the circumstances, it is fair to believe that the English government demanded a sacrifice at the hands of Cabot, viz. : that the salary of the assistant should come out of his annuity. But as the sum offered to Worthington, the appointed adjunct, probably was not deemed sufficient,<sup>3</sup> the government held forth to him an additional inducement. This consisted of a reversion of the entire pension to Worthington upon Cabot's death, and, in the meanwhile, of a joint-tenancy of the annuity. This will appear perfectly clear by a simple

<sup>1</sup> That assumed act of "May 27th, 1557," cited by BIDDLE, BANCROFT, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. viii, p. 170, is neither in RYMER, nor anywhere else. The only act of the kind known, is the one of "two days later," viz. : May 29th, which the reader will find in our *Syllabus*, No. lxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> HUME, quoted by BIDDLE, p. 214, note.

<sup>3</sup> It is only by inference that the act of 1557 can be said to divide equally the pension of 1555 between CABOT and WORTHINGTON. It does not follow necessarily that because the deed created a joint tenancy, WORTHINGTON was to receive one-half, or even any portion of the annuity during CABOT'S life.

reference to the deed, a translation into English of which we insert in our Appendix.<sup>1</sup>

An impartial study of that document shows that so far from having suffered damage, Cabot, on the contrary, received an advantage, as the reversion in favor of Worthington doubtless saved him the inconvenience of paying the assistant's entire salary out of his own pocket. It is a well-known principle of English jurisprudence that a grant made by the King shall be taken most beneficially for the King, and against the grantee. The casuists of the Crown,—and there were some under the Tudors,—might have therefore maintained that the words “*pro termino vitæ ejusdem Sebastiani,*” in the grant of the annuity of 1555, were not, under the circumstances, tantamount to the legal formula “for the term of his *natural* life.” They would have probably added that the other expression in the same, “*impensi et impostorum impendendi,*” caused the pension to cease on Cabot's inability to perform the duties in consideration of which it had been originally bestowed. He made a concession, but so did the Crown, as it assumed a prolongation of the charge of £166 per annum, which, as it proved, lasted twenty-five years at least after the reversion; for Worthington was still living, and, so far as known, in the enjoyment of the pension, as late as 1582.

Biddle, and the writers who have adopted his theory about Philip's alleged enmity against Cabot, reason as if the Spanish prince came over to England only in 1557. But his first visit dates from 1554, at a time when Cabot had been living in England for seven years. Philip, after his marriage, remained in London for thirteen months (July 1554–August 1555). That was the time when he would

<sup>1</sup> *Syllabus*, No. xcvi. For the Latin text, see RYMER, vol. vi, part iv, p. 55.

have vented his pretended spite, had he ever been disposed to do so. On the contrary, what do we see? It was Philip himself, with Mary, who, in February 1555, "made, ordeined, and constituted Sebastian Cabot to be Governor of the Marchant Adventurers of England, to have and enjoy the said office during his natural life, without amoving or dismissing from the same."<sup>1</sup> Nay, when Philip returned to Spain, at the end of the summer of 1555, he had so little availed himself of his influence over Mary Tudor to exercise such a gratuitous malevolence, that, less than three months after, she granted to Cabot a new pension of 250 marks,<sup>2</sup> and Philip's name figures in the grant by the side of her own.

When the Spanish King came to England in 1557, it is certain that his mind was engrossed with thoughts of a much more important character. Besides, nothing fresh had transpired against Cabot since 1555. Nor is it likely that if such a haughty prince had been bent on revenge, for acts committed not against him, but against his father, he would have remained satisfied with depriving the deserter of half only of his pension. We may rest assured that Philip had no more to do with that transaction than with the act whereby the Muscovy Company, a few months before Mary's royal husband arrived in England, superseded Cabot, although he had been appointed Governor for life, by naming in his place Anthony Hussie.

<sup>1</sup> The charter of incorporation begins with these words: "Philip and Marie, by the Grace of God King and Queene," and ends as follows: "Apud Westmonasterium, 6 Die Feb.

Annis Regnorum nostrorum, primo et secundo." HAKLUYT, edition of 1886, vol. iii, pp. 101, 112.

<sup>2</sup> RYMER, *Fœdera*, 1741, vol. vi, part iv, p. 55.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE END OF CABOT'S CAREER.

THE act of May 29th, 1557, referred to in the preceding chapter, ends the list of documents concerning Sebastian Cabot known at present. We possess no information therefore relative to his last days, beyond the fact that he retired from public life in the winter of 1556-1557, and the following personal reminiscence. It is furnished by Richard Eden, in the dedication to Sir William Winter of a translation into English of Jean Taisnier's *De motu continuo*. Speaking of certain inventions of Jacques Besson, Eden recalls this interesting circumstance :

“An Artifice not yet diuulgate or set forth, whiche placed in the pompe of a Shyp, whyther the water hath recourse, and mooued by the motion of the Shyp, with wheelles and weyghtes, dooth exactly shewe what space the Shyp hath gone, &c. By whiche description, some doo vnderstand that the longitude myght so be founde, a thyng doubtlesse greatly to be desyred, and hytherto not certaynely knowen, although *Sebastian Cabot* on his death bed told me that he had the knowledge thereof by diuine reuelation, yet so, that he myght not teache any man. But I thinke that the goode olde man, in that extreme age, somewhat doted, and had not yet euen in the article of death, vtterly shaken of all worldlye vayne glorie.”<sup>1</sup>

The above was not written till 1574, and we possess no data calculated to fix the time when the dying old cosmographer made this boastful statement. London is doubtless the place where he died, as

<sup>1</sup> *A very necessarie Booke . . . . by Joannes Taisnierus . . . . translated by Richard Eden.* London, s. a., 4to, in the Epistle dedicatory.

Eden lived in that city from 1544 in the employ of the government;<sup>1</sup> but the year of Cabot's death is yet unknown. We are struck with the fact that Henry Machyn, who in his Diary records so minutely the deaths and funerals of merchant adventurers, particularly the associates who occupied a prominent position in the Company, from 1550 to 1563, should have omitted to mention the obsequies of Cabot. He describes<sup>2</sup> in detail those of Sir John Gresham (1556), Sir Andrew Judd (1558), "Sir George Barnes the cheyff marchand of Muskovea (1558)," and "Husse [Anthony Hussie] a grett marchand ventorer of Muskovea (1560)," all of whom figure as grantees with Cabot in the charter of 1555. Under these circumstances, the omission of his name by Machyn indicates that notwithstanding a very advanced age, Sebastian lingered after 1563, or died in complete obscurity. With the hope of ascertaining the date of that event, diligent researches have been instituted in Worcester (where the early Bristol registers are preserved), and, at our request, in London, to discover his last will, but in vain, thus far.

As to the worldly goods which he left behind him, all we know is comprised within the following short notice, written so late as 1582, by Hakluyt.<sup>3</sup>

"Shortly, God willing, shall come out in print all his [Sebastian Cabot's] own mappes and discourses, drawne and written by himselfe, which are in the custodie of the worshipful Master William Worthington, one of her Majesty's Pensioners [as survivor of Cabot's annuity of 250 marks], who (because so worthie monuments should not be buried in perpetual oblivion) is very willing to suffer them to be oversene, and published in as good order as may be, to the encouragement and benefite of our countrymen."

<sup>1</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup>. Edward ARBER, *The first three English books on America*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, from 1550 to 1563*; Edited by J. G.

NICHOLS; London, Camden Soc. public., 1848, pp. 116, 173, 236.

<sup>3</sup> HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages touching the Discourie of America*; London, 1582; Edition of the Hakluyt Society, p. 26.

The publication was never made, and no one knows what became of those maps and writings. Biddle has suggested that Worthington handed over the papers of Cabot to Philip II., when he was in England in 1557. But, as Mr Markham justly observes, "this appears to be disproved by the fact that they were still in Worthington's possession in 1582."<sup>1</sup> Let us add that although Philip lived until 1598, he never returned to England after July 1557 (Mary Tudor died in 1558); nor are there to be found, either at Simancas or Seville, traces of papers coming from such a source.

#### HIS PORTRAIT.

In 1625, there could be seen in the King's Gallery at Whitehall, a portrait of Sebastian Cabot, which Purchas describes in these words :

"Sir Seb. Cabota ; his Picture in the Privie Gallerie at White-Hall hath these words, *Effigies Seb. Cabot, Angli, filii Joannis Caboti Veneti militis aurati, &c.*"<sup>2</sup>

That portrait, however, must have been removed from the palace before 1649, as Biddle says<sup>3</sup> that it does not figure in a "Catalogue of the paintings belonging to Charles I. drawn up in his life time, and apparently for his use, which exists among the Harleian MSS. (No. 4718)." We must state that neither is such a portrait mentioned in the original manuscript of a similar catalogue which in 1757 was preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MARKHAM, *The Journal of Columbus* ; Hakluyt Society, 1893, p. xli, note.

<sup>2</sup> PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, vol. iv, p. 1812.

<sup>3</sup> BIDDLE, *Memoir*, p. 319, where there is an elaborate discussion concerning the HARFORD picture, which he had not yet purchased.

<sup>4</sup> *A catalogue and description of King Charles the First's capital collection . . . Now first published.* London, 1757. WOLTMANN gives the list of the paintings by HOLBEIN in the royal galleries in the time of CHARLES II., taken from that catalogue, in *Holbein und seine zeit* : Leipzig, 1876, 8vo, vol. ii, pp. 51-52.

In 1792, a Bristol gentleman, Mr. Charles J. Harford, whilst travelling in Scotland, saw at the seat of a nobleman a portrait of Cabot. The fact that it bore an inscription commencing like the one reproduced by Purchas in a curtailed form, leads us to believe that it was either the portrait itself which hung at Whitehall in the times of James I. and Charles I., or a copy. Mr. Harford purchased the picture, and allowed it to be engraved by Rawle, apparently for Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, published in 1821. It was brought to London in 1830, where, Biddle says, "Cabot's portrait was instantly recognised by the most eminent artists as a Holbein."<sup>1</sup>

The probability is that the rich robe and massive gold chain which Cabot is represented as wearing in that picture are the badges of his office as Governor of the association of Merchant Adventurers, or, rather, of the Muscovy Company. If so, the portrait was painted at the soonest in 1553. Now Holbein made his will on the 7th of October 1543, in London, and, on the 29th of November following, one John of Antwerp took out letters of administration.<sup>2</sup> So that, even supposing that the Harford portrait was painted when Cabot first came to London to settle, in 1548, Holbein cannot have been the artist to whom it is ascribed, as he had then been dead five years.<sup>3</sup> If it be answered that Holbein could have executed it before 1548, we would state that Sebastian Cabot and Holbein never were in England at the same time. Holbein visited that country first in 1526, and remained until 1529. During those years, Cabot was in America. Holbein returned to England in 1532, and continued to live there until his death

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE, *op. cit.*, p. 320, note.

<sup>2</sup> See in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix (1863), p. 275, HOLBEIN'S original will, and the certificate of the Ordinary relative to the letters of administration.

The great artist, therefore, died between Oct. 7th and Nov. 29th, 1543.

<sup>3</sup> WOLTMANN, *op. cit.*, chapt. xiv, p. 415.

in 1543.<sup>1</sup> Throughout that period Cabot stayed in Spain, as we have shown. As to the other story, that Holbein painted the portrait by the order of Edward VI., it is well to recollect that when Holbein died, Edward was only six years old.

Finally, Biddle purchased the picture for £1500, and had it taken over to America, where it was destroyed in the conflagration of his house and contents, at Pittsburg, in 1845.<sup>2</sup>

#### HIS ALLEGED KNIGHTHOOD.

In the Harford picture, according to Rawle's engraved copy, Cabot was represented as a very old man, with a long, two-pointed white beard, and presenting altogether an extremely commanding appearance. He was depicted measuring with compasses the northern regions in a large globe, next to which were an hour glass and writing materials. The picture also contained two inscriptions, viz. : the first : SPES. MEA. IN. DEO. EST :—"My hope is in God."

The second, as follows :

EFFIGIES. SEBASTIANI CABOTI  
 ANGLI FILII IOHĀNIS CABOTI VENE  
 TI MILITIS AVRATI PRIMI INVĒT  
 ORIS TERRÆ NOVA [sic] SVB HĒRICO VII ANGL  
 IÆ REGE.

"The portrait of Sebastian Cabot Englishman the son of John Cabot Venetian Golden Knight the first discoverer of Newfoundland under Henry VII., King of England."

<sup>1</sup> WOLTMANN, *op. cit.*, chapt. xiv, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Copies of the HARFORD portrait were taken at the time when it was brought to America. One is in the gallery of the Mass. Historical Society ; another in the New York Historical Society. There was a portrait of Sebastian CABOT in the possession of

the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol in 1839 (*Notes and Queries*, July 17th, 1875). As to the one "painted in 1763, which now hangs in the ducal palace at Venice," Mr CHENEY does not say (*Miscell.* of the Philobiblion Soc., vol. ii, 7th tract, p. 25) whether or not it is a HARFORD copy, or what it looks like.



In that inscription, two statements are to be noted. The first is that Sebastian Cabot was an Englishman. This, although evidently prompted by himself, and in keeping with what he told Eden, we have shown to be untrue.<sup>1</sup>

The second assertion is that either himself, or his father, for the phraseology is vague, and the epithet may apply, in the sentence, to either, was a Knight : "*Miles*."

There can be no doubt that this expression was intended to convey the belief that John, or his son Sebastian, had been knighted. Selden, the highest authority on such matters in England, positively says : "The name of *Knight* together with *Miles* and *Chivaler* being but the same with *Eques*."<sup>2</sup> The qualificative *auratus*, in the words : "*militis aurati*," makes the term still stronger. Spelman, after enumerating the different kinds of knights, under the head of *Miles*, adds : "Et videntur iidem aliquando quos auratos dicimus :—And those very knights we are seen at times to call *Golden Knights*."<sup>3</sup> As to the reason, Father Menestrier,<sup>4</sup> another high authority, says it was because of their gilt spurs, chains, collars and other ornaments. Below the dignity of Knight, that, for instance, of Esquire, those ornaments were of silver, or white metal.

Now Biddle states<sup>5</sup> that "in the Cotton MSS. (*Claudius*, C. iii.) is a paper giving the names and arms of such as have been advanced to the order of Knighthood in the reigns of Henry VII., Henry

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 27-35.

<sup>2</sup> SELDEN, *Titles of Honour* ; London, 1672, folio, part ii, chap. v, p. 636.

<sup>3</sup> SPELMAN, *Glossarium Archæiologicum* ; London, 1764, folio, p. 411.

<sup>4</sup> "La plupart de ces chevaleries avoient des marques d'honneur, des livrées, des devises, et particulièrement

des dorures . . . ce qui les fit nommer *Chevaliers dorez*. Ces dorures estoient des ceintures, des chaines d'or, des colliers, des esperons dorez . . ." MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie ancienne et moderne* ; PARIS, 1683, 12mo, p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> BIDDLE, p. 180.

VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, in which no notice is taken of him (Sebastian Cabot)." It is well to add that neither is the name of John Cabot to be found in that list, or in any other.

But England is not the only country in Europe which created knights of the golden spurs, or "chevaliers d'orez." Italy, France, and Germany, conferred that title of honor; and what Sebastian Cabot meant was to make believe that either his father, or himself,—most probably the latter,—had been knighted, not by a Tudor, but by some foreign prince. The term "*Miles*" often employed on the continent, instead of "*Eques*," which was more generally used in England,<sup>1</sup> may be interpreted in support of our hypothesis. If John Cabot was intended, the dignity must have been conferred before 1496, and in that case the title would be mentioned in the letters patent granted by Henry VII., as well as in the chronicles or dispatches of the time which speak of John Cabot. If, on the other hand, Sebastian is meant, let us recollect that the only honorary distinction of the kind ever added to his name in authentic documents, is, as late as 1555, and 1557,<sup>2</sup> that of "*Armiger*," which means nothing but "Esquire,"<sup>3</sup> and, in Cabot's case, as we believe, given not otherwise than by courtesy.

#### HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN.

When, on the 20th of October 1512, King Ferdinand of Aragon wrote to Luis Carroz de Villagarut,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE remarks, for instance, that "*Eques auratus*" is used by HAKLUYT to designate Sir Humphrey GILBERT, Sir Hugh WILLOUGHBY, Sir Martin FROBISHER, Sir Francis DRAKE, and Sir Walter RALEIGH. But TYTLER, in his excellent vindication of HAKLUYT, refers to HOLLAND'S *Heroologia Angliæ*, where, under the

portraits of those worthies, we read: "Humfridus GILBERTUS *Miles auratus*;" "Richardus GRENVILUS, *Mil. Aur.*;" "Franciscus DRAKE, *Miles auratus*."

<sup>2</sup> RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. vi, part iv, pp. 40, 55.

<sup>3</sup> SPELMAN, voc. *Armiger*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 153.

the Spanish ambassador in London, recommending Cabot, who was going to England for the purpose of removing his household to Seville, the latter was already married. But as the name of his wife is not given in the letter of commendation, we do not know whether or not it was Catalina Medrano, who, as his wife, is found mentioned for the first time by name thirteen years afterwards.

On the 25th of October 1525, when Cabot was at Seville supervising the preparations of the expedition to "las islas de Tarsis e Ofir e al Catayo oriental," which, however, went instead to La Plata, as we have related, he transferred to the said Catalina the 25,000 maravedis constituting his yearly additional gratification ("ayuda de costa"). Being entitled to that bounty during life, he asked, and obtained from Charles V. that it should revert to her, likewise as a life annuity, upon his death.<sup>1</sup>

The name of Medrano is Spanish, and there is nothing to prevent Cabot having married first in England an English, or Italian woman, become a widower after 1512, and take a new wife in Spain; inasmuch as in 1525 he was but fifty-two years old.

We see Catalina Medrano frequently referred to in one of the suits brought against him when he returned from La Plata, in 1530. Catalina Vazquez then declared that he was ruled by his wife's notions, and only acted as she wished.<sup>2</sup> Witnesses were produced on the trial to prove that she constantly busied herself with the affairs of her husband, who passively submitted. Catalina Vazquez went even so far as to

<sup>1</sup> *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxii, B, p. 355. It is by mistake that NAVARRETE, *Bibliot. Marítima*, vol. ii, p. 698, says "se señalaron a su muger los 50,000 mrs. que él tenía por gratificación."

<sup>2</sup> "Este testigo vio algunas veces en San Lucar de Barrameda que la dicha

Catalina de Medrano no hazia e dezia ante dicho Sebastian CABOTO todo lo que queria e por bien tenía sin quel dicho Sebastian CABOTO le fuese a la mano y ella mandava y hazia lo que queria libremente." Deposition of the sailor Andrés DAYCAGA, *Syllabus*, No. lii, g.

accuse his wife, equally with himself, of enmity against Martin and Fernand Mendez, and of having employed men to kill the eldest of the two brothers.<sup>1</sup> The charges are evidently exaggerated, but the depositions show that Cabot's wife was a high tempered, domineering woman. She was still living on the 24th of June 1533, at which date Cabot speaks of her as being ill.<sup>2</sup> After that time she disappears entirely from the documents, both Spanish and English.

When yet living in England the first time, Cabot had a daughter called Elizabeth, who received from her godfather, the chaplain William Mychell, of London, May 7th, 1516, a small legacy.<sup>3</sup>

A daughter, whose Christian name has not come down to us, died at Seville in the summer of 1533;<sup>4</sup> but we are unable to say whether they are identical.

In the Register Books of St. Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange, in London, there is a mention, *sub anno* 1560, of one Elizabeth Cabot, married to Robert Saddler.<sup>5</sup> She may have been the Elizabeth named in Mychell's will; but we have failed to find any evidence to substantiate the supposition among the numerous Gabottis and Gabots mentioned in those records.

#### HIS BROTHERS.

As to the two brothers of Cabot, viz. : Sanctus and Lewis, who figure in the petition and grant of 1496, no traces are found of either of them outside those two documents. The passage of Pasqualigo's letter<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Interrogatories by the Fiscal; *Syllabus*, No. lii.

<sup>2</sup> "No he podido antes por la muerte de mi hija y dolencia de mi muger i mia." Letter to Juan DE SAMANO. *Syllabus*, No. lii.

<sup>3</sup> "Lego Elizabeth filie Sebastiani CABOTO filiole mee iiii. iiijd." Prin-

cipal Registry of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice; London, Public Record Office.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to SAMANO, *ubi supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Travers TWISS, in *Nautical Magazine*, for July 1876, p. 675.

<sup>6</sup> *Jean et Séb. Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322.

already quoted, indicates that in 1497 they lived with their mother at Bristol.

Campbell, on the authority of what he designates simply as "Remarks on Hakluyt MS.," states<sup>1</sup> that "John Cabot's other sons [*i.e.* Sanctus and Lewis], became also eminent men, and settled abroad, one in Genoa, the other at Venice." We place no faith whatever in anonymous and unsupported assertions of that character. Meanwhile, it is well to say that no vestiges of these two "eminent men" have ever been discovered in Genoa or Venice. Further, neither the son who is alleged to have settled in Venice, nor any member of his family, could be found in that city in 1551; otherwise the Council of Ten would not have written then to Giacomo Soranzo, the ambassador of the Republic in England: "The said Cabot is known to no one here:—non essendo il detto Caboto conosciuto da alcuno aqui."<sup>2</sup>

#### HIS ALLEGED DESCENDANTS.

A deplorable mania, which in this Vanity Fair tends everywhere more and more to poison the sources of history, is that of claiming kinship to, or even lineal descent from, ancient homonymous celebrities. Usually this is entirely imaginary, or rests upon forged pedigrees, such as we see fabricated every day in heraldic laboratories. Occasionally, it is a mere legend, which the ambitious namesakes call "tradition," without being able, however, to trace it back beyond a few years, although the alleged progenitor frequently dates from the Crusades.

We have endeavoured, on several occasions, to sift claims of the sort, hoping that if perchance they rested upon something plausible, we might find docu-

<sup>1</sup> CAMPBELL, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 226, note.

<sup>2</sup> Dispatch of the Council of Ten to SORANZO, *Syllabus*, No. lxxvii.

mentary references calculated to be of service in our inquiries. No satisfactory results ever came out of these efforts. As regards Cabotian ancestries, two have been urged within the last few years with unwonted confidence. They are as worthless as the rest. But as the claimants base their pretensions upon authentic documents, we feel in duty bound to examine these alleged proofs.

Both claims have originated in France; one in Normandy, the other in Languedoc.

The first is based upon a genuine legal parchment, which we describe *de visu*.<sup>1</sup> It is a receipt, dated June 22nd, 1470, and signed, somewhere in Normandy (the name of the place is partly illegible), by one Jehan Cabot, unquestionably a Frenchman, for a rent charge granted out of an estate called de la Londe, situate in the isle of Rouen. It will suffice to remind our readers that in 1470, the real John Cabot had been residing at Venice for nine consecutive years, since in 1476 he was made a Venetian citizen "per habitationem annorum xv, juxta consuetum." Nor can we realise how, in the last quarter of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, the Republic of Venice would have granted letters of naturalization to a Frenchman born.

The other claimants are the Cabots de la Fare, in the south of France, who, so recently as 1829, set forth their genealogical pretensions before the Courts, as follows :

"The progenitor of our race is Jean Cabot, the celebrated navigator, of Venetian origin, who, in the xv<sup>th</sup> century, discovered the Newfoundland Bank. If those of our ancestors who settled in France, have been excluded from the favors of the Court, it is because they ranged themselves under the standard of the Reformation. Among them was Pierre Cabot, surnamed 'Capitaine,' who, when asked to join the enemies of his faith, replied by these words, which have become the motto and armorial bearing of our

<sup>1</sup> That document was said to come from the papers of D' HOZIER in 1888.

family: *Semper cor, caput Cabot* ('I shall always have the same heart, the same head, Cabot I am')."<sup>1</sup>

As to their Cabotian lineage, they strove to establish it in this wise:

"1°. JEAN CABOT, a Venetian nobleman (naturally!).

His sons were:—

JEAN II., who returned to Venice, and died there.

LOUIS, mentioned below.

SEBASTIAN, who remained in the service of Henry VII., King of England. Afterwards he joined his brother Louis in France, where he died without leaving any known posterity. It is believed, however, that Vincent Cabot, a celebrated jurist of the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, is an issue of the body of that Sebastian.

(See *Dictionnaire historique de Moreri*, 1759, vol. iii, p. 6.)

2°. LOUIS CABOT, first of the name, son of Jean, above described. He entered the service of France. Having been among the first to embrace the Protestant religion, he was obliged to withdraw into the Cevennes, where he inhabited the town of Saint Paul-la-Coste.

His son was Pierre, mentioned next.

3°. PIERRE CABOT, son of Louis. Like his father, he lived in Saint Paul-la-Coste, where he died, after having made his will on the 27th of December 1552 before Guillaume Petit, a notary of Alais. It is in the said testament that the descent from Jean Cabot, the celebrated Venetian navigator, is duly established."

As the reader can readily imagine, our first care was to institute thorough researches in the notarial archives of Alais, and also of Uzès, to which district Saint Pol-la-Coste formerly belonged. Nor have we neglected those of Nîmes, and other places in old Languedoc, where there was a possibility of discovering traces of the Cabots de la Fare.

The result of our laborious investigations is that not only does the aforesaid testament of Pierre Cabot not exist at all, but there is no evidence whatever, beyond the unsupported declaration of the claimants, that such a document ever existed. What is more,

<sup>1</sup> *Cour Royale de Nîmes. Plaidoyer Fare-Alais et de la Fare-Vènejean. pour Messieurs Cabot de la Fare, contre Nîmes, Imprimeurs de la Cour Royale. le Cardinal de la Fare et MM. de la Juillet 1829, 4to, p. 31.*

no notary of the name of Pierre Petit lived at Alais in 1552, or at any time, anywhere in France. The ancient and authentic notarial rolls of Languedoc mention only one notary called Petit who practised in Alais, but his Christian name was Jacques, and he filled the office from 1586 to 1588. Nor, so far as known, did he attest, witness, or receive a testament executed by a Cabot.

The oldest Franco-Cabotian will existing, or of which there are authentic traces, bears date December 2nd, 1586, and was executed by "Loys Cabot de Carresvielles," in the parish of Saint Paul-la-Coste, not in presence of a Petit, but of Guillaume Solayret, notary public.

We have read, with the utmost care, from beginning to end, that will, the only one executed by any of these French Cabots in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century. So far from establishing "la descendance de Jean Cabot, célèbre navigateur vénitien," it does not contain the least allusion to any one of the Cabots whose name is associated with the discovery of North America.

*Ab uno disce omnes.*



SYLLABUS

OF THE

ORIGINAL CONTEMPORARY  
DOCUMENTS

WHICH REFER TO THE CABOTS, TO THEIR  
LIVES, AND TO THEIR VOYAGES

1476-1557



# SYLLABUS.

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## I.

1476.

28th March.

ORDER TO RECORD LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION GRANTED BY THE SENATE OF VENICE TO JOHN CABOTO, IN CONSEQUENCE OF A RESIDENCE OF FIFTEEN YEARS IN THE CITY.

“Quod fiat privilegium civilitatis de intus et extra Ioani Caboto per habitationem annorum xv, iuxta consuetum [consuetudinem ?]

*De parte 149. De non o. Non sinceri o.’*’

ROMANIN, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. iv, p. 453.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*,<sup>1</sup> doc. i, p. 318.

The grant was made by a unanimous vote of 149 senators. It is briefly recorded in vol. vii, fo. 109, of the series of senatorial registers called *Terra*, for the years 1473-1477.

Rawdon BROWN’S translation (*Calendar*, vol. i, No. 453) “That a privilege of citizenship within and without be made for John Cabot, as usual, *for* a residence of fifteen years,” is not quite exact. At that time, *Per* was employed for *Pro* (DUCANGE, voc. *Per*). It is here employed in the sense of “pro habitatione annorum xv,” viz. :—“for (or in consideration of) having resided fifteen years.”

## II.

1476.

28th March.

LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION GRANTED BY THE SENATE OF VENICE TO JOHN CABOTO.

“Nicolao Trono, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice, &c. To all and singular our friends and faithfuls, present and to come, who will see the present privilege, greeting and evidence of sincere friendship :

<sup>1</sup> The references under this head are to our work *Jean et Sébastien Cabot, leur origine et leurs voyages* ; Paris, 1882, 8vo,

which we indicate as containing nearly all the documents cited in the present work.

We want to make known to you by the present act that among the things which we keep in mind, is to attend with particular care to the interest of our subjects and faithful friends, and secure in due time what may be useful to them, as a matter appertaining to the honor of our Excellency [ourselves], and [also because] the unreserved attachment of our friends is so much the more usefully brought into use, and firmly consolidated, as our friendship and devotion are constant.

[Now] wishing to award merit according to its deserts, we have decided to decree [as follows]:—

Whosoever has inhabited Venice for xv years or more, and during that time fulfilled the duties, and supported the charges of our Seigniorship as if he had been a citizen and [one of our own] Venetians, shall enjoy perpetually and everywhere, the privilege of Venetian citizenship, and other liberties and immunities enjoyed and used by the other Venetians [who are] countrymen of ours.

Now therefore, as regards the prudent man Aloysio Fontana, formerly of Bergamo, now residing at Venice, in the street of St Julian. It having been represented to us upon true and reliable proofs diligently examined by the magistrates of our city, that he has inhabited Venice continuously during xv years, behaving towards us and our Duchy, faithfully and praiseworthy, with absolute devotion, filling constantly the duties, and supporting the charges of our Seigniorship, [wishing] to reward him duly, in respecting nevertheless the necessary solemnity of our statutes and ordinances, We have admitted and do admit the said Aloysio Fontana as Venetian and fellow citizen, within and without [*de intus et extra*]. Have so made and do make him, and wish that he be considered a Venetian and fellow citizen in Venice and elsewhere, and treated everywhere as such. So that all and singular the liberties, advantages, and immunities enjoyed by the other Venetians and our fellow citizens *de intus et extra*, shall be enjoyed by the said Aloysio in and out of Venice. It being understood [nevertheless] that at sea, and in the German Warehouse [*fontico theotonicorum*], he will not be allowed to trade, or cause to trade, before having first given security within the year to our Seigniorship.

In witness whereof, and as greater evidence of the same, we have caused the present privilege to be engrossed, and our leaden Bull affixed thereto.

Given in our Ducal palace, the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1472, the 11th day of August, Indiction V.

The like privilege has been granted to the prudent man Giovanni, the son of Giacomo, former inhabitant of Pesaro, now in Venice, in the time of the most Serene Prince and Lord, Nicolao Marcello, illustrious Doge of Venice, &c., under the leaden Bull, in 1473, October 23rd, Indiction VII.

The like privilege has been granted to the prudent man Martino Figini, former inhabitant of Milan, residing in Venice at the time of the most Serene Prince and Lord, Nicolao Marcello, in 1474, July 4th, Indiction VII.

The like privilege has been granted to the prudent man Antonio, the son of Gulielmo Calderario de Columbis, former inhabitant of Balabio, in the District of Milan, residing in Venice at the time of the most Serene Prince and Lord Pietro Mocenigo, under the leaden Bull, in 1475, May 5th, Indiction VII.

The like privilege has been granted to the prudent man, Giovanni, the son of Bartolomeo of Brescia, residing in Venice at the time of the most Serene Prince and Lord Nicolao Marcello, in 1474, May 17th, Indiction VII.

The like privilege has been granted to the honest and prudent man Giovanni Piedro de Turco, formerly of Novarra, residing in Venice in the time of the most Serene Prince and Lord Giovanni Mocenigo, August 22nd, 1480.

The like privilege has been granted to Bartolomeo, the son of Antonio Casarolo, August 18th, 1481.

The like privilege has been granted to Bernardo, the son of Bartolomeo of Pergamo, September 28th, 1484.

The like privilege has been granted to Zacharia de Panti, of Lodi, September 28th, 1484.

The like privilege has been granted to Benedetto Lancelotti Fortana, September 28th, 1484.

The like privilege has been granted to the brothers Giovanni, Sebastiano, and Stephano, September 28th, 1484.

The like privilege has been granted to Rafaele, the son of the late Antonio de Ardiconibus, February 12th, 1481.

The like privilege has been granted to M. Stefano, the son of Nicolas Aurifici, by a golden [*sic*] Bull of February 26th, 1484.

The like privilege has been granted to *Giovanni Caboto* under the aforesaid Doge [not Giovanni Mocenigo, but Andrea Vendramin, 1476-1478].

The like privilege has been granted to Domenico Giovanni de la Cisio, January 18th, 1498.

The like privilege has been granted to Giacomo de Blandratis, July 27th, 1500.

The like privilege has been granted to Giovanni Giacomo Grimasco, of Pavia, August 17th, 1501."

Document now first translated into English.

The first part of this document was published in the original Latin, by BULLO, *La Vera Patria di Nicolo de' Conti e di Giovanni Caboto*, Chioggia, 1880, 4to, pp. 59-60.

The full original text will be found inserted for the first time, in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. 11, pp. 309-312.

The present document confirms the preceding one (No. 1), although it is a transcription of a later date. It belongs to the series *Privilegii*, in vol. 11 (f<sup>o</sup>. 53), which comprises privileges of various kinds granted from 1425 until 1562. The naturalization nomenclature in that volume has evidently been framed so as to form a list referring exclusively to grants made by virtue of the decree which the Doge Nicolao Trono issued August 11th, 1472. We have inserted it in full on account of the wording of the preamble, which makes known to us under what conditions John Cabot was made a Venetian citizen.

### III.

1496.

5th March.

PETITION OF JOHN CABOTTE, LEWES, SEBASTIAN AND SANCTO HIS SONS, DELIVERED TO THE CHANCELLOR AT WESTMINSTER TO BE ACTED UPON, 5TH MARCH.

(Public Record Office; London. Privy Seals, and Chancery signed Bill. Hen. VII., No. 51.)

In English:

DESIMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto*, Genova, 1881, 8vo, p. 47.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. 111, pp. 312-313.

The Petition itself is dateless, only the date of delivery being given, which date coincides with that of the grant.

## IV.

5th March.

THE LETTERS PATENTES OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH GRANTED VNTO IOHN CABOT [CABOTO] AND HIS THREE SONNES, LEWIS, SEBASTIAN, AND SANCIVS FOR THE DISCOVERIE OF NEW AND VNKNOVEN LANDS. "APUD WEST-MONASTERIVM QUINTO DIE MARTIJ."

(Public Record Office. French Roll. 11 Hen. VII., m. 23.)

In Latin :

HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*, London, 1582, 4to, p. 19.

„ *Principall Navigations*, London, 1600, folio, vol. iii,

p. 4.

RYMER, *Fœdera*, 1741, vol. v, part iv, p. 89.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. iv, pp. 313-315.

In English :

HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*, pp. 21-22.

„ *Principall Navigations*, *loc. cit.*

These letters patent are dated in Hakluyt and Rymer "quinto die Martii," but in the original transcript added to the authorization given by King Edward VI. on the 4th of June 1550 (*infra*, No. lxx) to Seb. Cabot to obtain a copy, they bear the date of "quinto die Aprilis:—April 5th." We caused the Public Records to be examined, and found that the latter date was a mistake committed by the clerk in the time of Edward VI. As to the year mentioned in the transcript of 1550, it is, at the end: "Anno regni nostri [Henry VIIth] vndecimo." The eleventh year of the reign of that King corresponds with August 22nd, 1495—August 21st, 1496.

It is worthy of notice that the pension granted to John Cabot, on the 13th of December 1497 (*infra*, No. ix) for the discovery accomplished under this patent is made to date only from March 25th preceding.

## V.

1496.

28th March.

DISPATCH FROM RUY GONZALES DE PUEBLA, THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

(Simancas. *Capitulaciones con Inglaterra*, Leg. 2, fo. 16.)

In the original Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. v, p. 315.

In English :

BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, vol. i, No. 128, pp. 88-89.

## VI.

1497.

10th August.

GRATUITY FROM HENRY VII. "TO HYM THAT FOUNDE THE NEW ISLE."

(British Museum. Addit. MSS., 7099. 12 Henric VII., fo. 41 ;—copy by Mr. Craven Orde from the original entries in the Remembrancer Office, of the Privy Purse expenses of that King.)

N. Harris NICOLAS, *Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations of English History*; London, 1831, 8vo, p. 113.

BIDDLE, *Memoir*, Philadelphia, 1831, p. 79, note, which see.

## VII.

1497.

23rd August.

LETTERS FROM LORENZO PASQUALIGO, WRITTEN IN LONDON, AND ADDRESSED TO HIS BROTHERS IN VENICE, DESCRIBING JOHN CABOT'S FIRST VOYAGE.

(Marin Sanuto's *Diarii*, MS. of the Marciana Library at Venice.)

In Italian :

Rawdon BROWN, *Ragguali sulla vita e sulle opere di Marin Sanuto*; Venezia, 1837, 8vo, part i, p. 99.

Marin SANUTO, *Diarij*, Venezia, 1879, 8vo, vol. i, pp. 806–808.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. viii, p. 322 (from the original MS.).

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i, p. 262, No. 752.

In the original MS. of Sanuto's *Diarij*, to Pasqualigo's name is added: "fio di Ser Filippo, a Ser Alvise e Francesco Pasqualigo suo fratelli in Venexia."

## VIII.

1497.

24th August.

DISPATCH FROM RAIMONDO DI SONCINO ADDRESSED FROM LONDON TO THE DUKE OF MILAN, ALLUDING TO JOHN CABOT.

(Archives of the Sforzas, at Milan.)

In Italian :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. ix, p. 323 (Mr. Bullo's Italian text, *op. cit.*, p. 60, is apparently a translation from Rawdon Brown.)

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. i, No. 759, p. 260.

## IX.

1497.

13th December.

## PENSION OF £20 PER ANNUM, GRANTED BY HENRY VII. TO JOHN CABOT.

Memorandum quod xxvij die Januarij Anno subscripto istud breve liberatum fuit domino Cancellario Angliæ apud Westmonasterium exequendum.

Henry by the grace of god King of England and of Fraunce and lord of Irland To the most reuerend fadre in god John Cardinal archiebisshop of Cantrebury prymate of all England and of the apostolique see legate our chaunceller greting We late you Wite that We for certaine consideracions vs specially moevyng haue yeuen and graunted vnto our Welbiloued John Cabot [*sic*] of the parties of Venice an annuitie or anuel rent of twenty pounds sterling To be had and yerely perceyued from the feast of thanunciacion of or lady last passed during our pleasur of our Custumes and subsidies comyng and growing in our Poort of Bristowe by thands of our custums ther for the tyme beyng at Michelmas and Estre by even porcions Wherefor we wol and charge you that vnder our grete seal ye do make heruppon our lettres patent in god and effectual forme Yeuen vndre our Pryue Seal at or palays of Westminster the xijth day of Decembre The xijth yere of our Reigne.

HORWOD.

(Public Record Office. Privy Seal. Dec. 13 Henr. VII. No. 40.)

This pension, the text of which was first made known by Mr. Charles DEANE (*John and Sebastian Cabot*, Cambridge, 1886, 8vo, p. 56; reprinted from Mr. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*), dates, as the reader can see, from the preceding 25th of March, and is made a charge upon the customs of the port of Bristol. It did not pass the seals until the 28th of January 1498, and is addressed to John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. We take our text from the original manuscript.

See *infra*, No. xii.

## X.

1497.

18th December.

## SECOND DISPATCH FROM RAIMONDO DI SONCINO TO THE DUKE OF MILAN.

(State archives at Milan; *Potenze Estere. Inghilterra*, 1497, *Decembr.*)

In Italian:

*Annuario Scientifico del* 1865; Milan, 1866, p. 700.DESIMONI, *Intorno*, pp. 53-55 (from the original MS.).*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. x, pp. 324-326.

In English:

Prof. B. H. NASH, in Mr. Deane's above-quoted *John and Sebastian Cabot*, pp. 54-55.



## XI.

1498.

3rd February.

NEW LETTERS PATENT GRANTED TO JOHN KABOTTO OR CABOTO  
BY HENRY VII.

(Public Record Office. Chancery Signed Bills, 13 Hen. VII., No. 6.)

In English :

BIDDLE, *Memoir*, pp. 74-75.DESIMONI (revised text), *Intorno*, pp. 56-57.*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*; doc. xi, pp. 327-28.

This document was indicated by Hakluyt (vol. xii, p. 23), in Latin, and in English as follows :

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

The text, however, but in English only, was found by Biddle at the Rolls Chapel in 1831, and published by him in his *Memoir*. The grantee is called therein “John Kabotto, Venecian,” and this time, his sons are not associated with him in the grant.

Here is the Latin text of that important document :

“D licencia } R. Omnibus ad quos etc salutem Sciatis quod nos de gratia  
Caboto } nostra speciali ac certis consideracionibus nos specialiter  
mouentibus dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus  
dilecto nobis Johanni Caboto Veneciano sufficientem potestatem et auctoritatem  
quod ipse per se deputatum seu deputatos suos sufficientes sex naues huius  
regni Angliae in quocumque portu seu portubus siue aliis locis infra idem  
regnum nostrum aut obedienciam nostram sic quod dicte naues sint portagij  
ducentorum doliorum vel infra cum apparatus suis pro saluo conductu  
earundem nauium ad libitum suum capiendi et prouidendi nauesque illas ad  
terram et Insulas per ipsum Johannem nuperrime inuentas conducendi soluendo  
pro eisdem nauibus et earum qualibet tantum quantum nos solueremus et non  
vltra si pro nostro negocio et causa capte fuissent et prouise Et quod idem  
Johannes per se aut deputatum siue deputatos suos sufficientes omnes et singulos  
marinarios Magistros pagettos ac subditos nostros quoscumque qui ex eorum  
libera voluntate secum in dictis nauibus versus et vsque terram et Insulas pre-  
dictas transire et transmeari voluerint in naues huiusmodi et earum quamlibet  
capere et recipere possit et valeat absque impedimento impetitione seu per-  
turbacione aliquorum Officiariorum Ministrorum seu subditorum nostrorum  
quorumcumq; per ipsos seu eorum aliquem prefato Johanni deputato siue  
deputatis suis aut aliis subditis nostris predictis seu eorum alicui in comitiua  
eiusdem Johannis in nauibus predictis ad terram et Insulas predictas tran-  
seuntibus inferendi aut attemptari permittendi Damus vniuersis et singulis  
Officiariis Ministris et subditis nostris presentes litteras nostras visuris et  
audituris absque vltiori mandato per nos eisdem siue eorum alicui faciendo  
tenore presencium firmiter in mandatis quod eidem Johanni ac deputatis suis  
predictis aliisque nostris subditis secum vt permittitur transeuntibus in premissis

faciendi et exequendi fauentes sint consulentes et auxiliantes in omnibus diligenter. In cuius etc T. R. apud Westimonasterium tercio die Februarij Per ipsum Regem etc de data etc."

(Public Record Office. French Roll. 13 Hen. VII. No. 439 (m. 1).)

Document now published in Latin for the first time.

## XII.

1498.

22nd February.

### WARRANT FROM HENRY VII. FOR THE PAYMENT OF JOHN CABOT'S PENSION.

"Henry by the Grace of God King of England and of France and lord of Ireland To the Tresourer and Chaubrelaines of oure Eschequier greting Whereas we by oure warrant under oure signet for certain consideracions have geven and graunted unto John Caboote xx li [ $\pounds$ 20] yerely during oure pleasure to be had and prayved by the hands of our custumers in oure poorte of Bristowe and as we be enformed the said John Caboote is delaied of his payement because the said custumers have no sufficient matier of discharge for their indemnitie to be yolden at their accompt before the Barons of our Eschequier Wherefore we wol and charge you that ye our said Tresourer and Chaubrelaines that now be and hereafter shalbe that ye unto suche tymes as ye shall have from us otherwise in comandement do to be levied in due fourme ii several tailles every of them conteignyng x li upon the customers of the revenues in oure said poorte of Bristowe at two usual termes of the yere whereof oon tail to be levied as this time conteignyng x li of the revenues of oure said poort upon Richard Meryk and Arthure Kemys late customers of the same And the same tail or tailles in due and sufficient fourme levied ye delyver unto the said John Caboote to be had of our gift by way of rewarde without prest or any other charge to be sette upon hym or any of them for the same And thes our lettres shal be youre sufficient warrant in that behalf Geven undre oure prive seal at oure Manor of Shene the xxii day of ffebruary the xiii yere of oure reign.

BOLMAN."

(Warrants for Issues of the 13th of Henry VII.)

Document now published for the first time.

Kindly communicated by M. OPPENHEIM, Esqr. This warrant refers to the pension of  $\pounds$ 20 granted to John Cabot, December 13th, 1497. (*Supra*, No. ix.)

## XIII.

1498.

22nd March.

### LOAN OF $\pounds$ 20, FROM HENRY VII. TO LANSLLOT THIRKILL, OF LONDON.

(British Museum, MSS. Additional, No. 7099.)

In English :

N. Harris NICOLAS, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 116.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 102 and 256.

This individual was evidently a companion of John Cabot, and owner of one of the vessels in the squadron, as the loan was "for his shipp going towards the new lande." We see him again in London, June 6th, 1501, where, with Thomas Par, Walter Strikland and Thomas Mydelton, he is "bounden in ij obligations to pay at Whitsonty de next comyns xx li, and that day twelvemoneth xl marcs for lyverye of Flemynge landes." (Brit. Museum, Add. MSS., 21,480, fo. 35, v<sup>o</sup>., quoted by DESIMONI, *Intorno*, p. 61.) We have been unable to ascertain whether the £20 mentioned in that bond, refer to the loan made in 1498, the three other men standing security for him, or whether the sum, like the rest, refers to "Flemynge landes." At all events, this shows, that one ship at least returned from the expedition of 1498, and that is all, thus far, which is known concerning the results of the voyage, except, by implication, the delineations in La Cosa's planisphere.

## XIV.

1498.

1st April.

OTHER LOANS FROM HENRY VII. FOR THE SAME OBJECT.

(British Museum, MSS. Addit., No. 7099.)

In English :

N. Harris NICOLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Those loans are as follows :

To Thomas Thirkill, £30.

To Thomas Bradley, £30.

There is also a gratuity of £40, 5s. to John Carter. The three mentions are followed by the words : "going to the newe ile."

## XV.

1498.

Undated, but about 25th July.

DISPATCH ADDRESSED BY RUY GONZALES DE PUEBLA, SENIOR  
SPANISH AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND, TO FERDINAND AND  
ISABELLA.

(Archives of Simancas. *Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con Inglaterra*, Leg. 2<sup>o</sup>, f<sup>o</sup>. 198.)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xii, p. 328, with printer's mistakes, which we now proceed to correct :

"El Rey de Inglaterra embio cinco naos armadas con otro ginoues como Colon a buscar la ysla del Brasil y las vjcinidades, fueron proveydas por hun

año. Dizen que seran venjdos para el Setiembre. Vista la derrota que llevan hallo que lo buscan es lo que Vuestras Altezas poseen. El Rey me ha hablado algunas veces sobrello espera haver muy gran ynteresse. Creo que no hay daqui alla cccc leguas.”

This is the first time that the name of Columbus is mentioned in a document coming from England.

*Supra*, p. 42.

## XVI.

1498.

25th July.

DISPATCH ADDRESSED BY PEDRO DE AYALA, JUNIOR SPANISH  
AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

(*Loc. cit.*)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii, p. 329.

In English :

BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, vol. i, No. 210, pp. 176-177, but with the omission of the important following passage :

“Porque es al cabo que a Vuestras Altezas cupo por la convencion con Portugal :—Because it is next to [the region] which your Majesties have secured by the convention with Portugal [Treaty of Tordesillas].”

## XVII.

1498 (?).

CRONICON REGUM ANGLIÆ ET SERIES MAIORUM ET VICE  
COMITUM CIVITATIS LONDON AB ANNO PRIMO HENRICI  
TERTIUM AD ANNUM PRIMUM HEN. 8<sup>vi</sup>.

(Ms. Cott. vitellius, A xvi, f<sup>o</sup>. 173. British Museum.)

Edward E. HALE, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1866, p. 22.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, (from the original Cottonian MS.) doc. vi, p. 316.

The same, modified, and attributed to Robert Fabyan :

Stow, *The Chronicles of England*, London, 1580, 4to, p. 862. Where the *Cronicon* states: “This yere the Kyng at the besy request and supplicacion of a Straunger venisian . . .”, Stow prints: “This yeare one Sebastian Gabato a genoas Sonne.”

Hakluyt, *Divers voyages*, 1582; *Principall Navigations*, 1589, and 1599-1600, vol. iii, p. 9.

In the first of these works, Hakluyt prints: “This yeere the King (by means of a Venetian . . .)” in the second: “In the 13 yeere of King Henrie the VII. by means of one John Cabot, a Venetian;” in the third, also “by meanes of one John Cabot a

Venetian." Yet Hakluyt has added to these statements a title which reads, first, as follows: "A Note of Sebastian Gabote's Voyage of Discouerie," and, second, "A note of Sebastian Cabots first discouerie of part of the Indies," which contradict the statement itself. Concerning the same, see Biddle, chapt. v, pp. 41-45, and Tytler, *Historical view*, 1832, pp. 421-427.

This MS. contains extracts from an anonymous chronicle of the time of Henry VII., mentioning the first transatlantic voyage of John Cabot (not by name, however), mixed with details pertaining to the second, but presented as one expedition only.

*Supra*, pp. 25 and 131.

## XVIII.

1502.

EXTRACT FROM FABVAN'S (LOST) MANUSCRIPT CHRONICLE.

STOW, *Chronicle*, London, 1580, p. 875 (where there is a misprint, viz.: "1468").

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*; doc. xiv, p. 330.

It refers to the alleged third voyage of "Sebastian Gabato, 18. Henr. VII." based upon the allegation, borrowed from Fabyan, that "thys yeare, were brought vnto the Kyng three men taken in the new founde Ilands."

Hakluyt, quoting also Stowe's copy of Fabyan, in 1582, heads that statement thus: "Of three savage men which he [Cabot] brought home and presented unto the King in the xvii yeere of his raigne." That is, the event occurred not between August 22nd, 1502, and August 21st, 1503, as Stow said, but between 22nd Aug. 1501 and 21st Aug. 1502. Afterwards, Hakluyt again changed the date into the "fourteenth yeare (*Principall Navig.*, 1600, vol. iii, p. 9); that is, between 22nd Aug. 1498 and 21st Aug. 1499."

*Supra*, part i, chapter xvii, p. 143.

## XIX.

1503.

6th December.

APPROPRIATION FOR THE PENSION GRANTED TO FERNANDEZ AND GONZALES.

"Henry by the Grace of God King of England and of ffrance, and lord of Irland To the Tresourer and Chambrelaines of our Eschequier greting. Whereas we by our lettres undre oure prive seal bering date at oure manor of Langley the xxv<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre the xviii<sup>th</sup> yere of our Reigne gaf and

graunted unto our trusty and welbeloved subgietts ffranceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus squiers in consideracion of the true service which they have doon unto us to our singler pleasur as capitaignes unto the newe founde lande unto either of them ten pounds yerely during pleasure to be had and preyved of the Revenues of our custumes comyng and growing within our poort of Bristowe by the hands of the custumers there that now be and hereafter shalbe at the festes of Estre and Michaelmes by even porcions And forasmoche as Richard Meryk and Arthur Kemys late custumers in our said poort of Bristowe have paide unto the said ffranceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus twenty pounds for oon hool yere ended at the fest of Saint Michell tharchaugell last past for the which they have no maner of discharge to be alleged at their accompts before the barons of our Eschequier Wherefore we wol that ye in due and sufficient forme doo to be levied for the said ffranceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus a taille or tailles conteignyng the said sume of xx li upon Richard Meryk and Arthure Kemys late custumers in our said poort of the revenues of the same And furthermore we wol that ye from hensforth from tyme to tyme and yer to yer doo to be levied several taills conteignyng the said sume of xx li upon the custumers of our said poort that now be and hereafter shalbe unto the tyme ye shall have from us otherwise comandement by wryting And the said taill or tailles in due and sufficient fourme levied upon the said custumers at the festes beforesaid we wol that ye delivre unto the said ffranceys ffernandus and John Guidisalvus or unto the bringer hereof in their names to be taken of our gyfte by way of rewarde without pete [?] or eny othre maner of charge to be set upon them or eny of them for the same And thies our lettres shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> sufficient warrant in that behalf geven undre our prive seal at our cite of London the vj day of Decembre the sixth yr. of oure reigne.

R. BOLMAN."

(Warrants for issues of the 19th of Henry VII.)

Document now published for the first time.

Kindly communicated by M. OPPENHEIM, Esqr.

This document confirms our assertion (*Supra*, part i, chapt. xvii, p. 145) that the privileges for transatlantic expeditions granted to the Cabots in 1496 and 1498, determined with the second expedition. We already possessed an entry, of September 24th, 1502, showing that at the latter date certain merchants of Bristol (not named) had been rewarded for having "bene in the Newefounde Launde (Harris NICOLAS, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 129, No. 30)." But there yet remained to show that this entry referred to the expedition undertaken by Richard Ward, Thomas Ashehurst, John Thomas, João and Francisco Fernandez, and João Gonzales, by virtue of the letters patent granted to them, March 19th, 1501 (BIDDLE, pp. 306-314), and, consequently, that it had been actually carried out. This shows that the American Indians seen in London in the "18th year of Henry VII.'s reign," were not brought by Cabot, but by the aforesaid grantees. The reader will notice that the pension to Fernandez and Gonzales was bestowed September 26th, 1502, and cannot apply therefore to their second expedition, as this was undertaken in consequence of letters patent granted only December 9th following. (RYMER, vol. v, part iv, p. 186.)

*Supra*, pp. 144-147.

## XX.

1512.

May.

## PAYMENT TO SEBASTIAN CABOT FOR MAKING A MAP.

"Paid Sebastian Tabot (*sic*) making of a carde of Gascoigne and Guyon, 20s."

J. S. BREWER, *Calendar domestic and foreign, Henry VIII.*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 1456.

This "card" or map, was for the expedition to the South of France agreed upon by Henry VIII. and Ferdinand of Aragon.

*Supra*, p. 152.

## XXI.

1512.

13th September.

## LETTER FROM FERDINAND OF ARAGON TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

(Muñoz Transcripts, vol. xc, f<sup>o</sup>. 109, verso.)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot* ; doc. xv B, p. 331.

Lord Willoughby de Broke had command of the troops which landed at Pasages in June 1512. (RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. xii, p. 297. HERBERT, *History of Henry VIII.*, p. 20.)

## XXII.

1512.

13th September.

## LETTER FROM KING FERDINAND TO SEBASTIAN CABOTO.

(*Op. cit.*, f<sup>o</sup>. 115.)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot* ; doc. xvi, p. 331.

Cf. HERRERA, *Decad.* i, lib. ix, cap. xiii, p. 254.

## XXIII.

1512.

20th October.

## LETTER OF KING FERDINAND CONCERNING SEBASTIAN CABOTO.

(*Ibidem.*)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot* ; doc. xvii, p. 332.

## XXIV.

1512.

20th October.

LETTER OF KING FERDINAND TO LUIS CARROZ DE VILLARAGUT,  
HIS AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

*(Ibidem.)*

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*; doc. xviii, p. 332.

## XXV.

1514.

6th March.

SEBASTIAN CABOT IS CALLED TO THE COURT TO CONSULT WITH  
THE KING.

“En 6 Marzo 514 : se dan a Seb. Caboto 50 ducados en cuenta del salario que se le ha de dar, con que fuese a la corte a consultar con Su Alteza las cosas del viaje que ha de llevar a descubrir :—March 6th, 1514, 50 ducats are given to Seb. Cabot on account of his salary to enable him to go to the Court to consult with His Majesty concerning things pertaining his intended voyage of discovery.”

*(Muñoz Transcripts, vol. lxxv, f<sup>o</sup>. 519.)**Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xviii A, p. 333.

## XXVI.

1514.

26th March, 7th April, 11th May.

SEBASTIAN CABOT RECEIVES SUNDRY SUMS OF MONEY ON ACCOUNT  
OF SALARIES, AND OTHERWISE.

*(Muñoz Transcripts, vol. lxxv, fos. 319, 331.)*

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xviii A, p. 333.

The last item relates to expenses incurred in returning from London to Spain, and bringing his wife over. The expression “haver enbiado a traer su muger,” indicates that she did not come with him, but that he sent some one to take her to Seville.



## XXVII.

1515.

13th June.

## SEBASTIAN CABOT RECEIVES 10,000 MARAVEDIS.

“Mosen Martin Cabrero mi camarero yo vos mando que de qualesquier mrs. de vuestra cargo deys e pagueys a Sebastian Caboto nuestro capitan de armada de las cosas de las yndias diez mill mrs. de que yo le hago merced para ayuda a su costa . . . Fecha en Burgos a treze dias de junyo de quinientos e quinze años.”

(MS. Simancas, *Libro de la Camera*, 1513-16, f<sup>o</sup>. 63.)

Our *Discovery of North America*, p. 706.

## XXVIII.

1515.

30th August.

## PAYMENT MADE TO SEBASTIAN CABOT AND OTHER PILOTS.

(Muñoz Transcripts, vol. lxxv, f<sup>o</sup>. 343.)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xviii B, pp. 333-334.

We learn from this document that Cabot was then Naval Captain, at a salary of 50,000 maravedis per annum, and also Pilot to His Majesty, and had for colleagues Andres de Sant Martin, Juan Vespucci (the nephew of Americus), Juan Serrano, Andres Garcia Niño, Francisco Coto, Francisco de Torres, and Vasco Gallego.

## XXIX.

1515.

13th November.

## DEPOSITION OF SEBASTIAN CABOT RELATIVE TO THE LATITUDE OF CAPE ST. AUGUSTIN.

(*Registro de copias de cédulas, provisiones &c., de la Casa de la Contratacion desde 5 de febrero de 1515 hasta 6 de Marzo de 1519*, in the Muñoz Transcripts.)

In Spanish :

NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viajes*, vol. iii, p. 319, and *Opúsculos*, vol. i, p. 66.

## XXX.

1516-17.

31st January.

TESTAMENT OF WILLIAM MYCHELL OF LONDON ; CHAPLAIN.  
(Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the  
High Court of Justice.)

In Latin :

Travers TWISS ; *Nautical Magazine*, London ; July 1876, p. 675.

“Lego Elizabeth filie Sebastiani Caboto filiole mee iii s. iiij d.”

## XXXI.

1518.

5th February.

SEBASTIAN CABOT IS APPOINTED PILOT MAJOR OF SPAIN.

“Que Seb. Caboto sea Piloto mayor en lugar de Juan Dias de Solis con  
50000. maravedis de salario.—Valladolid, 5th feb. 1518.”

(Muñoz Transcripts, vols. lxxv, f<sup>o</sup>. 213 ; lxxvi, f<sup>o</sup>. 28.)

NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima*, vol. ii, p. 698.

Our *Discovery of North America*, p. 707.

## XXXII.

1519.

6th May.

SEBASTIAN CABOT RECEIVES HIS SALARY AS PILOT MAJOR.

(*Cuenta del Dr. Sancho de Matienzo, Tesorero de la Casa de Sevilla*, 515-19.  
In the Muñoz Transcripts, vol. lxxv, f<sup>o</sup>. 49.)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xviii c, p. 334.

“25000 por  $\frac{1}{3}$  de su salario.” His salary therefore amounted  
to 75,000 maravedis per annum ; but it comprised, apparently, his  
emoluments as Naval Captain.

## XXXIII.

1521.

1st March-9th April.

PROTEST OF THE TWELVE GREAT LIVERIES OF LONDON  
AGAINST EMPLOYING SEBASTIAN CABOT TO COMMAND AN  
ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO THE NEW WORLD.

(Wardens Accounts of the Drapers Company of London.)

Wm. HERBERT, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies  
of London*. London, 1837, 8vo, vol. i, p. 410.

Our *Discovery of North America*, pp. 747-750, for the document in full, taken from the original manuscript.

*Supra*, pp. 168-170.

## XXXIV.

1522.

27th September.

DISPATCH FROM THE COUNCIL OF TEN TO GASPARO CONTARINI.

(State Archives, Venice, *Capi del Consiglio dei x. Lettere Sottoscritte, Filza N. 5, 1522.*)

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxvi, pp. 344-46.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 557.

## XXXV.

1522.

27th September.

REWARD GIVEN BY THE COUNCIL OF TEN TO CABOT'S SECRET AGENT.

(*Ibidem.*)

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxvii, p. 346.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 558.

The reward amounted to "ducati vinti."

## XXXVI.

1522.

31st December.

DISPATCH FROM CONTARINI TO THE SENATE OF VENICE.

(Marciana Libr., *Cl. vii, Cod. mix, cart. 281-283.*)

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxviii, pp. 347-351.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 607.

## XXXVII.

1523.

7th March.

DISPATCH FROM CONTARINI TO THE SENATE OF VENICE.

*(Ibid. Cart. 289.)*

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxix, p. 351.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 632.

## XXXVIII.

1523.

28th April.

DISPATCH FROM COUNCIL OF TEN TO GASPARO CONTARINI.

*(Ibidem.)*

In Italian :

BULLO, *loc. cit.**Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxx, pp. 352-353.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 669.

## XXXIX.

1523.

28th April.

LETTER FROM HIERONIMO DE MARINO TO CABOT.

*(Capì del Consiglio de' Dieci. Lettere sottoscritte Filza No. 6, 1523.)*

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, p. 68.*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxi, p. 353.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 669.

## XL.

1523.

26th July.

DISPATCH FROM CONTARINI TO THE DOGE OF VENICE, ANDREA GRITTI.

*(Ibid. Carte 302.)*

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, p. 69.*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxii, p. 354.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 710.

XLI.

1523.

26th November.

CEDULA ORDERING CABOT TO PAY THE PENSION OF AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS' WIDOW.

(Archiv. of the Indies, Seville ; *Leg. u.<sup>o</sup>. 1 de la Casa de Contratacion, lib. 1<sup>o</sup> de Toma de Razon de Titulos y Nomb.* 1503-1615, f<sup>o</sup>. 42.)

In Spanish :

NAVARRETE, vol. iii, doc. xiv, pp. 308-9.

XLII.

1523.

18th February.

PAYMENT TO JOHN GODERVK OF TORY FOR CONDUCTYNG OF SEBASTIAN CABOTT MASTER OF THE PYLOTES IN SPAYNE TO LONDON.

J. S. BREWER, *Calendar Domestic and Foreign, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv, part i, p. 154, No. 366.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxii A, pp. 354-355, from the original MS.

XLIII.

1525.

21st September.

DISPATCH FROM ANDREA NAVAGERO.

(Venice, Cicogna MSS., 1985, c. 223.)

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. iii, No. 1155, p. 481.

It contains this interesting passage :

“Un' altra armata di. 28. vele, pur per le Indie ma in altra parte, è in ordine in Siviglia, et partirà, si come dicono, fra. 15. o. 20. di, della qual è capitano un Sébastian Cabotto venetiano ; costui va per scoprir cose nove, et ogni giorno di qua fan maggior le speranze di queste Indie, et più li mettono l'animo et credono all' ultimo haver anco le spiciarie per quella banda, et con viaggio molto più breve di quel che fece la nave *Vittoria*.”

*Supra*, pp. 188-190.

As regards Andrea Navagero, SANUTO (*Diarii*, lii, c. 396, quoted by Mr. BERCHET) mentions a work written by him, which unfortunately is lost, and was entitled: *Description de cosse trovate nel Mondo Novo, con uno dessegno del dito Mondo Novo et carta da navegar de Spagna.*

#### XLIV.

1525.

25th October.

CEDULA TRANSFERRING, AT CABOT'S REQUEST, TO HIS WIFE, FOR HER LIFE, THE GRATUITY OF 25,000 MRS. WHICH HAD BEEN CONFERRED ON HIM FOR HIS OWN LIFE.

(Muñoz Transcripts, vol. lxxvii, f<sup>o</sup>. 165.)

In Spanish :

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxii B, p. 355.

The above is doubtless the cedula also in the Muñoz Transcripts, under the year 1523 (*sic*), and as follows :

"Cedula Toledo, 25th Oct. A Catalina de Medrano muger de S. Caboto se paguen anualmente 250 ques la ayuda de costa de Caveto (*sic*) de la que hizo renunciaron en ella."

#### XLV.

1525.

16th November.

GASPARO CONTARINI'S REPORT.

(State Archives at Turin, cod. r, a, b, x, i, c. 138.)

In Italian :

*Raccolta Colombiana*, part iii, vol. i, No. xxxxi, p. 129. See for that account in general, ALBERI, *Relazioni*, vol. ii.

The Venetian ambassadors were appointed only for two years, and upon their return to Venice they read an account before the Senate of what happened and of what they noticed during that time in the country to which they were accredited. The present contains only the following mention of the preparations for Cabot's expedition to the Moluccas :

"Hora la maestà cesarea havea fatta un' armata di cinque navi in Siviglia, et fatto capitano Sebastiano Caboto . . . perchè andasse a *investigare tutta quella costa primieramente*, poi che andasse etiam nell' Indie."

This passage is nevertheless very important.

See *Supra*, p. 190.

## XLVI.

1527.

28th May.

LETTERS FROM HERNAND CORTES TO THE MEMBERS OF  
CABOT'S EXPEDITION GENERALLY; AND TO SEBASTIAN  
CABOT PERSONALLY.

(Archiv. of the Indies, Seville. *Patronato Real*, leg. 6°.)

In Spanish :

NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, vol. v, docs. xxxi-ii, pp. 456-457-459.

These letters were written by the order of Charles V., to be remitted to Cabot in the Pacific, and entrusted to Alvaro de Saavedra.

## XLVII.

1528.

MEMORANDUM OF ANDREA NAVAGARO.

(Venice ; Cicogna MSS., cod. 1985, p. 933.)

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

It contains only the following :

“Delle Molucche e delle armate vi son andate ; de le nave spagnole, che io intesi in Franza ch'erano arrivate all' isole di Brazil carghe de speciarie che potrian esser di quelle che partiron [*sic pro* partiva ?] di Siviglia con Sebastian Cabotto Venetiano.”

## XLVIII.

1528.

10th July.

LETTER OF LUIS RAMIREZ.

In Spanish :

*Revista trimensal do Instituto Historico e Geografico do Brazil*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. xv (1852), pp. 14-41. Published by Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN, from a manuscript of the time which he found in the “Biblioteca alta,” of the Escorial.

In French :

*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Paris, vol. iii (1843), pp. 39-73, “traduite du manuscrit inédit de la bibliothèque de M. Ternaux-Compans.” What that text was, we are unable to say. It does not figure in the catalogue of the important sale which he made of his Spanish books and manuscripts in 1836 (*Catalogue des livres et manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de feu M. Raetz*, Paris, 1836), and

it is not known what became of the books and manuscripts which he acquired until his death (by suicide) in December 1864.

We regret that the lack of space prevents us from adding here a translation into English of that very valuable account of Cabot's expedition to La Plata.

*Supra*, p. 201.

## XLIX.

1528.

19th October.

### LETTER FROM LOPE HURTADO TO CHARLES V.

(Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS., No. 28,577, f<sup>o</sup>. 298.)

In English :

GAYANGOS, *Calendar of Letters, Dispatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain*. 1527-1529. Vol. iii, p. ii, part 823, No. 572.

This letter announces the arrival at Lisbon of the *Trinidad* (with Hernando de Calderon, Roger Barlow, &c. on board).

*Supra*, p. 219.

## L.

1530.

### OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF DIEGO GARCIA'S VOYAGE TO LA PLATA.

The title of the manuscript is as follows :—

“Relacion que presentó á S.M. de su derrota en el 2<sup>o</sup> viaje, que hizo al descubrimiento del Rio de la Plata, desde su salida de la Coruña á 15 de enero 1526 :—Relation which [Diego Garcia, Fleet General] presented to His Majesty, of his route in the second voyage made by him to discover the Rio de la Plata, since his departure from Coruña, January 15th, 1526.”

GARCIA'S own title is different ; viz. :

“Memoria de la navegacion que hice este viaje en la parte del mar Oceano dende que sali de la Ciudad de la Coruña, que allí me fue entregada la armada por los Oficiales de S.M., que fue en el año de 1526 :—Account of the navigation made in this voyage in the Ocean Sea, from the time of the sailing from the city of Coruña, where the fleet was entrusted to me by the Officials of His Majesty, in the year 1526.”

In Spanish :

*Revista Trimensal*, vol. xv (1852), pp. 6-14. Published by Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN, from the MS., as we suppose, preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, “*Leg. 3<sup>o</sup> de los rotulados de Descripciones y poblaciones; papeles llevados de Simancas.*”

This important document, which we regret we are unable, from want of space, to publish here in English, was first indicated by NAVARRETE in 1837 (*Coleccion de viajes*, vol. v, p. 170, note), and in 1851 (*Biblioteca Maritima*, vol. i, p. 331). It is not dated,



but as reference is made therein to events which took place in Brazil when Garcia was homeward bound, we presume that he wrote it soon after his arrival in Spain.

It should be noted that Garcia, in this MS., states that he sailed out January 15th, 1526, from Cape Finisterre. Herrera, however, who evidently has consulted the original account, says: "August 15th (*Decad.* iii, lib. x, cap. i, p. 278)," which, as Mr. D'Avezac justly observes, "s'accorde avec la date de septembre, pour la relâche aux Canaries." (*Bulletin in de la Société de Géographie. Août et Sept.* 1857, p. 109, note 3.)

*Supra*, p. 218.

## LI.

1530.

### GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF CABOT'S VOYAGE FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF BRAZIL TO LA PLATA, WRITTEN BY ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ.

We make our extracts from the manuscript work of Santa Cruz preserved in the Besançon Library (No. 460) and entitled as follows:

"El yslario general de todas las yslands del mundo endresçado ala S. C. C. Magt. del Emperador y Rey nuestro Señor, por Alonso de Sancta Cruz, su Cosmografo maior:—The general *Insulario* (or description) of all the islands in the world. Dedicated to His Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King our Lord, by Alonso de Sancta Cruz, his Cosmographer-Major."

This work was written only in 1560 (*Discovery of North America*, No. 227, p. 621), but, so far as those regions are concerned, with data collected by Santa Cruz during Cabot's voyage to La Plata, of which he was an eye-witness throughout. The use which we have made of the *Islario* in our description of Cabot's exploration of that country (*Supra*, chapter vi, pp. 201-211) makes it incumbent on us to publish the original text on which we base our geographical allegations.

"Casi al principio de la costa del brasil apartado de la punta *del plazel* [Ribeiro] al nordeste por sesenta y cinco leguas hasta un ysla de hasta ocho o diez leguas de largo norte sur y quatro, o cinco de ancho con unos baxos al sudueste della donde se perdio una nao de hernando de lorona portugues que yva cargado de Brassil a españa de donde comunmente es dicho *de hernando de lorona* [*sic pro* Noronha.—*Discovery of N. America*, p. 696.] esta en tres grados de altura.

Una pequeña isla de hasta tres leguas de largo y una de ancho con unos baxos al sudueste della donde se perdio la nao dicha habitada de yndios y algo esteril es alto alta llamada *ysla de la assension*. En esta ysla vimos yo y otros yendo a tomar el estrecho de magallanas para passar a las yslands de las malvias el año mill y quinientos y vinte y seis. . . .

Una baya que se llama *de todos sanctos* en laqual hay algunas yslands aunque pequeño habitatos de yndios y do tienen sementeras estan en altura de catorze grados.

En altura de diez y nueve salen a la costa unos baxos que entran en la mar

mas de treinta leguas dichas *abrojo* dentro de las quales esta una yslla llamada *sancta barbara* [Ribeiro] laqual es habitada tiene diez leguas de largo y quatro de ancho. Antes del cabo frio sale un rio a la mar muy grande y antes de su salida haze una gran bay mas de diez leguas de largo y mas de quatro de ancho dentro dal qual hay muchas ysletas algunas deshabitadas y otras en que tienen los yndios sementeras. Junto asta baya fue donde amerigo bespucho piloto mayor de Castilla en el ultimo viaje que hizo fundo una casa donde dexo veinte y quatro christianos con sus armas y tiros de artilleria proveidas por seis meses de todas las cosas necessarias a los quales despues mataron yndios por los muchos desordenes y parcialidades que entre ellos huvo.

En la *baya de genero* ay algunos yndios que tienen algunas casas porque es toda esta parte de tierra tan habitada de yndios . . . los quales son comederos de carne humana. Tienen muchas bastimentos de la tierra como de mais y caçabi patatas es una fruta como piniones que llaman los portugueses frisuelos, muchas gallinas muchos pescados de diversas maneras muchos veneidos dantas faysanles y otros muchos generos de animales y aves. . . .

La *baya de los reyes* en la qual esta una buena yslla con otros ysleos la yslla sta habitada de yndios que tiene en ella sus sementaras y pescas.

Ay muchos ysletas y penascos principalmente una que pusimos nombre de *buen abrijo* porque como arriba tocamos en aquel viaje que llevavamos para el strecho de Magallanes tuvimos noticia de todas las ysllas de esta costa llamamos assi porque passada una gran tormenta que tuvimo una noche en aquel mar acaso nos hallamos ala mañana junto a ella en la qual nos abrigamos hasta que sosego el mar de la brabeza y alteracion que traya.

Dentro el *puerto de sanct bicente* hay dos ysllas grandes deshabitadas de yndios y en la mar oriental a la parte occidental della estuvimos mas de un mes . . . En la occidental tienen los portugueses un pueblo dicho *sanct bicente* de hasta diez a doze casas y una hecha de piedras con sus rejados, una torre para defender de los yndios. En tiempo de necesidad estan proveidas de las cosas de la tierra de gallinas y puercos de los de españa en mucha abundancia y ortaliza. Tienen estas ysllas un ysleo en medio que se sirven del para tener los puercos . . . estan todas las ysllas dichas desde veinte y dos hasta veinte y quatro grados de altura.

Una baya dicha de la *Cananea* dentro de la qual hay algunas ysllas las mas habitadas y do hazen los yndios sus sementeras. Tienen las dos que estan a la boca a la rredonda de sy buenos surgidores y estan en veinte y seis grados de altura.

La *Baya de Sanct Francisco* dentro de la qual se haze una buena yslla e bien poblado de yndios casi rredonda de seis leguas por lo mas ancho, al mediodia de laqual quatro o cinco leguas esta otra a la qual pusieron nombre de *Sancta Cathalina* prolongada norte sur por doze leguas poco mas, o menos, y de ancho quatro y tres y una menos (?). Esta poblada de yndios, tiene mucha arboleda y fuentes de muy buena agua y entre ella y el continente hay muy grandes pesquerias de muchos y muy buenos pescados. A la parte de oriente tiene algunos puertos, aunque no tan seguros como los que tienen al occidente, donde estuvimos surtos; a quella entrada perdimos unas nao la mayor y la mejor que llevamos en un ysleo que sta a la boca del canal llano de baxo donde se perdio toda casi quanto en ella yva que fue causa no solo detenzion en este puerto mas de lo que pensavamos mas aun de tomar acuerdo de mudar el viaje que llevamos que era las ysllas de los malacos assi per la falta de los bastimentos que alli se perdieron, como por la gente de aquella nao se havia de rrepartir en las otras que no se sufrian, e yr al rio que comunmente se llama de la plata, movidos por informacion de dos christianos que aqui hallamos, que havian quedado de la armada de Joan Diaz Solis que se perdio en el rio. Dize a nos havia que nos hizieron cietas de loque despues no hallamos que era abundar la tierra de mucho oro y plata y bastimentos y acordamos de hazer una gallera para fin de la conquista del rio, y en estos gastamos tiempo de tres meses donde

fuyamos bien proveidos de las cosas necessarias de la tierra, laqual es dicho *de las patos* por los muchos dellos que alli se vieron la primera vez que fue descubierta.

Al rededor de esta ysla [de Santa Catalina] estan muchas yslas pequenas y deshabitadas entre las quales ay una dicha *del rreparo* porque fue la primera donde surgimos despues que partimos de hermanbuco en la costa de brasil rreparando nos en ella de un rezio viento que traymos del este. Estas yslas estan desde veinte y siete hasta veinte nuevo grados.

En toda esta costa hasta el rio de la plata no ay ysla ninguno salvo un ysleo llamado *el farayol* deshabitado, muy alto que se vee de lexos.

Antes de entrar en el rio de la plata ay quatro o cinco ysletas lasquales van puesto levante poniente unos en pos de otras apartadas por una legua y media y se llaman *yslas de rodrigo alvares* por las aver descubierto un piloto que con nosotros llevavamos dicho assi.

Al austro de estas ay otros dichos de *Christoval Jaques*, que era un portugues llamado asi que les descubrio viniendo a este rio por capitán de una caravela desde la costa de Brasil a fama del oro que se hazia aver.

En el junto al *cabo de sancta maria* que es a la entrada del rio esta una ysla *de los lobos* por aver en ella muchos lobos marinos. Es ysla deserta y sin aqua.

Dentro del *rio de la plata* ay gran numero de yslas grandes y pequenas todas las mas despopladas por ser baxas y cada auno cubre las el rio de las advenidas que trae aunque los veranes algunas de estas se habitan por causa de las sementeras que en ellas tienen los yndios.

Un grande rio dicho *huray* el qual tiene muchas yslas aunque deshabitadas y pequenas por que el rio principal que los yndios llaman *paraana* que tiene dezir mar grande tienen las yslas mucho mayor . . . Esta la boca de este rio de la plata de treinta y cinco a treinta y siete grados. Cient leguas del torna a bolver al norte por mas de doscientas de las quales nosotros subimos por el mas de las ciento y tuvimos lengua que havia mas de otras tantas hasta su orijen y nascimiento."

Document now first published.

In connection with the above ruttier, it is necessary to add the geographical description inserted by OVIEDO in his *Historia General de las Indias*, Madrid, 1851, 4to, vol. ii. However, here again the lack of space compels us to indicate only the passages which refer more especially to the localities visited by Cabot.

Book xxi, chapter ii, page 114.

From "Pero porque yo no las he navegado," to the end of page 121.

Book xxiii, chapter ii, pages 169-170.

From "El año de mill è quinientos e veinte," to "con doscientos cinquenta hombres."

*Ibidem*, page 171.

From "digo, que en la costa primera," to the end of the chapter.

Book xxiii, chapter iii, page 172.

From "Quiero dezir," to "son sus moradas," page 173.

*Ibidem*, page 173.

From "desde el rio de los guyrandos," to "este rio Paraguay."

*Ibidem*, page 174.

From "Estas ciento e cinquenta leguas," to "Solis."

Book xxiii, chapter iv, page 176.

From "Desde el puerto," to the end of the chapter.

*Supra*, pp. 201-213.

## LII.

1528-1532.

SYNOPSIS OF THE LEGAL DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO CABOT'S  
EXPEDITION TO LA PLATA.

The Archives of the Indies, at Seville, still preserve a great number of documents relative to Sebastian Cabot's expedition to La Plata. There are others in the archives of the House of Alba, in Madrid. Of all those documents, the following only have come to light, thus far, viz. :

## A

"Informacion hecha en el Puerto de San Salvador fecha 23 Junio por el Capitan Sebastian Caboto sobre el proceso que començo a formar desde 1526 contra Francisco de Roxas, y Martin [Mendez] e Miguel de Rodas, para luego presentado al Consejo."

## B

"Pareceres que dieron varios pilotos y capitanes en el puerto de San Salvador en 6 de Octubre a peticion del Capitan Sebastian Caboto sobre lo que conviendria hacer se con su armada y que determinacion tomar."

## C

"Informacion hecha en el puerto de San Salvador en 12 de Octubre por mandado de Sebastian Caboto mediante un ynterrogatorió que prexentó tocante á todos los sucesos que pasaron en un armada para luego despues presentada á S. M."

## D

"Requerimiento que hizo Sebastian Caboto á Francisco de Rojas y respuestas de este. En el puerto de San Vincente."<sup>1</sup>

## E

"Informacion hecha en Sevilla en 28 Julio dentro de la nao S<sup>ta</sup> Maria donde venia Sebastian Caboto, por los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratacion acerca de todo lo ocurrido en su viaje."

## F

"Informacion hecha en Sevilla 2 de Agosto a peticion de Catalina Vasquez madre de Martin Mendez, y de Isabel de Rodas muger de Miguel de Rodas contra el capitan Sebastian Caboto."

## G

"Informacion hecha en Sevilla a pedimento de Sebastian Caboto en 27 Agosto sobre lo quele sucedio con las rebeliones que tuvo en su armada."

We possess under the title of "*Dos relaciones de probanzas en el pleito entre Sebastian Caboto y Catalina Vasquez, madre de Martin Mendez, teniente de la expedicion que fué al Maluco al mando de Caboto,*" a bulky MS. of 153 pages, copied from the file exhibited

<sup>1</sup> The archivists of the Archivo de Indias, have been unable to find for us the document, which is described by Navarrete as follows: "Declaracion que dió en el puerto de San Vincente del Brazil sobre las tropelias del general Sebastian Gaboto al capitan Francisco

de Rojas per haberse este opuesto á la arribada que hizo al Rio de la Plata, en vez de seguir el viaje de la Especeria al socorro del comendador Loaisa: Hallabase en Sev. leg. de *Papeles de la armada del Sur*, años 1624 á 1626. (*Biblioteca Maritima*, vol. i, p. 30.)"

at Madrid in the *Exposicion Americanista* in 1881 (B. 54, 55), which seems to be an amalgamation of F and G.

It consists of thirty-two questions addressed on behalf of Catalina Vazquez, mother of the two Mendezes, in the action brought by her, but in the interest of their two sisters, to the following witnesses, and their replies thereto :

Francisco HOGAÇON	Maestre JUAN
Juan DE JUNCO	Dr. SALAYA
Pedro Diaz DE VALDERAS	Antonio DE MONTOYA
Andres DAYCAGA	BOSO DE ARAGUS (?)
Luys DE LEON	Marco VENECIANO

Hernando CALDERON.

To those interrogatories are added the questions and answers on behalf of Cabot. His witnesses were :

Anton FALCON	Juan GREGO
Andres DE VENECIA	Pedro DE NIZA
Luys DE LEON	MARCOS DE VENECIA
Bojo DE AVANJO (?)	Maestre JUAN
Francisco CESAR	ALONSO DE VALDIVIESO.

With the exception of the surgeon Juan, and of Cesar, who was promoted from the ranks to a sort of command by Cabot in La Plata, his witnesses are all common sailors, chiefly foreigners, and the most officious of all, Anton Falcon, a mere ship boy. Their depositions are also given in a very concise form, and nearly always from hearsay only.<sup>1</sup> Nor do the interrogatories relate to the important questions at issue, viz. : the change of direction when off Cape Verd Islands ; Cabot deserting the flagship, before anyone else, immediately upon her striking the rock at the time of the shipwreck, and, finally, the information conveyed to him by the Portuguese at Pernambuco concerning the mineral wealth of the Parana region, alleged to have been the cause of his abandoning the voyage of the Moluccas.

#### H

“Ejecutoria de Isabel Mendez y Francisca Vazquez contra el capitan Sebastian Caboto. Fecha en la villa de Madrid à 15 dias del mes de Setiembre de 1530.”

(Archives of the House of Alba.)

#### I

“Probanza hecha en Ocaña a petition del Capitan Francisco de Rojas, en 2 de Noviembre de 1530, con arreglo à un interrogatorio que presentó de 26 preguntas, acerca de lo que le sucedió en la armada de Sebastian Caboto y las vegaciones que este le hizo.”

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find an abstract of these “Dos Relaciones” in Appendices xxxiv-xxxvi of Mr. TARDUCCI'S *Di Giovanni e Sebastiano Caboto*, Venice, 1892 ; 8vo, pp. 376-392, and in the English

translation of the same, Detroit, 1893, 8vo. Concerning this work, see DRAPEYRON'S *Revue de géographie*, Nov. 1894-March 1895.

This important file contains the depositions of the following witnesses :

Antonio DE MONTOYA	Dr. JUAN
Fernando CALDERON	Diego Garcia DE CELIS
Francisco HOGAÇON	Juan DE JUNCO
Gregorio CARO.	

Twenty-seven questions were addressed to them. The principal ones were the following :

Whether Sebastian Cabot was a proper person to command such an expedition ?

Whether he disobeyed the instructions given to him by the Council of the Indies ?

Whether he acted unjustly and tyrannically towards his officers ?

Whether it was not through his fault and lack of professional abilities that he lost the flagship on the coast of Brazil ?

Whether he was not the first man on board to desert the flagship when she struck on a rock, and was wrecked ?

Whether he was not induced to abandon the expedition to the Moluccas, and, instead, to go to La Plata, by the representations of certain Portugueses that precious metals would be found in abundance in the latter country ?

Whether it was not unjustly and through malevolence that he abandoned among cannibals the chief officers of his squadron ?

#### J

“ Acusacion del Fiscal Villalobos contra Sebastian Caboto por los ecesos cometidos con la gente de mar y perdida de la armada de la Especeria y en virtud de Real Cedula. Receptoría de 6 de Octubre 1530.”

#### K

“ Informacion presentada por Isabel de Rodas viuda del piloto Miguel de Rodas acerca de la muerte que ocasionó Sebastian Caboto. Fecha en Sevilla 3 Enero.”

#### L

“ Sentencia dada por los Señores del Consejo de las Indias en el pleito entre Catalina Vazquez e sus hijas e el Capitan Sebastian Caboto. En Ávila a 4 de Julio de 1531.”

(Archives of the House of Alba.)

#### M

“ Informacion hecha en Sevilla en 21 Julio presentada por el capitan Sebastian Caboto para el pleito que siguio contra Francisco de Rojas.”

#### N

“ Informacion hecha en Sevilla en 16 Agosto 1531, y presentada por Isabel de Rodas contra Sebastian Caboto.”

#### O

“ Sentencia definitiva dada por los Señores del Consejo de las Indas en el pleito entre Francisco Vazquez e Isabel Mendez y Sebastian Caboto. En Medina del Campo, a 1 dia de Hebrero de 1532.”

(Archives of the House of Alba.)

## P

“Sentencia definitiva dada por los Señores del Consejo de las Indias en el pleito entre el Capitan Francisco de Rojas y Sebastian Caboto. Medina del Campo, 1 Febrero 1532.”

## Q

“Informacion pedida por Francisco Leardo y Francisco de Santa Cruz contra Sebastian Caboto. En Medina del Campo à 5 de Junio, es en Segovia à 28 de Setiembre 1532.”

(Archives of the House of Alba.)

The documents in the archives of the Duke of Alba, above described, have all been published in the work entitled: *Autografos de Cristobal Colon y Papeles de America. Los publica la Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condessa de Siruela.* Madrid, 1892, folio, pp. 109-120.

The publication of the entire series of documents above mentioned would swell the present work to excessive dimensions, without presenting much interest to the general reader. We only publish, therefore, the most important of them, viz.: the judicial inquest made by the officers of the Casa de Contratacion on board the ship, upon the arrival of Sebastian Cabot and his companions into the port of Seville, July 28th and 29th, 1530. It contains the depositions of three leading witnesses, viz.: Juan de Junco, Casimir Nuremberger, and Alonso de Santa Cruz, and the declarations of Cabot in his own behalf.

## LIII.

1530.

28th-29th July.

JUDICIAL INQUEST MADE ON BOARD THE SHIP SANTA MARIA DEL ESPINAR UPON HER ARRIVAL AT SEVILLE.

(Archives of the Indies. Pto. 1-2- $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

“En el Rio de Sevilla jueves veynte e ocho dias de Julio de mille quinientos e treynta años dentro en la nao nonbrada santa maria donde vino Sebastian Caboto capitan e piloto mayor, estando dentro el Señor Juan de Aranda fator dela dicha casa [de Contratacion] en presencia de mi Juan de heguivar escrivano de sus magestades fue rescebido juramento en forma devida de derecho de Juan de Junco que fue por tesorero el qual so cargo del juramento que hizo siendole preguntado dixo lo siguiente.

## DEPOSITION OF JUAN DE JUNCO.

Fuele preguntado si fue en este viage de que fue por capitan general Sebastian Caboto y que cargo llebo e que mercaderias e otras cosas le fueron entregados e ques lo que fizo dello y que les a acaescido en este viage y que cosas ay en la tierra que descubrieron dixo quel fue por thesorero desta nao eque agora viene y en quanto al cargo que se le fizo delo que yva en esta nao dixo que esta en los libros que los diputados del armada tienen, y en los del contador desta nao questa en poder de enrique patimer, y dixo que este testigo por mandado del capitan metio toda la dicha hacienda en una casa que se hizo por mandado del dicho capitan, questava sesenta leguas arriba de donde que davan las naos

e allí los yndios vinieron sobre la dicha casa y la quemaron toda la dicha hacienda y mucha parte dela gente.

Preguntado que se hizo dela otra hacienda que yva en los otros naos dixo que lo mismo que se hizo dela que yva en esta nao se puso en aquella casa y se quemó preguntado que cosas ay en aquella tierra.

Dixo que avisto mucho mucho metal delo que truxo Roger barlo y Calderon que le parecia oro y queste testigo vio plata fina en poder delos dichos yndios y que ay abejas delas que vinieron aca y que ay algunos aforros buenos y tierra aparejada pora toda labrança trigo cebada porque este testigo la esperimento.

Preguntado sy vienen en esto nao algunas muestras de oro e plata de las otras cosas que ay en la dicha tierra dixo quel capitan trae algunas muestras de oro e plata en poca cantidad fasta media libra poco mas ó menos e que podra traer toda la conpañia . . . (*claro en el original*) . . . yndios e yndias los quales son esclavos de tierra de cabo de san biceynte los quales conpro la gente de un portugues que se los vendio fiados a pagar en estas partes los quales costaron a tres ducados e a quatro y a cinco ducados segun la pieça.

Hera preguntado que se hizo de toda la otra gente que fue en la dicha armada dixo que toda e muerta, que la mataron los yndios, y de hambre e otras enfermedades, syno treynta e quatro personas que embio el capitan en dos vergantines a hacer carnaje sesenta leguas adelante de donde estava las naos que hera al puerto de san salvador y que para esto yva con la dicha gente el contador montoya, alos quales el dicho capitan general Sebastian Caboto les dixo que les esperaria allí y desprendieron los yndios sobre las naos y les fue forçado de salir de allí y pasaron avista de donde estava el dicho montoya con la dicha gente que hera al cabo de santa maria otra de una legua de donde ellos estavan, y la gente questava con montoya les fizo humos en tierra para que los acojese mostrando como estava allí, y el dicho capitan Sebastian Caboto no los quizo a coger aunque este testigo y otros le dixerón que tomase aquellos cristianos que ellos heran sus hermanos y el dicho capitan general le dixo que entendeys que faga y este testigo le dixo que surjamos aqui y en la barca vaya a tierra a saber sy ay alguna costa e aquella cruz que parece allí y que los tomemos que aquellos humos son dellos y la carta nos dira lo que ha fecho e lo que a sucedido dellos porque capitan deza que los avian muerto los yndios y este testigo le respondió que no podia ser por que aquellos yndios de aquella tierra donde ellos fueron heran sus amigos e que no hera posible averlo muertos y que aquellos humos heran cierto dellos y el dicho capitan respondió que no heran y luego mando meter la barca en la nao al partaron y asy se vinieron y los dexaron y que el piloto ingles que se llama enrique patimer e niculao de napoles maestre fueron dela opinion del dicho capitan e no quizo mas escuchar ninguna buena razon que le dixerén y asi se vinieron la via de Castilla por el brasil para tomar bastimento.

Fuele preguntado si a fecho dicho capitan o alguno delos otros capitanes y gente algunos agravios e malos tratamientos a algunos delos que yvan en la dicha armada e de los que estavan alla.

Dixo quel dicho Capitan general a fecho muchos malos tratamientos a los que vienen en la dicha nao especialmente que dexó al capitan Francisco de Rojas e a martin mendez e a miguel de Rodas que heran delos principales y mas necesarios para el viaje en el puerto delos patos ques una yslla de yndios que comen carne umana.

Preguntado que fizieron ellos e porque los dexó.

Dixo que a este testigo ny a oficial del Rey no dio parte dello ny pudieron alcançar el porque mas de que vio sacar desta misma nao a Rojas e a martin mendez estando presos en esta nao con frio y calentura que no podian yr y los fizo llevar de braço a un batel para los echar en tierra.

Preguntado porquestavan presos.

Dixo que en el permanbuco mando el dicho capitan prender alos suso dichos y questo testigo no alcanço la cabra por que mas de que dixo quel daría quenta dello a su magestad e que azy mismo vido este testigo que el dicho



capitan ahorco a Francisco de Lepe criado de don Sancho de Castilla diziendo que le amotinava la gente e ahorco a otro vyscaino porque un dia muerto de hambre se entro en una canoa e tomo ciertos yndios para que le pasasen a otra nacion de yndios para que le diesen de comer e que asy mismo a avoça calafate desta nao estando todos en una ysla yendo para el paguey el dicho avoça entro con una hacha enla ysla con los otros cristianos abuscara yerva y alguna palma para comer y el dicho capitan mando tocar el pito para recoger la gente y el dicho avoça no vyo y mando luego partir la galera syn es perarle sabiendo que el dicho avoça quedaba en tierra y en la dicha tierra avia honças que comen hombres y hera ysla yerma y no le quiso esperar y asi se quedo allí y que asy mismo fizo açotar y enclabar manos y cortar orejas a muchos de la dicha armada por muy livianas cosas de los quales ay en esta nao bivos dos que son aguirre biscayno y el corço y que no se acuerda al presente delos nombres delos otros que son ya muertos.

Fue preguntado que se fizo delos dichos martin mendez e Rodas e Rojas o si supieron mas dellos.

Dixo questo testigo ynformo delos yndios dela dicha tierra agora ala buelta y de algunos cristianos comarcanos y supo que los dichos martin mendez y miguel de Rodas entraron en una canoa para venir en demanda del Rio de genero para buscar alguna nao en que se venir a estas partes y se ahogaron en la mar viniendo en la dicha canoa y que Rojas escapo en un vergantin de Diego Garcia de moguer y que cree este testigo que quel dicho capitan general ynjurava e tratava mal a los capitanes e oficiales del Rey y esta es la verdad por el juramento que fizo e firmolo de su nombre Juan de Junco."

#### DEPOSITION OF CASIMIR NUREMBERGUER.

"Despues desto en este dicho dia e mes e año suso dicho dende a poca de ora estando dentro en la casa dela contratacion desta cibdad de Sevilla el dicho señor fator tomo e rescubio juramento de Casamieres norenberguer aleman que vino en la nao en que vino el dicho capitan Sebastian Caboto por dios e por santa maria e por las palabras delos santos evangelios e por la señal dela cruz en que puzo su mano derecha corporalmente so uirtud de lo qual le fueron fechas las preguntas syguentes, &c.

Preguntado como le llaman dixo que Casamieres norenberguer. Preguntado que si fue este viaje de que fue por capitan general Sebastian Caboto con el y que cargo llebo y que mercaderias e otras cosas e que cosas les acaescio en el dicho viaje y que tierra es e que ay en ella y que descubrieron dixo que lo que sabe es questo testigo quando la dicha armada se partio desta cibdad que puede aver mas de quatro años fue en ella de gentil hombre dela dicha armada y que llevo cosas para rescate e mantenimientos como los otros y que valieron del puerto de Sanlucar de barrameda por el mes de abril del año que paso del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador jesucristo de mill e quinientos e veynte e seys años e de allí fueron ala ysla dela palma ques en las yslas de Canarias e allí se proveyeron de agua y leña e otros mantenimientos e allí estuvieron diez e siete dias e de allí se hizieron ala vela a veynte e siete de abril del dicho año y fueron su viaje fasta llegar al cabo de san agustin ques enla costa del brasyl a quatro dias del mes de junio del dicho año e allí surgieron porque el viento hera contrario y las corrientes grandes y no podian nevegar e que en aquella costa esta un Rio pequeño que pueden entrar allí nao a cabsa ques muy baxo y que llegados allí estava hecha una fortaleza del señor Rey de Portugal que esta allí un fator del Rey de Portugal que se llama manuel de braga e la fortaleza llaman hermanbuco e que allí estavan treze o catorce cristianos portugueses porque allí es el trato del brasil del Rey de Portugal e allí les fizieron a este testigo e a los otros dela dicha armada muy buen tratamiento y les dieron lo que avian menester e allí estuvieron quatro meses que no pudieron pasar adelante a cabsa de los tiempos contrarios e gran corrientes que fizo e allí fizieron un batel por mandado de Sebastian Caboto capitan general para servicio dela nao capitana

y que estando allí en aquella costa surtos el dicho Sebastian Caboto prendio al capitan Rojas y asy mismo prendio a martin mendez que yva por teniente de capitan general dela dicha armada en la nao capitana e que los envio presos dela dicha nao capitana a esta nao que agora vyno que se dize santa maria delespinar ellos entregó presos al capitan caro e que allí estuvieron presos ciertos dias e a cabo de ciertos dias el dicho Sebastian Caboto solto dela dicha prysion al dicho capitan Rojas e los torno á la nao donde yva por capitan y de allí fueron su viaje fasta el puerto que dizen delos patos ques en la misma costa del brasyl y que en aquel puerto delos patos ques una ysla poblada de yndios que comen carne umana echo a los dichos martin mendez e capitan Rojas porque despues lo avia tornado aprender y asy mismo a miguel de Rodas.

Preguntado que por cabsa los echo allí o que avian fecho dixo que nunca supo ni oyo dezir que fisiesen cosa por donde los dexase allí c que allí se perdio la nao capitana e de allí se fueron al Rio de Solis con una galeota que fyzieron.

Preguntado que cosas ay en la tierra dixo que avia plata porque este testigo la vio a los yndios dela tierra porque los trayan hechos bronchas e otras piezas e que asy mismo vio cierto metal queste testigo tenia por oro e un platero que iba en la dicha compania dixo que dello hera oro y dello no, y que ay ganados como los que truxo Rojer barlo e obejas como la de aca porque este testigo vio pellejos dellas e que asy mismo ay aforros de servales y raposos y de otros animales de agua que son muy buenos e ques tierra muy sana e frutifera e que da qualquier cosa que se sienbra en ella e que ellos senbraron cierto trigo e cebada e acudio muy bien.

Preguntado que cosas traen en aquesta nao dixo que en esta nao no viene cosa ninguna sy no ciertas muestras de metales que trae el capitan en muy poca cantidad y ciertos pellejas de animales pora aforros que venen en la nao y obra de cinquenta esclavos que ovieron en el Puerto de San Vaceynte que es en los terminos de Portugal que los compraron allí la gente que viene en esta dicha nao los quales compraron a quatro o cinco ducados de un gonçalo de la costa que viene con Diego garcia fiador a portugal aca en españa e otros compraron de otros portugueses e se los pagaron en cosas de rescates que llevaban particulares.

Preguntado que se fizo dela hazienda e rescates del Rey y delos otros armadores que yvan en las dichas naos dixo que parte dello se dio por mandado del capitan a algunos principales delos yndios y lo otro se gasto en mantenimientos que compraron y dello se perdio en la nao capitano y questos mantenimientos se repetian entre la gente pero que no bastava syno porque ello compraran mas con los rescates particulares que llavaban. Preguntado que se fizo de toda la otra gente que fue en la dicha armada e como los tratava el dicho capitan general e si mato e fizo otros justicias de algunos dellos y porque cabsas, dixo que toda la gente hera dozientos e diez o dozientos e veynte hombres y en el puerto delos patos tomaron otros quinze e diez e seys cristianos, dos del armada de Solis e los otros dela de don Rodrigo y que dellos murieron de dolencia e otros mataron los yndios que podian ser en todos fasta ochenta hombres poco ma o menos y quel capitan general hahorco a uno que se llamava Francisco de Lepe e a un viscayno delos de don Rodrigo que se llamava martin e que açoto y desorejo a muchos dela dicha armada e que al Francisco Lepe lo haorco diziendo que se queria juntar con otros veynte y dexar al capitan porque no tenian de comer e yr a buscar donde lo fallasen e al otro martin viscayno porque se fue con otro para pasarse a una nacion de yndios donde le diesen de comer y el otro hombre con quien este martin yva se llamaba avoça lo perdono y despues torno en compania de otros en tierra a buscar de comer y el dicho capitan tomo el pito para recogerlos y tro ciertos tros y este Avoça estava soliente e no vyno e otro dia le fueron a buscar e no vyno e que a los otros que açoto y desorejo fue algunos por hurtos e a otros porque avian resgatado syn licencia del capitan y que ansy mismo enclabo a uno una mano que echo mano ala espada contra el thesorero Calderon a que asy mismo el dicho capitan envio

al contador montoya con dos vergantines en que yvan cinquenta hombres poco mas o menos a fazer carne para la gente de la armada a una ysla sesenta leguas el Rio abaxo por donde la dicha armada avia de pasar y les dixo aquellos bolbiesen al puerto donde el capitan estaba y que allí lo esperaria y como los yndios acomotieron alas naos fueles forçado al capitan general e a la otra gente de partir con las otras naos de allí e allí fueron el Rio abaxo a una ysla e allí tomaron carne y pasaron que en otra ysla que esta mas adelante fallarian al dicho montoya con los dichos cinquenta hombres y pensaron que avian de surgir allí á tomar mas carne y que allí vyeron en el cabo de la tierra firme que es el cabo de Sta maria ni fuegos e humos y en la ysla vieron una cruz y que entonces pensaron que ellos debian aver puesto y que muchos personas dixeran al capitan general que surgiesen en la dicha ysla donde estava la cruz para sy allí avia algund resto dellos y syno esto viera allí que fuesen al cabo donde estavan los humos creyendo que allí los falla porque ellos quando partieron dixeran que avian de yr al dicho puerto y cabo y que no podrian estar en otro syno allí y que el dicho capitan general dixo que metiesen el batel e venyesen porque ellos no estavian allí y vendria algund temporal y que no avia persona que no le pesase mucho porque no los yban a reager e asy selo dezian al capitan porque hera lastima dexallos asy perdidos aviendo los enviado a buscar de comer para todos y el capitan no quizo y que asy mismo se perdieron otros diez e doze personas con un vergantin con temporal que les dio en la ysla de San gabriel questa es la verdad para el juramento que fizo e firmolo de su nonbre casamirez norenberguer.”

#### DEPOSITION OF ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ

“E despues desto en esto dicho dia desde a poca ora el dicho señor fator tomo e rescibio juramento de Alonso de Santa cruz fijo de Francisco de Sta cruz alcalde delos alcazares desta dicha cibdad enforma de derecho e dixo lo siguiente: Fue preguntado delo que a succedido en el viaje del descubrimiento que fue a fazer Sebastian Caboto e que se a fecho dela gente e mercaderias e rescate e otras cosas que llevaban e que cosas fallaron e que ay en las tierras que descubrieron, Dixo aquellos partieron de Sevilla a tres de Abril del año de veynte e seys yvan dozientos hombres poco mas o menos en tres naos e una canabela de que yva por capitan general Sebastian Caboto y que en las yslas de Canarias tomaron otros ocho marineros porque se quedaron quatro de los que de aca ayvan partido y que en canaria un Francisco de Rojas capitan dela nao trinidad que yva en la dicha armada se confezó con un frayle prior o guardian de san francisco en la dicha ysla dela palma acusandose de cierto juramento que avia que trantado en los oficiales que yvan de su magestad y es que antes que partiesen desta cibdad los capitanes e oficiales que yvan de su magestad en la dicha armada se juntaron en el monasterio de san pablo desta cibdad e fizieron juramento solene en un arca consagrada de tenerse hermandad los unos con los otros y lo que el uno tocase que tocase a todos los demas e que el dicho Francisco de Rojas se acusaba deste juramento por aver refido con el thesorero gonçalo nuñez dosuna y que el dicho frayle con quien confeso el dicho Francisco de Rojas dixo al dicho capitan Sebastian Caboto como el yva vendido en el armada con mucha gente que en ella yva porque cierta persona le avia confesado un juramento que contra el avian fecho y le dixo como hera el dicho Francisco de Rojas el dicho capitan oyendo esto nolo atribuyo a questa confederacion y juramento pasava entre los dichos oficiales syno entre otras personas aquien el tenia mala voluntad que fue al dicho Francisco de Rojas e a martin mendez que yva por teniente de capitan e a este testigo que yva por veedor del armada e a otavian de brene que yva asy mismo por veedor e a miguel de Rodas que yva por piloto mayor e a camacho hijo del dotor morales e a fernando mendez hermano del dicho martin mendez e otros ciertas personas que no se acuerda de sus nombres e que entonces el capitan Sebastian Caboto lo disimulo fasta tanto que llegaron en pernanbuco ques en la costa del brasyl e allí fizo ynformacion el dicho

capitan Sebastian Caboto del dicho juramento tomando por testigos alas personas quel via que avian de desirlo quel dicho capitan avia gana, y qwestos dixeron como se juntavan los suso dichos en casa deste testigo en la ysla dela Palma por que no declararon de cosa ninguna mala en contra el dicho capitan se obiese entrellos fablado y que asi mismo rescibio los dichos testigos e de todos los otros de quien el tenia enojo que dicho tiene e dixeron todos que hera falsedad lo que contra ellos se avia dicho e que no obstante esto el dicho capitan envio preso al dicho Francisco de Rojas e a martin mendez e a otavian de brane mudandolos delas naos en que yvan a otra e desde a ocho dias le solto al dicho Francisco de Rojas dela prision e le torno ala nao en que yva e dexo presos a los dichos martin mendez e a octaviano e los llevo asy fasta el puerto delos patos e alli perdio la nao capitana y entrose en un Rio questa sobre dicho puerto delos patos e alli fizo una galera para yr al Rio de Solis en este Rio e dicho Martin mendez e otaviano viendose presos fizieron ciertos requerimientos al dicho capitan Sebastian Caboto les fiziese justicia y si los fallase culpados que los castigase y sino que castigase a los que avian ynformado falzamente contra ellos y quel dicho capitan prendio entonces a Francisco de Rojas por ciertas palabras que ovo con un despensero dela nao Capitana perdida e que con el enojo que ovo delos Requerimientos que le avian fecho los dexo a los dichos martin mendez e a Francisco de Rojas e a miguel de Rodas preguntado si ovo alguna otra causa para que los dexase alli dixo que no mas de quanto desia el dicho capitan quel dicho miguel de Rodas le avia perdido la nao e que por esto los dexava e a los otros por lo que dicho tiene y en la ysla donde los dexo hera poblada de yndios que comen carne umana y de alli se fue al Rio de Solis y que subieron con las naos por el Rio arriba sesenta leguas e que no pudieron las naos pasar mas arriba porque hera baxo e que en todas aquestas sesenta leguas no fallaron poblazon ni gente ninguna e que alli el capitan Sebastian Caboto con parescer delos oficiales de su magestad que yvan en la dicha armada creo un tenedor delos bienes delos defunctos e fizo almoneda y vendio todos sus bienes salvo los rescates y que el tenedor hera antonio ponce catalan que tiene la quenta y razon de todo ello el qual viene en esta nao e alli dexaron las naos y se entraron en una cavarela y una galera y subieron otras sesenta leguas por el Rio arriba y que alli fallaron un mayoral con una cofia que tenia muchas hojas que parecian de plata baxa y el mayoral la dio al capitan general e que podia pezar fasta una libra de plata y que alli supieron por dicha de tres naciones de yndios que unos se dezian carcares e otras erandies e otras tinbues e que la tierra adentro avia mucha riqueza de oro e de plata y que no pudieron entenderles que tan lexos heran de alli y despues subieron por el Rio arriba con un vergantin e una galera otras ciento e veynte leguas e que alli les salieron muchos yndios que trayan ponchos y orejeras que algunos desian que hera oro e otros non ques delo que aca se envio y que aqui tambien les dixeron que obra de sesenta o setenta leguas avia mucho oro e plata e despues fueron a donde ellos dezian e no fallaron nada antes alli les mataron diez e siete hombres e que a las ciento e veynte leguas desde la boca del Rio avian fecho una casa de tapia cubierta de paja en que esta bon resgates en mucha cantidad e obra de veynte hombres y los yndios les quemaron la casa y todo lo que en ella estava y la gente questava en la casa se salvo que no se quemó e despues los yndios tras de estos cristianos questavan en la dicha casa e otros que estavan alli cerca que se juntaron con ellos e les mataron obra de veynte e cinco hombres e que despues que los yndios se apartaron de alli el capitan recojio algunos tros e ciertas barras de tierra que los yndios habian dexado delo que estava en la dicha casa y se recojio a las naos con toda la gente qui le avian quedado y recogido en las naos con propositio para se venir a Castilla envio en dos vergantines al contador montoya con fasta treynta hombres poco mas o menos a una ysla questa par del cabo de santa maria a facer carnaje de lobos marinos para fazer fastimiento para todos y les dixo que viniesen donde el quedava con las naos y como los yndios les acometieron alas naos donde estava el capitan y la otra gente se fueron de alli y pazaron por la ysla donde el dicho capitan montoya y la otra

gente avia ydo a fazer carnaje e allí vieron en el cabo de santa maria que hera a legnas y media dela dicha ysla que fazian humos y señas para que fuesen por ellos y toda la mas dela gente dezia e rogava al dicho capitán que los recogiese por que heran cristianos e amigos y el los avia enviado a fazer el dicho carnaje, e nunca quizo, diziendo que vernia algun tenporal que darian con el ala costa, e questa no hera excusa porque en el tiempo que entonces faza hera el mejor del mundo e que la gente querian yr por ellos en la barca dela nao e la nao se podia estar surta y esperarlos y no quizo antes mando meter la barca en la nao y se vino a Castilla.

Preguntado si ahorcó e açotó o desorejó el dicho capitán o fizo algunas otras justicias de algunas personas delas que yvan en la armada y que a cabza tuvo para ello dixo que ahorco un vyzcaino que avian hallado en el puerto delos patos delos del armada de loaysa el qual ahorco donde tenian la casa que los yndios les quemarian porque se fue por el Rio abaxo en una canoa a buscar de comer porque morian de hambre y fueron a buscarle e fallaron a el e a otro que yva en su compañía que se llamava avoça e al viscayno le ahorco e al avoça entonces no le fizo malninguno e despues lo dexo en una ysla donde el dicho avoça avia entrado abuscar de comer e asy mismo ahorco a francisco de lepe criado del contador montoya que solia bivir con don sancho de castilla diziendo que se avia juntado con otros conpaneros dela dicha armada para yr a buscar de comer y que por esto los ahorco a entranbos por las cabzas que dicho tiene e no sabe que tubiese otra cabza para los ahorcar e que desorejó otros dos porque avian hurtado cierto rescate e que açotó a otros syete o ocho porque yvan alas casas delos yndios abuscar cosas de comer. Preguntado si tenian los mantenimientos que avian menester en las nao o vi por necesidad que avia dellas que las yvan a buscar a otros partes dixo que les davan poco de comer y estaban flacos y con esta necesidad para tomar fuerças los yvan a buscar y que otro açotó por saltar en tierra dela galea syn su licencia. Preguntado que cosas vienen en esta nao y en la otro que partio en in compañía del dicho descubrimiento dixo quel capitán trae algunas muestras del oro e plata que dicho tiene en muy poca cantidad e algunos pellejos que traen los marineros de animales dela tierra y quatro yndios hijos del mayoral e que trae el capitán Sebastian Caboto que tomo en el puerto delos patos ala venida que los tray, porque no queria venir con el un clerigo e otro hombre delos desta compañía del dicho capitán de miedo que tenian del de que los avian de matar e un enrique montes porque era al dicho Sebastian Caboto muy enojado dellos le dixo que si queria que los yndios matasen a este clerigo e al otro su conpañero que les tomase los dichos quatro yndios y que sus padres matarian al dicho clerigo e al en conpañero biendo que le trayan a sus hijos y que por esta cabza el dicho capitán truxo los dichos quatro yndios consygo y que asy mismo vienen en esta nao cantidad de yndios que no tiene memoria quanto son de que los tres dellos ovo el capitán general en el fuerto de san viceynte ques en la costa del brasyl a trueque de artilleria del armada los quales ovo de un portugues que allí estava e otros dos conpro en el Rio de solis de su propio rescate e que asy mismo trae otro yndio del dicho Rio de solis que es delos libres e que asy mismo trae otros tres yndios libres que heran mugures delos cristianos que dexo en el cabo de santa maria que avia enviado a fazer el carnaje y los otros yndios los compraron la gente que vienen en la dicho nao en el puerto de san viceynte de unos portugueses a quatro e a cinco ducados cada uno fiados a pagar aquí a este testigo aquien los dueños delos dichos yndios dieron poder que puede ser la mitad delos que aqui vienen e la otro mitad fueron resgatados a trueque de hierro del cuerpo del armada y que el dicho Sebastian Caboto dio el fierro con que pagaron estos esclavos.

Preguntado quien son los que traen estos yndios que fueron resgatados con el dicho hierro dixo que el no tiene agora memoria dello pero que el tiene la raron y la vera y dara mañana. Preguntado que se fizo de toda la hacienda de su magestad y delos armadores que yvan en la dicha armada.

Dixo quel dicho capitán dispuso della e lo demas se quemó en la dicha casa

que quemaron los yndios y se perdio en la nao capitana e que la cuenta e razon desto terna los oficiales de su magestad que tenian cargo dello e que esta es la verdad para el juramento que fizo e firmolo de su nonbre alonso de santa cruz."

#### DEPOSITION OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

"En sevilla viernes veynte e nueve dias del mes de Jullio de mill e quinientos e treynta anos por el senior fator fue recibido juramento en forma debida de derecho de Sebastian Caboto capitan general del armada que fue al descubrimiento del especeria so virtud del qual le fueron fechas las preguntas syguientes:

Fue preguntado como le llaman, dixo que Sebastian Caboto. Preguntado si fue por Capitan general de tres naos e una caravela que su magestad mando yr al descubrimiento del especeria dixo que si fue por capitan general delos dichas tres naos e una caravela conforme ala capitulacion e instruccion que le fue dada por su magestad donde esta declarado donde abia de yr e asy mismo por dos cartas missivas que le enviaron los señores obispo dosma presidente del consejo delas yndias y el secretario cobos. Preguntado quanta gente iba en la dicha armada dixo que docientos hombres poco mas o menos que se refiere ala razon que desto ay en los libros dela casa dela contratacion. Preguntado que donde fue a pasar con la dicha armada dixo que a pernanbuco ques en la costa del brasil con tiempo contrario y de allí fueron vela quando fizo tiempo y fueron al Rio de Solis donde este declarante fallo un Francisco del puerto que avian presidido los yndios quando mataron a Solis el qual le dio grandisimas nuevas de las riquezas dela tierra y con a cuerdo delos capitanes e oficiales de su magestad acordo de entrar en el Rio de Parana fasta otro Rio que se llama Caracaña que donde aquel Francisco del Puerto les avia dicho que desendia delas Sierras donde comenzaban las minas del oro e plata e que del un Rio al otro ay sesenta leguas en las quales su vio persona de quien tomase lengua de ninguna cosa eceto a doze leguas deste cabo del dicho Rio de caracaña que fallo un mayoral dela nacion delos chandules que le salio a rescebir de pas el qual le presento una cofia con cierta chaperia de oro e cobre e cierta plata baxa la qual se quito dela cabeça para darsela y este declarante la tomo visto como se la quito dela cabeça la tono e se la tono a dar e le rogo que la truxesen por el y los otros yndios que con el venian trayan algun metal delo que truxo calderon e aqui fizo una casa de tapias cobierta con madera e paja e de allí envio las lenguas alas naciones comarcanas para que le viniesen a ver y dar relacion delas cosas dela tierra las quales le vinieron a ver e le dieron relacion como la tierra dentro a setenta e ochenta leguas de donde fizieron la casa avia oro e plata porque dezian que hera el oro metal amarillo e la plata metal blanco y quel amarillo hera muy blando y este declarante les mostro e nos dixeron que hera de aquello e avida esta relacion ovo acuerdo con los capitanes e oficiales de su magestad para fazer una entrada la tierra adentro para ver la dicha riqueza y estando prestos para partir y estando adereçando para ello vinieron ciertos yndios dela nacion delos queerandis los quales son enemigos delos chandules e son vezinos del pié delasierra donde tenian relacion que avia la dicha riqueza los quales le dieron mas larga relacion dela que el tenia delas dichas riquezas y les mostraron ciertos plumajes que trayan en la cabeça hechos a su parescer deste declarante de oro baxo e buena plata e queste declarante se quiziera yr con ellos con la gente que tenia presta e les rogo que lo oviesen por bien los quales no quisieron porque dezian que no podrian sufrir el trabajo del camino porque en ocho jornadas no fallarian agua y este declarante les dixo que como ellos venian que asy yrian ellos los quales dixeron que ellos se sufriran dos ó tres dias syn beber e quando bevian hera sangre de venados que mataran para este efecto y visto por la gente esto que las lenguas les dixeron como por el Rio del paraguay arriba el qual esta va cient leguas de donde habia fecho la casa fallarian tanta que traerian el vergantín e la galera cargada dello porque las viejas e viejos yndios que yvan alla navian cargado dello e vista esta Relacion

con acuerdo de los capitanes e oficiales de su magestad dexo de yr aquel viaje por tierra e adereço la galera y el vergantin y fuese en ellos con ciento e treynta hombres por el dicho Rio de parana arriba ciento e veynte leguas fasta pasar adelante dela boca del paraguay veynte leguas fasta unas casas de unos chandules que heran sus amigos para tomar ciertos bastimentos porque allí avia abundancia dello donde vido ciertas muestras de oro e plata que le parecio bueno e aquellos yndios que allí fallo le dieron la misma relacion del paraguay que le avian dado los otros que avia allí mucha riqueza y estando allí tomando los dichos bastimentos tovo nueva de aver venido una armada al dicho Rio de Solis por lo qual envio por la tierra a un Francisco lengua a que ynformase de los dichos chandules a certificarse que hera verdad la venida dela dicha armada el qual le dixo tomando con respuesta que a lo que pudo comprehender hera la misma armada deste declarante que quedo en Santa Catalina aunque antes desto avia dicho el dicho francisco a un enrique montes lengua que hera estavan porques un capitan del Rey de Portugal e visto como el dicho francisco le certifico que no heran otra armada syno la suya determinó de yr por el dicho paraguay arriba e subidos quarenta leguas por el arriba les començo a faltar el hastimento e acuerdo con los capitanes e oficiales de enviar el vergantin adelante a que tomasen bastimentos en unas casas de chandules questa van adelante por no verse en tanta hambre como la pasada a los que les mando en con la nacion delos agazes que fiziesen pazes por todas maneras e porque heran aquellos en cuyo poder estavan las dichas riquezas e los que yvan en el dicho vergantin heran el thesorero gonçalo nuñez y el contador montoya e miguel Rifos e obra de otras veynte e cinco personas los quales pasaron por los dichos agazes syn los ver y llegaron alas casas delos dichos chandules a donde avian de tomar los dichos bastimentos y enviaron al dicho francisco lengua alas dichas casas a les dezir quien heran e a que venian y la mañana siguiente vinieron ciertos yndios arogar al dicho gonçalo nuñez e ala otra compañía que saliesen a tierra a comer con ellos y les preguntaron por el dicho francisco porque no podian salir syn el y los dichos yndios enviaron a llamar al dicho francisco el qual vno el qual les dixo que bien podian yr a comer con ellos e asy salieron veynte personas poco mas o menos e los yndios los mataron e quedo que el dicho vergantin montoya porque estava doliente y los indios vinieron a tomar el dicho vergantin e los flecharon y el dicho vergantin se vino huyendo por el Rio abajo a donde estaba este declarante y le dixerun lo que avia acaescido e quel dicho francisco lengua avia avido ciertos palabras con el dicho thesorero gonçalo nuñez e por esto cree este declarante quel dicho francisco los vendio a los dichos yndios e queste declarante viendo este dicho desbarate e toda la tierra rebuelta se torno a donde avia fecho la casa porque enrique montes lengua le certificava que el dicho francisco lengua le avia dicho quel armada que avia venido al Rio de Solis hera de cristoval jaques e viniendo para la dicha casa cinquenta leguas della fallo a diego garcia que venia en busca deste declarante entranbos se bolvieron ala dicha casa y el dicho diego garcia otro dia de mañana se partyo syn dezir nada a este declarante y este declarante se portio luego tras el para despachar la caravela que despacho con calderon para su magestad preguntado que riquezas e otras cosas de calidad vio mas en la dicha tierra de que se deba hacer relacion a su magestad dixo que este declarante vio alguna plata buena e otra non tal en poder de un mayoral delos querandes e no vio este declarante otra cosa salvo que le dezian en la tierra a dentro avia muy gran riqueza y este declarante envio por tres partes la tierra a dentro para que se ynformasen dello y en quanto fueron se junto este declarante con el dicho diego garcia e tornaron al dicho Rio Paraguay con syete vergantines que avian fecho donde un esclavo deste declarante les aviso de cierta traycion que les estava armada e que tenian concertado los chandules que estavan sobre dela dicha casa y naos con los chandules de arriba que confinan con el dicho Paraguay que los matasen e que asy farian ellos a los dela casa y naos y con esto se tornaron porque vieron evidentemente la dicha traycion e asy bueltos acordaron que en la dicha casa se que dasen ochenta hombres e tres vergantines con los rescates que avian llevado y este declarante con el dicho Diego Garcia

se fueron a poner cobro en las naos para puesto el dicho cobro tornasen ala dicha casa e de alli entrar todos la tierra a dentro porque por Relacion del capitan cesar que fué uno de los queste declarante embio la tierra a dentro que bolvio con syete conpañeros les avian dicho que avian visto grandes riquezas de oro e plata e piedras presiosas y estando este declarante en las dichas naos vyno el capitan gregorio caro con fasta cinquenta hombres en un vergantin desnudos e le dieron nueva como los dichos yndios avian quemado la dicha casa con lo que en ella estava e quel rescate dela gente avia quedado y dos vergantines en el caracaraña medio ahogados este declarante se partio luego para la dicha fortaleza con el dicho capitan Diego Garcia e vido la dicha casa quemada e la gente ahogada e los vergantines perdidos e cobro unos ver . . . e dos paramuros que fallo junto a la dicha casa e asy ceso la entrada en la dicha tierra e questo sabe destas riquezas.

Fue preguntado que se fizo toda la otro gente que a su cargo llevo que yendo este declarante la via del dicho Rio de Solis dexo en santa catalina junto al puerto de los patos al capitan Francisco de Rojas e a martin mendez e a miguel de Rodas.

Fue preguntado porque cabza o porque los dexo allí.

Dixo que porque avia avido cierta ynformacion contra ellos porque conspiraban su muerte el proceso de lo qual envio a su magestad con calderon e quel original quedo en poder de martin ybañez escrivano dela dicha armada que murio en lo dela dicha casa en todas las dichos escrituras se quemaron allí puesto que en e puerto de san viceynte questa poblado de portugueses fallo al dicho Rojas agora ala venida que obra quatro meses poco mas ò menos que fizo cierta ynformacion que agora trae consigo.

Preguntado que de que manera supo que conspiraba su muerte dixo que se refiere al dicho proceso e ala dicha ynformacion preguntado que si al tiempo que los echo enla dicha tierra estavan sanos o enfermos e que calidad de gente avia en la dicha tierra e que se fizo dellos e que provisyones les dexo.

Dixo que quando los echo enla dicha ysla estavan sanos e les dejo dos botas de vino e cierto vircolhos e los dexo encomendados a un yndio principal que se llama topavera diziendole porque Enrique montes lengua que avia estado en aquella tierra catorce años e que heran sus parientes que los tratase bien fasta su buelta porque los dexava en truque del dicho enrique montes e de su gente e les dexo todos sus rescates, armas e cierta polvoros que le pidieron.

Preguntado si los dichos yndios de aquella tierra comian carne umana dixo que la comian de sus enemigos presto quel dicho enrique montes les avia dicho cosas por donde ya no la comian e que viniendo este declarante agora a Castilla a dar relacion a su magestad de lo sucedido se vyno por la dicha tierra para los tomar e traer consigo e allí supo como entre los dichos Francisco de Rojas e martin mendez e Rodas ovo algunas diferencias por donde los dichos martin mendez e Rodas se apartaron del dicho Rojas e asy apartados se salieron en una canoa con dos esclavos syn dar parte al dicho Rojas e supo este declarante que se fallo en la costa mas adelante de donde se embarcaron uno delos esclavos que yva con ellos ahogado en una rodela del dicho miguel de Rodas e una redoma de agua de azahar e desta avo cierta ynformacion de testigos que en su poder trae en que dixeran a este declarante que un vergantin del dicho diego garcia avia tomado al dicho rojas e llebado a san viceynte y este declarante fue al dicho puerto de san viceynte donde lo fallo para traerlo consygo el qual le envio a dezir que no osaria venir antes syn salvo conducto porque la gente de diego garcia le dezia avia dicho que le querian matar y este declarante le envio dos salvo conducto y el uno dellos con juramento e que no quiso venir como mas largamente parece por una ynformacion que este declarante trae e que estando este declarante en el puerto de san salvador ques de un Rio que entra en el de Solis se acordo por la gran necesidad de hambre que la gente padescia quel contador montoya con obra de treynta personas e dos vergantines fuese ala dicha ysla delos lobos a fazer carne pora la gente del armada el qual fue ala dicha ysla que esta obra de quarenta leguas el Rio abajo de donde este declarante



estava e queste declarante estuvo surto en el dicho puerto de san salvador obra de veyntedia despues que portya el dicho montoya e vinieron yndios e le mataron dos hombres que son Anton de grajeda e un calafate e le hizieron otros por donde le fue forçados salir de allí e yrse por el Rio abaxo.

Preguntado sy hera camino dela ysla delos lobos donde avya ido el dicho montoya dixo que hera camino derecho.

Fue preguntado sy surgio en la dicha ysla para saber si estaba allí el dicho montoya e recogerle e a la gente.

Dixo que si e que surgio en la dicha ysla e echo en tierra al thesorero Juan de Junco e al capitan cesar con ciertas personas los quales fizieron carnaje e las truxeron alos naos e fallaron asy ciertos tasajos hechos quando llegaron que ya olian mal fue preguntado si avia gente alguna en la dicha ysla dixo que no que hera des poblada.

Fue preguntado sy fallo alguno rastro dela dicha gente e que diligencia fizo en buscarla.

Dixo que no fallo rastro ninguno dellos e que la dicha ysla se vee toda porque es rara e que no parecian en ella ni podrian estar en ella porque quando crece la cubre.

Preguntado s tuvo noticia ó fue avisado questaban en el cabo de santa maria ques una legua poco mas ó menos de allí dela dicha ysla e que otra parte alguna.

Dixo que viniendo el Rio abaxo topo con ciertos canoas e yndios e ynformose dellos sy avian visto dos vergantines con cierta gente deste declarante los quales dixeron que venian del cabo de santa maria y respondieron que no avian visto vergantin ny gente ninguna e questo fue antes queste declarante llegase ala dicha ysla delos lobos obra de catorse leguas poco mas ó menos e que ninguna persona le dixo ni dio avrio donde pudieran estar salvo que uno que no se acuerda quien fue dello que con este declarante venian le dixo que podria ser que los fallasen en otra ysla que ay de lobos questa dos leguas del cabo de santa maria que esta seys leguas adelante desta otra ysla delos lobos que dicho tiene y pasa por entre la dicha ysla e la tierra firme e no vio cosa ninguna.

Preguntado si en la dicha tierra firme que el cabo de santa maria junto ala dicha ysla delos lobos avia una cruz que la avia puesto el vergantin del dicho diego garcia e que des que partieron del dicho puerto de san Salvador fasta llegar a cerca del cabo de santa maria syempre vio humos de una parte e de otra de yndios que se juntavan a dar sobre ellos.

Preguntado si en el dicho cabo vio lumbre o humo.

Dixo que no sino la tierra a dentro y si cristianos ovieran que fizieran seños de fuego avia de ser a la orilla del agua fazia el Rio e no la tierra dentro ; como estava aquella preguntado si le fue dicho por algunos de los que con el venian que supiese que humos heran aquellos e que allí estaban el dicho montoya e la otra gente e que se echase la barca para que los fuesen a recoger e ver lo que hera.

Dixo que no le dixeron cosa ninguna desto.

Antes algunos dellos le dixeron que si el dicho montoya fuese que faria humos ala parte de la orilla del Rio e no la tierra dentro e puesto caso quel padre deste declarante con ellos estoviera segund el tenporal que vino travesia dela costa no pudiera yr a ellos.

Fue preguntado que personas le dixeron que seria dellos e lo que dicho tiene.

Dixo que fue el thesorero santa cruz e nicolas de napoles patron e anrique patimer e otros personas.

Preguntado que personas ahorco e açoto e desorejo e fizo otras justicias della en el dicho viaje e que cabza tuvo para lo fazer.

Dixo que ahorco a uno del armada de loaysa que fallo en la tierra que al presente no se acuerda de su nombre salvo que hera viscayno e que lo ahorco porque entro en casa de nun yndio e lo maltrato e firio e le hurto una canoa e tomo dos yndios dela dicha casa por fuerça e le tomo ciertos planchas de metal

e otros cosas que avian fecho que al presente no se acuerda que se refiere al proceso que se quemo con los otros cosas que dicho tiene e asy mismo ahorco a un francisco lepe criado del contador montoya por principal movedor de un motin de treynta hombres que se querian juntar con los yndios contra este declante de que tambien fizo proceso a que se refiere que tambien se quemo en la dicha casa e que calderon como su teniente deste declarante fue el que lo sentencio e que no ahorco á otra persona ninguna e que los otros del motin se castigaron con prisiones e otras penas liviana e que el dicho teniente calderon açoto e desorejo a uno porque avia hurtado ciertos rescates e se entrava la tierra adentro e que otros algunos açoto y enclabo mano por echar mano a espada e otros delitos que en los procesos paresceria o si se fallasen los quales se quemaron todos en la dicha casa e asy no trae ninguno.

Preguntado sy trae algunas muestras del oro e plata e otras cosas dela dicha tierra.

Dixo que trae una honça poco mas ó menos de plata e ciertos orejeras e lunas de metal que truxo el dicho calderon en cantidad de una libra.

Preguntado que se fizo la hazienda de su magestad e armadores que yva en la dicha armada.

Dixo que se quemo en la dicha casa segund este testigo vido e los dichos thesoreros le dixerón eceto unas quinze o veynte planchas de cobre que vienen en esta nao y el hierro delos rescates que llebaron los dichos yndios quando quemaron la dicha casa que no dejaron sino los dichos versos e pasamuros.

Fue preguntado si se gastaron alguno delos dichos resgates para cosas suyas de su provecho o de alguno dela dicha armada.

Dixo que se conpro cierto mantenimiento de cierto hierro e camaras de lombardas quebradas lo quel se conpro en santa catalina y en san veynte e que del Resgate de su magestad ny delos armadores no se conpro otra cosa ninguna queste declarante sepa.

Preguntado que cosas trae en la dicha nao dixo que no traen otra cosa syno unos yndios fasta cinquenta o sesenta que la conpañia conpro por esclavos en san veynte a portugueses dellos a pagar luego e dellos a pagar en estos Reynos.

Preguntado en que pagaron los yndios que se conpraron alli a pagar luego.

Dixo queste declarante por los que conpro que son tres o quatro dio por ellos cierto resgates de conteria que avia quedado en su caxa e otros daban anzuelos e pedacillos de hierro que no sabe este declarante donde lo ovieron e que asy mismo se dio un pasamuro roto a un portugues que se llama fernand mallo en la dicha tierra de san veynte por cierta farina e abati para la gente e que asy mismo traen un mayoral dela nacion delos chandules e otros tres hijos de mayorales para que vean las cosas de aca para que bueltos en la dicha tierra sean lenguas e medianeros en la paz los quales son de cient leguas mas aca del dicho Rio de Solis.

Preguntado porque dejo a una avoça en una ysla.

Dixo queste declarante sabe que en una ysla quedo un viscayno que se llama avoça que se entro en una ysla e que este declarante espero dos dias por el e envio gente a buscarle e tiro tiros e no syno.

Preguntado si avia tigres e honças en la dicha tierra.

Dixo que si preguntado que a que entro el dicho avoça en la dicha ysla dixo que a buscar cosas de comer como otros dela dicha armada entraron.

Preguntado si mando este declarante vender e vendio los bienes delos difuntos que avian fallecido en la dicha armada.

Dixo que este declarante con acuerdo delos oficiales, e capitanes de su magestad nonbraron por tenedor delos bienes de difuntos a un anton ponce que al presente viene en esta nao al qual se le pida cuenta dello e que este declarante no se enpacho en cosa ninguna dello.

Preguntado sy vienen en esta nao algunos aforros e lo que ay en la dicha tierra que sean de valor dixo que algunos marineros traen unos pellejos con que se cubren y este confesante trae una ropa aforrada de aforros que parescian unas

mantas e nutrias delo qual ay muchas cantidad en la dicha tierra e asy mismo de servales e asy mismo otros como grises.

Preguntado si se da en la dicha tierra trigo e cebada.

Dixo que si porque este declarante lo provo y se da dos vezes en el año e asy mismo ay muchas ovejas delas que truxo el dicho calderon e avetruzes la tierra a dentro e que las dichas ovejas son malas de tomar.

Preguntado sy ay algunas ovejas como de aca.

Dixo que este testigo supo por ynformacion de yndios que en la dicha tierra avia unas ovejas pequenas de que fazian ropa y eran mansas e questo es verdad delo que sabe alo que le fue preguntado su cargo del juramento que fizo e firmolo de su nonbre Sebastian Caboto.

Fue preguntado como se llama la tierra donde tomo el dicho mayoral e los otros hijos de mayoresales.

Dixo questo testigo le puso el puerto de san Sebastian por llegar allí visperas de san Sebastian.

Preguntado que donde quedo un clerigo e otro hombre de su compania.

Dixo que quedaron en el dicho puerto porque asy lo pidieron ellos por unas peticiones que consygo este declarante trae.

Preguntado sy tomo los dichos yndios porque queria mal al dicho clerigo e al otro su compañero y porque le dixo cierta persona que sy tomase los dichos yndios que sus padres dellos matarian al dicho clerigo e al otro su compañero.

Dixo que no tomo los dichos yndios syno por las cabzas que dicho tiene, e que no le dixo ninguna persona que trayendolos matarian al dicho clerigo e hombre los padres de los dichos yndios, e que los dichos yndios e otros en unas canoas vinyeron ala nao de este declarante, y este declarante, rogo algunos delos dichos yndios que le truxesen un marinero que se avia entrado la tierra dentro, porque tenia falta de marineros, e les prometio dadivas, e los dichos yndios fueron e dejaron los dichos yndios como en rehenes, y estando asy, este confesante envio tambien al dicho clerigo que le enviase al dicho marinero, porque le dezian los yndios que estava con el, y el dicho clerigo le envio a dezir quel hera un vasallo del Rey de portugal que no tenia que fazer con este confesante, e que en este comedio vyno tienpo y este confesante se fizo ala vela e se vyno e firmolo de su nonbre Sebastian Caboto.

En fe delo qual di la presente escriptura de testimonio alos dichos señores juezes para la enviar a su magestad e a su Real Consejo delas Indias ques fecha e sacada en los dichos dias e mes e año suso dicho e yo johan Gutierrez Calderon escribano de sus cesarea Catolicas magestades e escrivano publico en la su corte y en todos los sus Reynos et señorios et escrivano que soy en el oficio e obdiencia delos dichos señores juezes oficiales dela dicha casa dela Contratacion lo fizo escribir et fiz aqui myo signo a tal en testimonio de verdad = Johan Gutierrez escrivano de sus magestades = "hay un signo = hay una rubrica."

Document now first published.

LIV.

1530.

2nd August.

LETTER OF DR. SIMAO AFFONSO.

In Portuguese :

*Historia Geral do Brazil, isto e do descobrimento, colonizacao, legislacao . . . Por un socio do Instituto historico do Brazil, natural de Sorocaba [Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN], s.l. [sed Madrid], 1854, square*

8vo, vol. i, p. 439, note 26. There is a second edition, printed at Vienna, but under the printer's mark of Rio de Janeiro.

The passage which we have quoted *supra*, p. 256, is as follows :

“El veo muy desbaratado e pobre porque dize que não tras ouro nem prata nem cousa alguma de proveito a os armadores e de duzentos homens que leou não tras vyte que todos los outras dyzen que la ficção mortos hums de trabalho e fame outros de guera que eos mouros tiverão por que as frechadas dize que matarão muitos deles.”

## LV.

1531.

11th March.

THE QUEEN ORDERS THE CASA DE CONTRATACION TO PAY SEBASTIAN DE CABOTO 30 GOLD DUCATS, OR 1250 MARAVEDIS ON ACCOUNT OF HIS SALARY.

(Archives of the Indies, Seville ; *Est.* 148, *Caj.* 2, *Leg.* 1.)

In Spanish :

*Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, pp. 449-450.

“Esta preso e detenido en esta Nuestra Corte, e que a cabsa de lo suso dicho e de aber estado enfermo, è thiene muy gran necesidad, e non thiene con que se alimentar et seguir sus pleytos.”

## LVI.

1531.

11th May.

THE QUEEN ORDERS THE CASA DE CONTRATACION TO GIVE CABOTO 7500 MARAVEDIS.

(Archives of the Indies, Seville ; *Est.* 148, *Caj.* 2, *Leg.* 1.)

In Spanish :

*Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, p. 451.

That sum is not a gratuity, but a payment on account of his salary of Captain and Pilot Major, and only upon his giving security for the amount, as all monies due to him have been attached to satisfy the judgments obtained by Rojas and others.

## LVII.

1532.

12th March.

THE QUEEN ORDERS THE CASA DE CONTRATACION TO PAY, OUT OF CABOTO'S MONIES, THE FINES AND DAMAGES TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN CONDEMNED.

(Archives of the Indies, Seville ; *Est.* 148, *Caj.* 2, *Leg.* 1.)



+

muy magni señor

Señor

1772

oy dia del bienaventurado san Juan recebi una carta del adelantado de  
enmaria por la qual me paxte que todo via tiene como de tomar la  
empresa del rio de pazand q tan lozo me questa ~~vi~~ ~~ziado~~ del digo  
ad el tanto me dio la carta y me dixo que va alla y lleua cartag-  
del digo ade lantado para los señores del conseyo sobra la daga enpre-  
sa plega dics mo señor de enaminar lo todo como su siempre catolica  
se a i m e m e n t a y el y m p e z a d o r n o señor se u i d o .

señor la carta q viní me embio amandar q ziese ya la tengo.  
acabada y dada al contador de la casa de la comenda don para. de  
la embie la viní suplico a vna mrd me pongone p d o n d a m e t a  
acabado mas presto y embudo sino fuerza por la muerte de  
my q tya y p d r la do lencia de my muger y mya dias q a p r a  
m d e l a g u b y e r a r e c e b i d o . bien pense de llechar la y d m i s m o  
c o t o r a s d o s q t e n g o f e g o p a r a s u m a t e z e o q s u m a t e z e o y l o s  
señores del conseyo q u d a z o n s a t f e g o s d e l l a s p o r q v e l l a n o  
mo se puede na vegth por se donde por sus deotas como seaze por  
una carta y la causa por q no desta y nozueffen la causa y cotndes

azules y traía abaluce bja el norte. y en que me idiaro  
y con esto trina su mag. Cargla cierta paratonia. La longitud

Señor suplico a vna mrd me aga mrd de escribir a estos señores  
oficiales de la casa de la concha racion que me socoran con vn  
reclio de my salario adelantado para que me pueda desempañar  
de aqui eye alla. abesar las manos de vna mrd y a ablar con los  
señores del coneyo. y llevarles vn criado mrd que quedo en la  
coffa del Brasil el qual vino con los portugeses q de alla vinie  
ron. para q dezelacio de tolo q alla un fecho los portugese.  
y esto suplico a vna mrd a lende de otros muchos mrd que  
de vna mrd tengo recibidas. nro señor guarde la manana pea  
sona de vna mrd y estado acreciente como por vna mrd es de sen  
do y vros señores de sen. a my señora doña Juana de sola  
mros. de senilla. oy diad el bien aventurado san Juan del  
1533 años

de las manos de vna mrd  
su muy cierto servidor

Señor  
cabildo





In Spanish :

*Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, p. 459-61.

This order, which is on behalf of the sisters of Martin and Fernand Mendez, was made out at Cabot's request, so that his person should not be seized for non-satisfaction of the judgment rendered against him.

There is in the same volume and under the same date, a similar order for the judgment obtained by Rojas.

### LVIII.

1532.

12th March.

THE QUEEN OF SPAIN (REGENT IN THE ABSENCE OF CHARLES V.)  
ORDERS THAT 50,000 MARAVEDIS BE PAID TO CABOTO.

(Archives of the Indies ; *Est.* 148, *Caj.* 2, *Leg.* 1.)

In Spanish :

*Op. cit.*, pp. 455-8.

That sum was to come out of Cabot's attached monies, but only after satisfaction of all claims against him.

### LIX.

1533.

24th June.

LETTER FROM CABOT TO JUAN DE SAMANO.

(Archives of the Indies at Seville ; *Est.* 143, *Caj.* 3, *Leg.* 2, and Muñoz Manuscripts, vol. lxxix, fo. 287, recto.)

In Spanish :

*Relaciones geograficas de Indias* ; Madrid, 1885, 8vo, vol. ii, p. xii.

This letter was exhibited in the *Exposicion Americanista* at Madrid in 1881 ; pointed out the following year in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot* (p. 124, note 5), and, for the most part, appeared in print, as above stated, in 1885. The complete text was published, with some mistakes, in Mr TARDUCCI'S *Di Giovanni e Sebastiano Caboto* ; Venezia, 1892, 8vo, pp. 404-405, from a copy furnished by the Archivo de Indias. As that letter is an autograph, and probably the only specimen of Sebastian Cabot's handwriting known, we reproduce it, for the first time, in facsimile.

The text itself is as follows :



muy magnjco Señor

- 1 oy dia del bien aventurado San Juan recebi vna carta del adelantado de
- 2 canaria por la qual me parece que toda via tiene gana de tomar la



Charles V., concerning the natural resources of those regions, and in his own words, being printed by Herrera in italics.

## LXI.

1534.

13th March.

CEDULA FROM CHARLES V. ORDERING THE CASA DE CONTRATACION TO INVESTIGATE THE CONDUCT OF CABOT AS EXAMINER OF PILOTS.

(Archives of the Indies, Seville; *E.* 148.—*C.* 3°—*L.* 1.)

In Spanish :

*Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xxxii, p. 479.

*Supra*, p. 272.

## LXII.

1534.

11th Decembre.

ROYAL ORDER TO THE CASA DE CONTRATACION THAT ALL PILOTS INTENDING TO CONDUCT SHIPS TO THE INDIES SHALL BE EXAMINED BY CABOT.

(Archives of the Indies, Seville; *Est.* 148.—*Caj.* 2°.—*Leg.* 1°—*Lib.* 3°.)

The same order was addressed to Sebastian Cabotto.

In Spanish :

*Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, vol. xlii (1884), pp. 481, 482.

## LXIII.

1536.

ACCOUNT OF MARCANTONIO CONTARINI'S DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO SPAIN, READ BEFORE THE SENATE OF VENICE.

(Foscarini MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna.)

In Italian :

*Raccolta Colombiana*, part iii, vol. i, No. xxxviii, p. 137.

“Sebastiano Caboto, figlio di un Veneziano, qual andette in Inghilterra suso le galie venete cum phantasia di cercar paesi . . . ebbe do nave da Henrico re d'Anglia, padre de Henrico moderno, che si è fatto luterano e peggio, e cum. 300. homeni navigò tanto che trovò il mar congelato . . . onde convene al Caboto ritornarsene senza haver lo intento suo, cum presupposito però di ritornarsene a quella impresa a tempo che il mar non fosse congelato, trovò il re morto, ed il figlio curarsi poco di tale impresa.”

## LXIV.

1538.

NOTE OF REMEMBRANCE FROM SIR THOMAS WYATT, RECOMMENDING CABOT TO HENRY VIII.

James GAIRDNER, *Letters and papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. xiii, 1892, part i, vol. ii, No. 974, p. 415.

## LXV.

1541.

26th May.

DISPATCH FROM EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY  
(Imperial Archives at Vienna; *Rep. P. Fasc. C. 232, ff. 24-7.*)

In English :

GAYANGOS, *Calendar*, vol. vi, part i, No. 163, p. 327. (Original in French.)

This Queen was Mary of Austria, sister of Charles V.

## LXVI.

1544-

INSCRIPTIONS ON CABOT'S MAP.

## I.

In the preceding chapters we have had occasion to speak several times of the legends inscribed, in two columns, and placed, one (*Tabula Prima*) on the left, the other (*Tabula Secunda*), on the right of the reader, in Cabot's planisphere of 1544. Three of these legends interest us more particularly. Their original Spanish text and the translation into Latin of one, are as follows :

## A

LEGEND RELATIVE TO THE VOYAGE OF 1497.

"No. 8. Esta tierra fue descubierta por Ioan Caboto Veneciano, y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Saluador Iesu || Christo de M.CCCC.XCIII. a ueinte y quatro de Iunio, por la mannana, ala qual pusieron nombre prima tierra uista, y a una isla grande que || esta par de la dicha tierra, le pusieron nombre sant Ioan, por auer sido descubierta el mismo dia la gente della andan uestidos de pieles de animales, usan en sus guerras arcos, y flechas, lanças, y dardos, y unas porras de palo, y hondas. Es tierra muy steril, ay en ella muchos orsos blancos, y ciervos muy grandes como cauillos y otras muchas animales y semeiantemente ay pescado infinito, sollos, salmones, lenguados, muy grandes de uara enlargo y otras muchas diuersidades

de pescados, y la mayor multitud dellos se dizen baccallaos, y así mismo y en la dicha tierra Halcones prietos como cuervos, Aguillas, Perdices, Pardillas, y otras muchas aves de diuersas maneras.||

No. 8. Terram hanc olim nobis clausam, aperuit Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, necnon Sebastianus Cabotus eius filius, anno ab orbe redem=|| pto 1494. die uero 24. Iulij (*sic*), hora 5. sub diluculo, quam terram primum uisam appellarunt, & Insulam quandam magnam ei oppositam, Insulam diui Io || annis nominarunt, quippe quæ solenni die festo diui Io-|| annis aperta fuit. Huius terræ incolæ pellibus animalium induuntur, arcu in bello, sa=|| gittis, hastis, spiculis, clauis ligneis, & fundis utuntur: sterilis incultaque tellus fuit, leonibus, ursis albis, procerisque ceruis, piscibus innume || ris lupis scilicet, salmonibus, & ingentibus soleis unius ulnæ longitudine, aliisque diuersis piscium generibus abundat, horum autem maxima copia || est, quos uulgus Bacallios appellat, ad hæc insunt accipitres nigri coruorum similes, aquilæ, perdicesque fusco colore, aliæque diuersæ uolucres.||"

*Supra*, pp. 56-62.

## B

### LEGEND RELATIVE TO LA PLATA.

"No. 7. Lllaman los Indios aeste gran Rio el Ryo huruai, en Castellano el Rio de la plata toman este nombre del Rio huruai [*sic*] el qual es un Rio muy candaloso que entra en el gran Rio de Parana descubriolo Ioan Diaz de Solis piloto mayor de los catholicos reyes de gloriosa memoria y descubrio hasta una isla que el dicho Ioan Diaz puso nombre la ista [*sic*] de Martin Garcia, porque en ella entierro un marinero, que se decia Martin Garzia, la qual dicha isla esta obra de treynta leguas arriba de la boca deste Rio, y costele bien caro el dicho descubrimi-||lento, por que los yndios de la dicha tierra lo mataron y lo comieron, y despues passados muchos Annos lo holoiu a hallar Sebastian Ca||boto Capitan y Piloto mayor de S. c.c. m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y Rey nuestro sennor, el qual yua por Ca||pitan general de una armada que su maiestad mando hazer para el descubrimiento de Tarsis, y Ofir, y Catayo oriental, el qua dicho capi||tan Sebastian Caboto uino a este Rio por caso fortuito, porque la nao capitana en que yua sele perdio, y uisto que no podia seguir el dicho su uiaie, accordo de descubrir con la gente que lleuana el dicho || Rio, uista la grandissima ralacion, que los Indios de la tierra le dieron de la || grandissima riqueza de oro, y plata, que en la dicha tierra ania, y no sin grandissimo trabajo y hambre, y peligros asi de su persona como || de los que con el yuan, y procuro el dicho capitan de hazer cerca del dicho rio algunas poblaciones de la gente que lleno de españa. Este Rio es || mayor que nynguno de quantos aca se conocen tiene de ancho en la entrada, que entra en la mar, ueinte y cinco leguas, y trezientas leguas arri || ba de la dicha entrada, tiene dos leguas, en ancho la causa de ser tan grande y poderoso, es que entran en el otros muchos rios grandes y canda || os. Es rio de infinitissimo pescado, y el meior que ay en el mundo, la gente en llegado a quella tierra quiso conocer si era fertil, y apareiada para labrar y lleuar pan y senbraron en el mes de setiembre LII. granos de trigo que no se hallo mas en las naos y cogiero luego en el mes de || dezembre cinquenta, y dos mill granos de trigo, que esta misma fertilidad se hallo entodas las otras semillas. Los que en aquella tierra bien || dizen que no lexos de ay en la tierra a dentro que ay unas grandes sierras de donde sacan infinitissimo oro, y que mas adelante en las misma || sierras, sacan infinita plata. Ay en esta tierra unas auellas grandes como asnos comunes, de figura de camellos, saluo que tienen la lana tan || fina como seda, y otras muy diuersas animales. La gente de la dicha tierra es muy diferente entre si, porque los que bien en las aldeas de las sier || ras, son blancos como nosotros, y los que estan hazia la Ribera del rio, son morenos. Algunos dellos dizen que en las dichas sierras ay hom || bres que tienen el Rostro como de perro, y otros de la rodilla

abaxo como de Abestruz, y que estos son grandes trabaiaadores, y que cogen mucho mayns de que hazen pan y uino del, otras muchas cosas dizen de aquella tierra que no se pone aquy por no ser prolixas."

In English (from the Latin original translation <sup>1</sup>):

EDEN, *The Decades of the newe worlde*, London, 1555, f<sup>o</sup>. 317; and ARBER'S edition, pp. 343-44.

In Latin:

CHYTRÆUS, *De argenteo Flumine*, in his *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciæ*; Herborn, 1594, sm. 4to, pp. 779-81.

There is no silver whatever in or about the "Rio de la Plata" and we find it difficult to ascertain why and when that name first came into use. LAS CASAS says (*Historia de las Indias*, lib. iii, cap. lxxxii, vol. ii, p. 270) that he does not know why it is so called, as Dias de Solis named the river "Rio de Santa Maria." The latter is also the name used by Pero LOPEZ, so late as 1530. (*Diario*, pp. 28, 38.)

On the other hand, Francisco ALBO, one of Magellan's pilots, who, with him, entered the estuary of the great stream, January 10th, 1520, calls it "Rio de Solis" (NAVARRETE, vol. v, p. 211).<sup>2</sup> PIGAFETTA does not name the river in his text, but he inserts a map, which bears the inscription "Fluue de Jehan de Solis." That was, evidently, the name generally used then by the Spaniards.

Francisco DAVILA, when describing what happened to him on All-Saints-Day of 1525 (NAVARRETE, vol. v, p. 226), speaks of the vicinity of "del Rio de Solis, que dicen de la Plata:—the River of Solis, called the River of Silver." That is the first time we see the expression employed. Luis RAMIREZ, nevertheless, dates his letter of July 10th, 1528 still from the "Rio de Solis." It is, however, from the expedition of Sebastian Cabot that "Rio de la Plata," became the expression generally used; although we do not see it inscribed in maps until several years afterwards. "Rio Jordan" is the name which first supplanted that of Solis among cartographers (Turin, Weimar, and Maggiolo mappamundi of 1527). We read in the Havre Catalan Atlas (*Discovery of North America*, pp. 601-607), which is of a date later than 1534, "Rios de Prata:—The Rivers of Silver," and only at the junction of the Parana with the Uruguay. The earliest dated map (and, so far as we know, the oldest one) which calls the great stream

<sup>1</sup> The words: "a man of great courage and skylfull in cosmographie, and of no lesse experience as concerninge the starres and the sea," do not exist in the Spanish legend, and are to be found only in its Latin translation, viz. "Sebastianus Cabotus nauigandi arte astrorum '93 peritissimus."

<sup>2</sup> The words, inserted between brackets in the text of NAVARRETE: "ahora se llama rio de la Plata:—now called rio de la Plata," seem to be only a glose of that learned writer.

“Rio de la Plata,” is in one of the Venetian atlases depicted by Battista AGNESE in 1536.

As to the assertions of GOMARA (edition of VEDIA, p. 210) that the name of “La Plata” dates from Solis in 1512, and of HERRERA (*Decad.* iv, p. 3), that it was given to the river by Diego GARCIA in 1527, the details set forth above show that the allegations of these two historians are erroneous. Besides, GARCIA, who sailed from Spain in 1526, did not return until 1530.

## C

LEGEND SETTING FORTH CABOT'S SAILING DIRECTIONS, AND EXPLANATION OF MAGNETIC PHENOMENA.

Retulo [*sic*] del auctor con çiertas razones de la uariaçon que haze el aguia del marear con la estrella del Norte.

No. 17. Sebastian Caboto capitan, y piloto mayor dela S.c.c.m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y Rey nuestro sennor hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno del nascimº de n[uest]ro saluador Iesu Christo de M.D.XLIII. annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud con sus uientos como carta de marear, imitando en parte al Ptolemeo, y en parte a los modernos descubridores, asi Espannoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre, y por el descubierto, por donde podras nauegar como por carta de marear, teniendo respecto a la uariaçon que haze el aguia del marear, con la estrella del Norte, uerbi gratia, tu te quieres partir del cabo de Sant Vinçente, para yr a tomar el cabo de finis terra, mandaras gouernar tu nauio al Norte por tu aguia de marear y yras a dar dentro del dicho cabo, mas tu uerdadero camino que tu nauio hizo fue al Norte, quarta del Nordeste por que tu aguia de marear te Nordestea una quarta en el d[ic]ho cabo de Sant Vinçente, de manera que mandando gouernar tu nauio al Norte por tu aguia de marear, tu camino sera al Norte quarta del Nordeste, y asimismo partiendo te de Salmedina, que es una baxa a la salida de Sant Lucar de barrameda para yr a la punta de naga de la isla de Tenerife, mandaras gouernar al Sudueste, por tu aguia, y yras a tomar la d[ic]ha punta de naga por lo que esta Situada en la carta de marear, mas tu camino no sera al Sudueste, por quanto tu aguia de marear te Nordestea en Salmedina una quarta larga, mas sera tu camino al Sudueste quarta del sur largo asy que podras dezir que partiendo te del cabo de Sant Vinçente al Norte, tu camino sera Norte quarta de Nordeste, y partiendote de Salmedina al Sudueste, tu camino sera al Sudueste, quarta del sur, y asi por consiguiente haras en toda otra parte deste universo mirando la uariaçon, que te haze la d[ic]ha aguia de marear, con la estrella del Norte, por que la d[ic]ha aguia no se buelue ny esta en todo lugar al Norte, como el uulgo piensa, por que la piedra yman segun paresçe no tiene uirtud para hazerla bueluer al Norte en todo lugar, mas segun por experiència se uee y alcança tiene solamente uirtud de hazerla estar stabil y fixa en un lugar, por donde a demostrar forçado por linea recta por qualquier uiento que fueres y no por çircular, y a essa causa haze la d[ic]ha uariaçon, que si la d[ic]ha aguia se bueluiere al Norte cada y quando y en todo lugar no haria uariacion ninguna, por que yría por linea çircular, porque siempre estarias en un paralelo, qual no puede ser yendo por linea recta en un rodondo y as de notar que quanto mas te apartares del meridiano, que la aguia te esta derecha-mente al Norte hazia el Occidente, o hazia el Oriente tanto mas se apartara tu aguia de Norte, es a saber la flor de lis della, la qual esta sennalanda por el Norte, por donde paresçe claramente, que la d[ic]ha aguia muestra por linea recta, y no por çircular y as de saber que el meridiano donde la flor de lis del aguia esta derechamente al norte es obra de treynta y cinco leguas de la isla de Flores. La ultima isla de los Açores hazia el occidente segun la opinion de

algunos expertos, por la mucha experiencia que dello tienen, a causa de la quotidiana navegación, que hazen al Occidente, a las Indias del mar Oceano, pel dicho Sebastian Caboto navegando hazia el occidente, se hallo en parte donde el Nordeste quarta del Norte le estaua derechamente al Norte, por las quales suso d[ic]has experiencias paresçe claramente, ser uerdad los defectos y uariación que la dicha aguia de marear haze con la estrella del Norte."

In Latin :

CHYTRÆUS (Nathan KOCHHAFF). *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Delicia* ; Herborn, 1599, 4to, pp. 611-613.

In English :

*Supra*, part ii, chapt. xv, pages 308-311.

In the chapter xvi of part ii, p. 311, we have called attention to the following passage :

"Que si la dicha aguia se bueluesse al Norte cada y quando y en todo lugar no haria variación ninguna, porque yria por linea circular, porque siempre estarias en un paralelo, qual no puede ser yendo por linea recta en un redondo."

The Latin is not clearer :

"Nam si eadem acus assidue ex omnibus locis verteretur ad Arctum, nulla fieret eius variatio utpote quæ per circulem lineam eius variatio, utpote quæ per circulem lineam semper viam demonstraret, ex quo sequeretur, eundem æquedistantem seu parallelum frequentare, quod nullo modo continget recta linea circulem formam aduenti:—For, if the same needle incessantly and everywhere pointed to the Pole, its variation would be null ; because it would always indicate the route by a circular line. The consequence is that it would follow a parallel, which cannot be obtained in a straight line when navigating over a circular surface" (?).

These three legends were originally written, like the nineteen others, in Spanish, by one Dr. GRAJALES of the Puerto de Santa Maria, in Andalucia, but Sebastian Cabot doubtless furnished the necessary information.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript of these legends must have been sent, together with the manuscript of the map, to the place where the latter was engraved, then printed there after having been translated into Latin by some savant of the same locality. This was certainly a city of the Empire, where "tildes" were scarce, as the printer found himself obliged, most of the time, to replace that sign over the n by doubling the letter, viz., *sennor, mannana, anno*, instead of *señor, mañana, año*, &c., &c. Besides, the typographical appearance of the legends, and the engraving of the Imperial arms, seem to betray a Low Countries printing office ; although, thus far, we have been unable to ferret it out. In our opinion, however, Belgium is the country where the engraving and printing were executed, probably at Antwerp. Yet, it must be said that the books of "Octroy," as well as those of the

<sup>1</sup> We find Cabot repeat in person to EDEN, ten years afterwards, the incredible statement in Legend 7, that on the banks of La Plata, he planted, in September, fifty grains of wheat, and "gathered thereof fifty thousand in December" following. EDEN, *Decades*, fo. 256, marginal note.



seal of Brabant, and of the Great Council of Malines, contain no mention of that map. This may be due only to the fact that the publisher did not ask for a privilege; which indifference was not uncommon in Belgium for cartographical publications.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the printer of those legends reprinted them, with the same type, but after recomposing the whole, in pamphlet form. A copy has lately turned up in Germany. It is a small 4to, of 24 unnumbered leaves, including one for the title page, which is as follows:—

DECLARATIO  
CHARTÆ NOVÆ NAVI-  
GATORIÆ DOMINI  
ALMIRANTIS

That is “Explanation of the Sailing Chart of his Lordship the Admiral,” which is also the title of the manuscript text in Spanish of those legends preserved in the King’s Library at Madrid. We suppose that it was prompted by the heading of the first inscription, viz.: “Tabula Prima Del Almirante,” and which precedes this line: “El almirante Don Christoval Colon de nacion ginouez.” The copyist very probably imagined that those legends referred to a map constructed by “the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus.” This explanation is so much the more plausible that we see Antonio DE LEON also ascribe the authorship of the *Declaracion de la tabla navigatoria*, as he justly calls that pamphlet (*Epitome*, 1629, p. 145), to the great Genoese.

Here again the printer has omitted to give his name, mark or address. The only data calculated to aid in discovering where and by whom the tract was printed, are only an initial E in woodcut, representing a bearded man carrying a staff on his right shoulder, and the water-mark, which exhibits a hound with a collar around its neck. Thus far, neither our friends in Belgium, nor ourselves, have succeeded in discovering one of those indications in any other book.

As to the map itself, such as it appears in the edition of 1544, it is a copper plate engraving, composed of four separately printed parts, measuring each 80 × 62 centimetres, and pasted together on pasteboard. These, with the two tables of legends, of 28 centimetres wide each, added on the right and left of the map, present a surface of 1<sup>m</sup> 60<sup>c</sup> in width, and 21<sup>m</sup> 5<sup>c</sup> in height.

The four corners of the plate exhibit each a large engraved head of Eolus, colored by hand, like the coasts, figures of men, animals

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the map of Diego GUTIERREZ (Junior) entitled *Americæ sive quartæ orbis partis, nova et exactis-*

*sima descriptio. Hiero. Cock excudæ. Antverpiæ, 1562*; the only known copy of which is in the British Museum.

and things within the map. On the upper part, to the left of the reader, there is an engraving of the Annunciation, with a Latin invocation of five lines. To the right, are the engraved arms of the Empire, surmounting the following absolutely unintelligible inscription :

“*Solas del Solo en el mundo en servicio de las quales muriendo viven leales.*”

In the lower part there is, on each side, a cosmographical table, both within a frame. As regards the mappamundi proper, it is elliptical, with the orthographic projection devised by Apianus in 1524. It contains indications of magnetic lines with no variation, which, as we have stated, Cabot erroneously transforms into meridians, and starting points calculated, as he imagined, to enable mariners to find the longitude at sea.

For further information, geographical and historical, concerning that map, see our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 151–156, and *Supra*, pp. 285–288.

## II.

In 1565, a young German savant, called Nathan KOCHHAFF, but generally known under the name of CHYTRÆUS, undertook a literary tour in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Danmarck, France, Belgium, and England. In the course of that extensive peregrination, he copied a great many inscriptions, chiefly from monuments, but did not publish them until nearly thirty years after his return home, in a work entitled *Variorum in Europa itinerum Deliciæ*, (Herborn in Nassau, 1594, 4to; *id.*, 1599, and 1606).

What struck Chytræus particularly in Oxford, was a map, but not on account of its geographical importance, or merit, as he fails to describe the map altogether. His attention was attracted exclusively by the information in the legends, and these he copied, notwithstanding the poor Latin in which they are written. To his publication of the legends is prefixed the following statement :

“Sub tabulis geographicis sequentes inscriptiones leguntur; quas non tam propter latininitatis, quæ non magna est, elegantiam; quàm propter res ipsas cognitione non indignas hic subjicere volumus:—Under the geographical maps, one reads the following inscriptions, which we desired to add here, not on account of the elegance of the Latin style, which is not great, but of the things themselves, which are not unworthy of notice.”

Those inscriptions are not new to us, being only the Latin text of the tabular legends in the Cabotian planisphere of 1544. It was therefore a copy of Sebastian Cabot's mappamundi which Chytræus saw at Oxford. Of the geographical part, we do not know whether it resembled in every respect the copy in the Paris National Library. But the typographical division of the legends

was different, as each contained a separate title, which the German scholar reproduces as follows :

- I. DE ARCHITHALASSO.
- II. DE HISPANIA INSVLA, DEQUE DIVI IOHANNIS ET CUBA.
- III. DE NOVA HISPANIA.
- IV. DE FRETO OMNIVM SANCTORVM (Magellan's).
- V. DE MALVCARVM INSVLIS.
- VI. DE PERV.
- VII. DE ARGENTEO FLVMINE, QVOD VULGO RIO DE PLATA  
NVNCVPATVR.
- VIII. DE TERRA NOVA, QVAM VULGVS BACCALIOS APPELLAT.
- IX. DE ISLANDIA INSVLA.
- X. DE HIS QVI CERVIS VEHVNTVR.
- XI. DE HIS QVI SOLEM VENERANTVR.
- XII. DE HIS MONSTRIS, QVÆ PRÆGRANDES HABENT AVRES.
- XIII. DE PRESTE IOANNE.
- XIV. DE VXORIBVS QUÆ CVM MARITV MORTVIS VIVÆ SE  
VLTROT PVRA COMBVREBANT.
- XV. DE TARTARORVM PRINCIPE, QUEM VULGVS MAGNUM  
CANEM APPELLAT.
- XVI. DE TAPROBANA INSVLA.
- XVII. INSCRIPTIO SEV TI[TV]LVS AVCTORIS.
- XVIII. DE CIAPANGV.
- XIX. DE MARI SCYTHICO.

In the edition of 1544, the legend above numbered xviii, does not exist among the tabular inscriptions. It is to be found only within the map, and in Spanish, without any translation. Here, that legend is set forth in Latin, apparently from a text seen by Chytræus among the tabular inscriptions of the map which he saw at Oxford. The legend xix of Chytræus, which is the 18th of the 1544 map, and simply part of a chapter of Pliny, exists, in Chytræus, only in Latin, and, in the 1544 map, only in Spanish, with an erroneous reference in the latter to the Roman author, viz. : "Segundo libro, Capitulo lxxix," which Chytræus prints: "67, cap. 2 lib." (*sic pro lib. ii, cap. 67, which is the exact chapter*).

These differences lead us to presume that the 1549 edition of the map seen by the German savant at Oxford may not have been different in its cartographical part from the one of 1544, but that the tabular legends contained no Spanish texts whatever, while they set forth two more inscriptions in Latin. The contempt with which Chytræus, who became soon afterwards professor of Latin at the University of Rostock, speaks of the latinity of those legends shows that he was not the translator of any of them. Nor is there anything in his book authorizing the supposition that he did

not limit himself to reproducing the texts literally as they appeared to him when looking at the Oxford map.

But a very important difference is in the date. Where in the legend xvii of the Paris map we read "plana figura me delineavit, 1544"; the Oxford one gives "plana figura me delineavit 1549." This date (which we shall soon see corroborated), and the above mentioned modifications in the typographical arrangement of the legends, prove, of course, the existence of a second edition, or issue, of the Cabotian planisphere.<sup>1</sup>

No specimen of that map is now known to exist, either in Oxford, where we vainly instituted researches, or elsewhere.

### III.

In HAKLUYT'S *Discourse on Westerne Planting*, written in 1584, but published only in 1877,<sup>2</sup> there is a reference to what he calls "Cabote's owne mappe, which is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the copie whereof was sett oute by Mr. Clemente Adams, and is in many marchantes houses in London." We do not know whether Hakluyt means to say that there was at Westminster the original edition of a map drawn by Cabot, and in many commercial houses of London, a copy of that map set forth<sup>3</sup> or edited by Clement Adams; or that it was the latter which hung in the Queen's Gallery at Westminster. We possess two other statements relative to the subject which enable us to ascertain what that map was. The first is as follows:—

"In which mappe, in the chapter of Newfoundelande, there in Latyn is put downe, besides the yere of our Lorde, even the very day, which was the day of St. John Baptiste; and the firste lande which they sawe they called Prima Visa or Prima Vista."

The other statement refers to the date of the discovery accomplished then by Cabot. Hakluyt, after borrowing the year 1496, from the account of the Mantuan Gentleman in Ramusio, says:

"Or, as Clement Adams saieth, 1494, in the chapter of Gabotts map *De terra nova*."

These two quotations show that the map which Adams "sett oute," and that Hakluyt mentions in his *Discourse*, was simply the Cabotian planisphere.

<sup>1</sup> We assume that CHYTRÆUS'S date "1594," for the year of the discovery, is a misprint of the Herborn printer, and not a mistake in the map itself. This typographical error is repeated in the editions of CHYTRÆUS given in 1599 and 1606. He died in 1598.

<sup>2</sup> *Documentary History of the State*

*of Maine*, vol. ii, Cambridge, 1877, 8vo, from a MS. in the collection of the late Sir Thomas PHILLIPS at Cheltenham.

<sup>3</sup> BACON and SWIFT, according to WEBSTER, employ the expression "to set out," in the sense of "to publish, as a proclamation."

Four years afterwards, in his first edition of the *Principall Navigations*, published in 1589, Hakluyt again mentioned that map, and published its eighth legend, after prefixing it with the following heading :

“An extract taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discoverie of the West Indias, which is to be seene in her Majesties Priue Gallerie at Westminster, and in many other auncient merchants houses.”

The reader will notice that, this time, Hakluyt does not say that the map was “sett oute.” He uses the expression “cut,” which means that the map was *engraved* by Clement Adams. This we are loth to admit. In the first place, competent authorities are of opinion that there is “scarcely a record of any Englishman practising engraving in England prior to the commencement of the seventeenth century, and that if numerous books were illustrated with wood and metal engravings, they were for the most part executed abroad, being imported by the authors for the ornamentation of their publications” (*Catalogue of a collection of engravings, etchings and woodcuts*, 1879, p. 309), and as to maps, if we understand the same authority aright (Mr. Richard FISHER), the oldest map “cut” by an English engraver, is a bird’s-eye-view of Cambridge, published only in 1574.

Our own researches tend rather to confirm Mr. FISHER’S statement. We have found only three other mentions of maps of English origin in the 16th century. They are cited in the list of authorities given by ORTELIUS. The first is a map of Spain : “*Thomas Geminus, Hispaniæ Tabulam. Londini.*”<sup>1</sup> This was engraved by an artist who exercised his art in England so early as 1545 (*Compendium totius Anatomie delineatio*), but he was a foreigner,<sup>2</sup> apparently an Italian. The second is “*Antonius Jenkinsonus Russiam, Londini, 1562.*” Ortelius, however, calls JENKINSON only “Auctore,” which implies that he simply designed the map, inasmuch as his regular occupation was that of captain

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Baron NORDENSKIÖLD (*Facsimile Atlas*, p. 130), we have been able to examine the only copy known of that fine map, the first, apparently, engraved and printed in England. It is in the Paris National Library (*Portef.* 188, *pièce* 4,057), in four sheets, measuring together 0.940 × 0.767, bearing the inscription, *Excusum Londini per Thomam Geminum, 1555*, and dedicated to Philip and Mary. The paper is very thin, with a water mark representing a small *fleur-de-lis* surmounting two capitals which we could not make out. A noticeable feature is the very large and beautifully executed escutcheon

of Spain and England blended together. As a specimen of engraving on copper, it is not surpassed by any map of the time.

<sup>2</sup> In the dedication to EDWARD VI., of his new edition of the *Compendium* (London, 1553), GEMINI speaks of himself as “not so perfect and experte in the English tongue that I dare waraunt or trust myne owne dooynges.” Mr. Lionel CUST (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxi, p. 118), also mentions a notice in the Register-books of the Stationers’ Company in 1554, recording a fine on “Thomas Gemyne stranger.”

and navigator in the employ of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, and he constantly travelled from 1546 until 1572. As to the third map it is "*Humfredus Lhuyd Denbygiensis Angliæ Regni Tabulam, 1573.*" Here also Ortelius calls this Humphrey Lloyd (?) only "auctore," which simply means that he was the designer.

Again, ADAMS was exclusively a teacher and literary man. Educated at Eton and at Cambridge, fellow of King's College in 1539, B.A. in 1540-41, M.A. in 1544, we do not see where he could have acquired the professional skill required to engrave, on copper, a mappamundi, particularly of such dimensions as about six feet by four. Besides, Adams required first to obtain Cabot's permission. Now, Cabot did not arrive in England before the beginning of January 1548; and Purchas states that the map "was taken out of Sir Seb. Cabot's by Clement Adams, 1549." (*Pilgrimage, 1625, vol. iii, p. 807.*) This date, which we shall soon corroborate with other evidence, does not leave sufficient time. In the opinion of experts whom we have consulted, such a map could not have been engraved, by a single person, although well versed in the art of engraving on copper, in less than two years. Now, if we take into consideration that Cabot's planisphere is, to our knowledge, the largest map that would have yet been engraved in England, and that Adams, at best, could only be an amateur engraver, whose time must have been also engrossed with other occupations, while Hakluyt at first only gave him the credit of having "set out" the map, it will hardly be admitted that the engraving was actually executed by Adams, at all events between the two dates of 1548 and 1549.

Our theory is that simple impressions from the original 1544 plate were imported from the Continent to London. As to the legends, which, as the reader should recollect, were only typographical slips, they were set up again, in Latin, and without the Spanish (henceforth useless), and printed in England, after having been re-arranged by Clement Adams, in 1549. And that is the edition which Chytræus saw in Oxford in 1565, and Hakluyt in London, in 1584.

That the original plate was not altered is evidenced by the remark of Hakluyt that the Transatlantic region first discovered by Cabot was called "Prima Vista." This mongrel Spanish expression, which in the Latin legend is simply translated by "primum visam," would have been engraved in English, or in Latin, like, doubtless, all the other inscriptions on the map, if a new engraving of the mappamundi itself, for English readers, had been deemed necessary.

Concerning the legends of the map described by Hakluyt in 1584, we connect them with the legends copied from the

“geographical tables” seen by Chytræus, through the erroneous date in both of “1494,” instead of 1497, and by the heading of the legend, “*De Terra Nova*,” which also occurs in both of them, whilst it is wanting in the edition of 1544.

But we are confronted at the outset with an apparent difficulty. The text of the eighth legend published by Hakluyt in 1589, as having been “taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams,” differs from the text of the same legend as we find it printed with the map of 1544. It is also different from the text of Chytræus which, in our opinion, is only that of Clement Adams, as first set forth by him in 1549. HAKLUYT’S 1589 text is as follows:

“An extract taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by *Clement Adams, concerning his discoverie of the West Indias*, which is to be seene in her Maiestie priuie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.

Anno Domini 1494 Ioannes Cabotus venetus, & Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt per uiam, quam nullus prius adire ausus fuisset, die 24 Junij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram primùm visam, credo<sup>1</sup> quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos inuecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerso situ est insula, eam appellauit insulam D. Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer D. Ioanni Baptistæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium exuiuasque feratam pro indumentis habent, easque tanti faciunt, quanti nos vestes preciosissimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clauis ligneis & fundis. Tellus sterilis est neque villos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt leonitus albo colore, & cernis inusitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, iisque sanè magnis, quales sunt lupi, & quos salmones vulgus appellat; solæ autem reperientur tam longæ, vt vlnæ mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum similitudinem mirum in modum expriment, perdices autem & aquilæ sunt nigri coloris:—

In the yeere of our Lord 1494, Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out frõ Bristoll) discouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say First scene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lyeth out before the land, he called the Island of S. John, vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinnes, and haue them in as great estimation, as we haue our finest garments. In theyr wars they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wodden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, and yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white lions, and stags farre greater than ours. It yeeldeth plentie of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also aboute a yard in length; but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Saluages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hawkes, but they are so blacke that they are very like to rauens, as also theyr partridges, and eagles, which are in like sort blacke.”

<sup>1</sup> The original Latin text has only: “quam terram primùm visam appellarunt”:—to which they gave the name

of first land seen, without stating the reason why it was so called.

Now, the Latin text of the 8th legend, whether we take it from the planisphere of 1544, or from that of 1549, as reported by CHYTRÆUS, is as follows in English :

“This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian, his son, the year of the Redemption of the World, 1494, on the 24th of July [*sic*], at the fifth hour at daybreak, which [land] they called the first land seen, and a large island opposite the same [they named] St. John, because it was discovered on the solemn festival of St. John. The inhabitants of that country are dressed in the skins of animals, they use in war bows, arrows, darts, lances, wooden clubs, and slings. It is very sterile, contains lions, white bears, stags of large size, innumerable fish, namely, seals [?], salmons, large soles an ell long, and abundance of other kinds of fish, the greatest quantity of them is called by the common people Bacallios. There are hawks black like crows, eagles, dark partridges, and a variety of birds.”

By comparing this literal translation of the original Latin text, and the latter, with Hakluyt's Latin text, and his English version of the same, the reader will see at a glance, that the legend has been rewritten, in both of these languages, either by Clement Adams, or by Hakluyt. The former might perhaps have taken upon himself to add “that land which no man before that time had attempted,” or “the inhabitants have the beasts skinned which they use to wear in as great estimation as we have our finest garments,” and corrected the name of the month when the discovery was made, “the 24 of June,” instead of “the 24 of July.” But it is scarcely admissible that, with both the Spanish and Latin texts before his eyes when he made the translation of the 8th legend for the edition of 1549, Adams would have presumed to interpolate it with such expressions as “because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea,” when the Latin original simply says “quam terram primum visam appellarunt”; and still less with “that island he called the Island of S. John upon this occasion, as I think, because it was discovered upon the day of John the Baptist,” when the Spanish states positively “le pusieron nombre sant Ioan *por aver sido* descubierta el mismo dia,” and the Latin, “*quippe quæ solenni die festo diui Ioannis aperta fuit.*” Such clumsy interlineations might be tolerated perhaps in a book written for common reading, but not in a map, particularly of such importance. Moreover, we know that Hakluyt felt no scruples in interpolating the texts which he published.<sup>1</sup> Our opinion therefore is that the differences in the wording of the 8th legend do

<sup>1</sup> BIDDLE is wrong in charging HAKLUYT with having “boldly striken out the words which show that Gomara had arrived at no conclusion as to whether the expedition of 1497 was fitted out at the cost of Henry VII. or of an individual (pp. 21-22).” HAKLUYT'S “Cabot being in England in the days of Henry

the Seventh,” he furnished two ships at his own charges, or, as some say, at the King's,” does not differ, in the sense, from GOMARA'S “El qual armo dos navios en Inglaterra . . . a costa del Rey Enrique Septimo . . . otro dicen que a su costa.” But HAKLUYT certainly interpolated the text of FABYAN, when,



not prove the existence of a third edition of Cabot's planisphere. They simply indicate a gratuitous manipulation by Hakluyt of Adams' text as set forth by the latter in his edition of 1549.

In 1599-1600, when publishing the second edition of his *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt again gave the text of that legend, with the same heading. The only change is in the date of the discovery, which instead of being 1494, as we see it both in the map of 1544, and in Chytræus, as well as in his own edition of 1589, is now correctly given "Anno Domini 1497," and "In the yeere of our Lord 1497."

This change, for the better, has engrossed the attention of critics. In 1587, Hakluyt stated that Cabot's discovery had been accomplished in 1496, according to an erroneous date borrowed from Ramusio (*Westerne Planting*, p. 122), and which he inscribed in the map of his edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades* where we read: "BACALLAOS *ab Anglis*, 1496." Two years afterwards, "1494" is inserted without comments. What led him in 1599 to print "1497"? A sufficient reason is that it is never too late to mend, and Hakluyt was then in a position to acquire reliable information. Nay, he had only to examine with attention the map dedicated by Michael Lok to Sir Philip Sidney in 1582, and inserted in his own *Divers voyages* in that year, to see, inscribed across Cape Breton Island: "J. Gabot, 1497." On the other hand, the positive intention of Hakluyt to correct in 1599 the erroneous date of 1494 is shown by his placing the discovery of Cabot under the year of "1497," in the list prefixed to the third volume of the *Principall Navigations*; while the MOLYNEUX map of the world, which was intended to illustrate the 1599-1600 edition of that work (C. MARKHAM, *John Davis*, 1889, p. 168), and which is sometimes found in copies in their original binding, bears, across Labrador, the inscription: "This land was discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot for Kinge Henry y<sup>e</sup> 7, 1497."

Then, would Hakluyt have ventured to affirm that there was a Cabotian map "set out," or "cut," by Clement Adams, with the date of "1497," and which "could be seene in her Maiesties priuie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants' houses," if it was not true? In 1595-1600, Clement Adams had been dead three years, there were, however, people who might have gainsaid Hakluyt's assertion if inexact. Nor do we consider impossible that there may have been a reprint of Adam's legends, with the date corrected. Samuel PURCHAS, speaking in 1625 of Cabot's map "in the Privy Gallery," says that it "hath 1497,"

in 1589 and 1599, he added the name: "one John Gabote," to the vague expression "by means of a Venetian," used by him in 1582; and in placing

under "the 14th year of Henry VII.," the arrival of the two savages, which he had previously stated to have occurred "in the 17th." See *supra*, pp. 142-148.

(*His Pilgrimage*, vol. iv, p. 1812). This he may have borrowed from the Hakluyt of 1599-1600. But where did Purchas learn that it was dated 1549? Here are his own words, as we find them in vol. iii, p. 807 of the above cited work :

“The great Map in his Majesties priuie Gallerie, of which Sebastian Cabot is often therein called the Author . . . . This Map, some say, was taken out of Sir Seb. Cabot’s Map by Clem. Adams, 1549.”

If we place confidence in Purchas’ statement, there must have been on exhibition at Westminster, two copies of Adams’ edition of Cabot’s planisphere, both dated 1549; but one giving 1494, and the other 1497, as the year of the great transatlantic discovery achieved by John Cabot.

There is another important inference to be drawn from these two dates. In 1549, Sebastian Cabot had been living at London over a year, in the employ of the English government, and enjoying great reputation as a cosmographer. On the other hand, Clement Adams’ social position, his scholarship and taste for geography, evinced by his being able at least to edit such a map as the Cabotian planisphere, and by his writing a few years afterwards so able an account of the voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor, lead us to believe that he sought the acquaintance of Cabot. In fact, the edition which he made of the latter’s map implies personal intercourse with him. Is it not natural to think that, under the circumstances, the correction in the date of the discovery, viz., 1497 instead of 1494, in Adams’ presumed second issue of the legends may have been suggested by Cabot himself?

The above are not the only contemporaneous mentions of Cabot’s planisphere. ORTELIUS (List of authorities at the beginning of his *Theatrum*, Antwerp, 1570) refers to “Sebastianus Cabotus venetus. Universalem Tabulam; quam impressam æneis formis vidimus, sed sine nomine loci, et impressoris”; but this brief description applies as well to the edition of 1544 as to that of 1549. Ortelius does not say where he saw that map. It may have been in England, as he visited that country with his cousin Emmanuel Meteren in 1550.

Richard WILLES, in his edition of EDEN (*History of Travayle*, London, 1577, 4to, fo. 232), mentions “Cabot’s table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheynies.” If it is the one which Eden saw, and from which he borrowed the legend about La Plata, above reproduced in Latin, at first sight it seems to be the edition of 1544. After relating that the Spaniards planted in September 50 grains of wheat, they gathered in December following a very large crop, Eden adds (within the legend), “wherin sume beinge deceaued and mistakynge the thyng, haue wrytten in the steade of twoo thousande and fiftie, fyftie thousande and two?” We read in the Latin of 1544, “duo millia supra

quinquaginta," which corrects the Spanish "cinquenta, y dos mill." Eden, however, has not seen the Spanish text of the legend. His source of information for the erroneous figures, are words from the mouth of Cabot<sup>1</sup> himself, coupled with GOMARA'S statement :

"Cabote told me that in a region within this ryuer, he sowed L graynes of weate in September, and gathered therof L thousand in December as wyreth also Francisco Lopez."<sup>2</sup>

Our impression is that Eden made his transcript of the legend from the edition "sett out" by Clement Adams in 1549, which, as we believe to have shown, reproduced only the Latin of the longitudinal Cabotian inscriptions.

The inference from this arduous disquisition is that there must have been two or three issues of the map, all from the same plate, and four editions of the printed longitudinal legends, viz :

1°. The first issue, made, as we believe, in Antwerp, where the map, in our opinion, had been engraved, from a manuscript map prepared at Seville by Sebastian Cabot in 1544, and sent over with the legends written in Spanish at Puerto de Santa Maria, by Dr. Grajales. These legends were also then printed at Antwerp, in two forms ; one, in two longitudinal tables, which were pasted on each side of the plate ; the other, in pamphlet form, to accompany copies of the map sold without legends pasted thereon. Of that issue of the map, which is the princeps, there is only one copy known. It is now on exhibition in the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library, and framed. This curious planisphere was discovered in the house of a curate, in Bavaria, fifty years ago, and purchased by the French government in 1844, for 4000 francs. JOMARD caused it to be reproduced in facsimile by an able Polish artist called E. REMBIELINSKI, but without two of the principal ornaments which are depicted between the horizon of the sphere and the edges of the map, and without the tabular legends. These legends were afterwards lithographed in facsimile by Jomard's son-in-law, Mr. BOSELLI, but for private distribution, while the map was made to form part of the *Monuments de la Géographie*, Paris, 1862, folio, plate xx.

2°. The issue made either in Antwerp, or in London (in supposing that the original plate was sent over from Belgium) in 1549. To this were added two tables of Latin legends only, copied from the Latin text of the legends in the edition of 1544, but divided into chapters, each with a heading, and printed in England. That is the edition "set out" by Clement ADAMS, described by CHYTRÆUS from a copy seen at Oxford, in 1565, and at London by Hakluyt, who mentioned it in 1584 and 1589.

<sup>1</sup> "Es tierra fertilissima ; ca Sebastiano Gaboto sembró cinquenta y dos granos de trigo en setiembre, y cogió cinquenta mil en diciembre." GOMARA, *Historia*

*de las Indias*, VEDIA'S Madrid edition, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> EDEN, *Decades*, fo. 256, marginal note.

3°. The issue made, again in 1549, at London, with the legends reprinted still under the supervision of Clement Adams, who, apparently on the advice of Sebastian Cabot, corrected a mistake in the same which had escaped them. That is, "1494" was altered into "1497" for the date of the discovery. The map which Hakluyt had in view in 1599, and to which Purchas also referred, in 1625, belonged to that supposed second issue of Adams, also dated 1549. No copy of any of these two is now known to exist.

## LXVII.

1547.

9th October.

## EXPENCES FOR BRINGING CABOT TO ENGLAND.

"Mr Peckham had Warrant for 100 *li* for the transporting of one Shabot (*sic*), a Pilot to come out of Hispain to serve and inhabit in England."

DASENT, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, London, 1890, vol. ii, p. 137.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxiv, p. 358.

## LXVIII.

1549.

2nd September.

## £100 PAID FOR CONDUCTING CABOT TO ENGLAND.

"Thexequer had warrant for Cli to Henry Oystryge by him taken up by Exchange for conducting of Sebastian Sabott (*sic*)."

DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 320.

*Cf.* this with the above document of October 9th, 1547, which it seems to complete.

## LXIX.

1549.

25th November.

## DISPATCH FROM THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS.

(Brit. Mus., Cottonian MSS. *Gabba B*, xii, fo. 124.)

Cl. HOOPER, in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, vol. i (1862), p. 125.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxiv A, p. 359.

This dispatch, which was first made known by Strype,<sup>1</sup> is from Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir Philip Hoby, English Ambassadors

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials*, vol. ii, p. 190?

to Charles V., who addressed it from Brussels to the Privy Council.

*Supra*, p. 322.

## LXX.

1549-50.

6th January.

ANNUAL PENSION OF £166, 13s., 4d., GRANTED BY EDWARD VI.  
FOR LIFE TO SEBASTIAN CABOTA.

In Latin :

HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, vol. iii, p. 10.

RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. vi, part iii, p. 170.

In English :

HAKLUYT, *loc. cit.*

## LXXI.

1549-50.

29th January.

ANSWER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO CHARLES V.

"Among the points raised by the Emperor's Ambassador: the return of Cabotte to the Emperor. To whom answer was made by the Lordes that of the matter of Cabott they would deliberate and make him answer with convenient speed."

DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 374.

## LXXII.

1550.

21st April.

ANSWER FROM CABOT TO CHARLES V.

(Brit. Mus., Harleyan MSS. 523, fo. 9.)

J. G. NICHOLS, *Literary remains of King Edward VI.* London, 1857, 4to, vol. i, p. 189, for a short abstract.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxiv, pp. 359-60, for the complete text taken from the original Harleyan MS.

## LXXIII.

1550.

4th June.

SEB. CABOT OBTAINS A COPY OF THE LETTERS PATENT OF 1496.

(Public Record Office. Patent Roll. Edw. VI. Part vi, m. 10.)

The document begins as follows :

"De constat pro	}	Rex omnibus ad quos &c.
J. Cabotto et aliis		Salutem.

Constat nobis per inspeccionem Rotulorum Cancellarie nostre quod dominus Henricus septimus nuper Rex Anglie auus noster precharissimus litteras suas patentes fieri fecit in hec verba :—Letter of constation. The King to all, &c., greeting. We have ascertained by an inspection of the records of our Chancery, that the lord Henry VII., formerly King of England, our very dear ancestor, has issued letters patent, the tenor of which is as follows :”

Then it recites *verbatim* and *literatim* the letters patent granted to John Cabotto and his sons on the 5th of March 1496 (*Supra*, No. 4). The only difference is in the date, which, here, instead of being “quinto die Marcij,” is “quinto die Aprilis.” The latter is an error on the part of the transcriber of the time of Edward VI., as we have ascertained from the original record of 1496.

This is followed by the following statement :

“Nos autem pro eo quod littere predictae casualiter sunt amisse prout prefatus Sebastianus coram nobis in Cancellariam nostram personaliter constitutus sacramentum prestitit corporale et quod ipse litteras illas si cas imposterum [*sic*] reperi contigerit nobis in eandem Cancellariam nostram restituit ibidem cancellandam tenorem irrotulamenti litterarum predictarum ad requisicionem eiusdem Sebastiani duximus exemplificandam per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras &c. T. R. apud Westmonasterium iij die Junii :—And whereas the aforesaid letters [patent] have been lost by accident, as the said Sebastian who came before us in person in our Chancery has declared on corporal oath, and that should they be found again he will return them to our Chancery to be put on record [filed?].

Now, we, by these presents, at the request of the said Sebastian, have deemed proper that the tenor of the said letters be copied.

In witness whereof, these our letters.

Witness the King, at Westminster the 4th day of June [in the 4th year of our reign].”

Document now first published.

*Supra*, pp. 146 and 323.

## LXXIV.

1550.

GRATUITY OF £200 FROM EDWARD VI. TO CABOT.

(Roy. 18 C. xxxiv, ff. 66 and 68.)

“An acquittance to the Treasurer and Barons of Thexcheker for the payment of diverse somes of monie by the counsailes warrant as followeth, from the feast of Easter ano 4 ed. vi until michalmas following” (fo 66, &c.).

To Sebastian Cabote icjli (*sic*) by way of the K.M. rewarde.”

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxiv c, p. 360.

## LXXIV. BIS.

1550.

26th June.

GRATUITY FROM EDWARD VI. OF £200 TO CABOT.

“A warrant to thexechequer to paie unto Sebastian Cabotto ccli by waie the kinges majesties rewarde.”

DASENT, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 55.

This mention and the preceding apparently refer to the same gratuity.

LXXV.

1551 (?).

March (?).

GRATUITY TO SEBASTIAN CABOT OF £200 GRANTED BY EDWARD VI.

STRYPE, *Memorials*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 76.

We have been unable to find traces of this gratuity, either in the acts of the Privy Council, or in any other public records; and are not convinced of Strype's accuracy in regard to the same. He assigns to it the date of "March 1551," and, after the name of Sebastian Cabot, adds, between brackets, "the great seaman," as a comment of his own.

LXXVI.

1551.

12th September.

DISPATCH FROM THE TEN TO GIACOMO SORANZO, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

(Venice, *Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti Segrete, Filza*, N. 8, 1551-4.)

In Italian :

BULLO, *op. cit.*, No. 13, p. 70.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxv, p. 361.

In English :

Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, vol. v, No. 711, p. 364.

LXXVI.

1551.

17th April.

CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

"Sebastiano Caboto de annuitate sua ad clxvi<sup>i</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iiiid per annum sibi debita pro quarterio anni finiti ad hoc festum Pasche, anno regis Ed. VI. quinto, receptis denariis per manus propria et per breve dominorum<sup>1</sup> xlii<sup>i</sup> xiii<sup>s</sup> iiiid.

(Tellers' Rolls, 100.)

Sebastian himself receives as one quarter of his pension of £166, 13s. d. per annum, £41, 13s. d.

The Tellers' Rolls for the four years preceding doubtless

<sup>1</sup> Viz. : "as appears by the accounts of the Exchequer."

exhibited entries exactly like the present, unfortunately they are wanting between Easter 1st of Edward VI. and Easter 4th and 5th. Such is probably the case for the Rolls from Easterday 1551 and the day of St Michael 1554.

We are indebted for this and the other extracts from the Tellers' Rolls, all of which now published for the first time, to M. OPPENHEIM, Esq., who kindly copied them at our request.

## LXXVII.

1551.

12th September.

DISPATCH FROM THE REV. PETER VANNES, ENGLISH AMBASSADOR AT VENICE.

Wm. B. TURNBULL, *Calendar, Foreign Series; Edward VI.*; London, 1861, p. 171; Sir Thomas HARDY, *Report on the Documents in the Archives and public libraries of Venice*; London, 1866, p. 8.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxvi, p. 362.

## LXXVIII.

1553.

9th May.

“ORDINANCES, INSTRUCTIONS, AND ADUERTISEMENTS OF AND FOR THE DIRECTION OF THE INTENDED VOYAGE FOR CATHAY, COMPILED, MADE AND DELIUERED BY THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL M. SEBASTIAN CABOTA ESQUIRE, GOVERNOUR OF THE MYSTERIE AND COMPANIE OF THE MARCHANTS ADUENTURERS . . . .”

HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, vol. i, p. 226. His text should be compared with the one mentioned by Mr. W. N. SANSBURY, *Calendar, Colonial*, vol. i, p. 3.

These ordinances and instructions are for the voyage of Willoughby and Chancelor.

*Supra*, p. 342-349.

## LXXIX.

1553.

9th September.

LETTER FROM CHARLES V. TO MARY TUDOR.

In French :

Cl. HOPPER, in the *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, vol. i (1862), p. 125.



*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxvi, pp. 362-363.

In English (extract):

W. B. TURNBULL, *Calendars, Foreign*, 1553-58, vol. i, No. 30, p. 10.

## LXXX.

1553.

15th November.

LETTER FROM SEBASTIAN CABOT TO CHARLES V.

(Simancas, *Estado. Correspond. de Inglaterra. Legajo 808.*)

In Spanish:

*Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, vol. iii (1843), p. 512.

*Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, Paris, 1890, No. 1, pp. 25-27.

*Supra*, p. 364-366.

## LXXXI.

1554.

16th February.

LETTER FROM CHARLES V. TO HIS SON PHILIP.

In Spanish:

*Coleccion de Documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, vol. iii, p. 511, and *Bullet. de Géogr. historique et descript.*, p. 32.

It contained a copy of the above cited letter of Cabot to the Emperor.

## LXXXII.

1554.

13th March.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM CHARLES V. TO PHILIP.

*Ibidem.*

## LXXXIII.

1555.

6th February.

PHILIP AND MARY INCORPORATE THE COMPANY OF MERCHANT ADVENTURERS, AND APPOINT SEBASTIAN CABOTA GOVERNOR OF THE SAME FOR LIFE.

HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, vol. iii.

LEMON, *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1547-80, vol. i, p. 65.

## LXXXIV.

1554.

29th September.

## CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

“Sebastiano Caboto armigero de annuitate sua ad centum marcas per annum sibi debitas pro dimidio anno finito in festo Sancti Michælis annis primo et secundo regnorum Ph. et Marie, receptis denariis per manus Thomæ Tyrrell £33, 6s. 8d.”

(Tellers' Rolls, 103.)

Sebastian Cabot receives by the hands of one Thomas TYRELL, £33, 6s. 8d., the same being one half of the annual pension of 100 marks granted to him, we do not know when, but dating necessarily so far back as March 25th, 1554, at least, and, consequently before Mary Tudor's marriage with Philip of Spain, which took place July 25th, 1554.

## LXXXIV.

1555.

27th November.

## PENSION OF 250 MARKS GRANTED BY QUEEN MARY TO CABOT.

In Latin :

RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. vi, part iv, p. 40.

## LXXXV.

Before 1556.

## ORIGINAL SPANISH TEXT OF CABOT'S ALLEGED METHOD FOR TAKING THE LONGITUDE AT SEA BY MEANS OF THE DECLINATION OF THE SUN.

“La quinta manera de dar la longitud por la declinacion q̄ el sol tiene de la Equinocial.

Esta manera de dar la longitud por la declinacion del sol dixo cierta persona a V. mt. dalla sebastian caboto piloto mior de su Magrt. en ynglaterra e yo dixee en breue a V. mt. quando lo supe la maña q̄ podria ser q̄ tuuiese para la dar por do V. mt. la noto con las otras mañas q̄ sean tenido para el dar de la longitud y assi me conuerna aqui tractar della largo como hago de todas las otras pues digo q̄ para saber tomar la diferencia de qualesquier lugares por muy apartados q̄ esten los vnos de los otros de oriente en occidente o al contrario, sea de considerar q̄ el sol dentro de vn ano poco mas anda su mouimio por todos los grados de los sinos del zodiaco por maña q̄ en vn mes poco mas o menos anda vn sino y a este respecto cada dia casi anda vn grado y porque el Zodiaco se aparta de la Equinocial tocandose con ella en dos puntos q̄ son los primeros minutos de los grados de los sinos de aries y de libra no tienen en ellos declinacion algune por q̄ declinacion no es otra cosa q̄ la distancia q̄ los grados ó estrellas o partes del cielo tienen de la linea Equinocial y assi los grados

del Zodiaco vienen a tener mas o menos declinacion segun el apartamio tienen de la linea hasta los primeros grados de los sinos de cancro y de capricornio que estan apartados por casi 23. grados y  $\frac{1}{2}$  de la Equinocial y este es el mior apartamio. q̄ el sol estando en ellos puede tener de la equinocial y assi terna tanto mas o menos segun por los grados en q̄ anduuiere y assi mismo se a de saber q̄ assi como cada grado del Zodiaco tiene su declinacion de la equinocial assi cada minuto de los .60. en q̄ esta repartido el grado la terna proporcionalmente, como si el primer minuto del primer grado de Ariete no tuuiese declinacion y el primer minuto del segundo grado del dho sino tuuiese .24. minutos de declinacion esto claro que estos .24. minutos se an de repartir por los .60. minutos q̄ el sol anduuo en todo aquel dia desde el vn minuto A otro y assi cabran (echada la quenta) a cada dos minutos y medio del grado vn minuto de declinacion. Pues presupuesto q̄ el sol entrese A .10. de marzo en el primer minuto del primer grado de ariete donde no tiene declinacion alguna y de alli por el monimio. Rapto fuese hasta .90. grados de longitud donde auria ya andado .19. minutas del dho grado y ternia alli de declinacion seis minutos, y como anduuiere de aquel Meridiano mas hacia poniente hasta aver andado .180. grados de longitud de Meridiano de sevilla auria andado .30. minutos del grado de Ariete y ternia de declinacion de la equinocial .12. minutos y andando mas hasta llegar al meridiano q̄ distase de senilla por .270. grados auria andado 49. minutos del dho. grado y ternia de declinacion .18. minutos. Por maña q̄ boliciendo el sol al Meridiano de sevilla auria andado segun el monimio Rapto .360. grados y .60. minutos q̄ contiene en el primer grado de ariete y terna de declinacion los .24. minutos q̄ arriba diximos y assi començaria A entrar en el primer minuto del segundo grado de ariete y assi hara su curso por los minutos del dho grado y conforme a su monimio y de su llegada a los meridianos ya dhos se sabra la declinacion q̄ tuuiere segun por lo q̄ avemos dho aunque la declinacion mientras mas se llegare el sol a los tropicos se va disminuyendo y la mior que puede tener de vn grado A otro es de .24. minutos y cerca de los tropicos y en ella todo el grado terna muy poca declinacion o ninguna entendido esto se a de hazer vn libro con sus tablas donde se a de poner la declinacion q̄ el sol tuuiere cada vn dia calculada para el Meridiano de sevilla por ser lugar de donde se comiença a hauer las nauegaciones para el poniente y septentrion y poco distante del de lisbona do se comiençan las q̄ van al medio dia y lebante y para harerse esto mas precisamente se a de saber la declinacion de cada minuto de grado por q̄ en los dichos minutos no corresponde la declinacion por igual como lo trae muy claro Ptolomeo en su almagesto donde avera a sacar estas declinaciones por arcos y cuerdas donde se vienen a causar angulos de posicion presupuesto q̄ se sepa muy bien la mior declinacion q̄ el sol puede tener y esta sabida muestra a saber las otras como por regla de tres diciendo si a tanto de arco correspondio tanto de cuerda o declinacion et tanto q̄ tanto correspondera y assi Ptolomeo en su tiempo saco las declinaciones q̄ el sol podia tener en todos los grados del zodiaco presupponiendo q̄ la mior declinacion era de 23 grados y 93. minutos y la q̄ agora traen los marineros se hizo conforme a .23. grados y 33. minutos y la q̄ hizo Oroncio en su libro es considerado q̄ es de 23. grados y 30. minutos y esta mior declinacion no tengo por muy cierta segun lo que Verniero dize aver hallado acerca della q̄ son 23. grados y 28 minutos y segun las consideraciones q̄ yo tengo hechas en sevilla con grados y muy precisos instrumentos q̄ es de 23 grados y 26 minutos y conforme e esta mior declinacion tengo hecho la del sol para del Meridiano de sevilla y para segun los pilotos se hallaran en otras partes pueden agnadir o quitar la declinacion para averiguar la que el sol alli podra tener la qual por no llebar precisamente puesta en los libros q̄ lleban el dia de oy causan gran hierro en las alturas q̄ toman porque con vn  $\frac{1}{2}$  de grado y mas que pueden herrar en la declinacion y otro tanto en el altura q̄ toman del sol se puede herrar casi vn grado de latitud q̄ es gran ynconveniente para yr en demanda de algun cabo o puerto. Dexado esto aparte y presupuesta toda precisio en lo dho conviene hazer vn instrum<sup>o</sup>. q̄ contenga .90. grados y q̄ cada grado este repartido en .60. minutos y este puede ser vn

quadrante de cuyo centro salga vna alhidada o regla como la del astrolabio con sus dos pinolas para poder por ellas tomar el altura del sol y saber la mior altura q̄ tiene quando esta en el tropico de cancro y la mior baxura quando esta en el tropico de capricornio y la media quando esta en la equinocial, por maña q̄ todos los grados intermedios sera declinacion q̄ el sol puede tener a vna parte y a otra de la equinocial y el vn lado deste quadrante a de estar sobre la tierra sin se acostar a vna parte ni a otra como lo pone Ptolomeo en su almagesto. Por maña q̄ sabida la declinacion q̄ el sol tiene en seuilla qualquier dia. y tomada la que pudiere tener en otra qualquier parte se podra saber la diferencia q̄ tienen los Meridianos de los dhos lugares entre si q̄ es lo mismo q̄ la longitud, y esto bastara para en quanto a lo que se podria desir della a vnque a mi me parece q̄ puede aver algunos ynconvinientes para que no se pueda saber por esta via el primero q̄ los pilotos, no podran obrar con el quadrante en las nãos assi por su grandeza porq̄ a de contener grados y minutos como porque requiere estar fixo para mejor poderse por el las consideraciones dhas lo qual no aura effecto por los grandes balances de los nauios. El otro ynconviniente q̄ no se podran en todo el año tomar bien las declinaciones del sol por q̄ como el anduuiese en los sinos de gemini y de cancro y en sagitario y capricornio casi no se puede tomar minuto de declinacion por la poca diferencia q̄ haze el sol de vn dia a otro estando en los d[e]los sinos."

Document now first published.

Copy kindly furnished at our request by Señor D. Manuel TAMAYO Y BAUS, Director of the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, from the original MS. of SANTA CRUZ, *Libro de Longitudes, y manera que hasta ahora se ha tenido en el arte de navegar, dedicado a Felipe II.*, preserved in that library (*A a*, 97).

In English :

*Supra*, pp. 302-306.

LXXXVI.

1555.

25th March.

CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

"Sebastiano Caboto armigero de annuitate sua ad centum marcas per annum sibi debitas pro dimidio anni finiti in festo Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis annis primo et secundo regnorum Philippi et Marie recepte denariis per manus Thome Tyrrell per breve dominorum £33, 6s. 8d."

(Tellers' Rolls, 103.)

Sebastian Cabot receives on the day of the Annunciation, by the hands of Thomas TYRRELL, one half of his pension of 100 marks per annum.

LXXXVI.

1556.

27th April.

STEPHEN BURROUGH'S ACCOUNT OF CABOT.

HAKLUYT, vol. i., p. 274, in "The Nauigation and discouerie toward the riuier of Ob, made by Master Steuen Burrough, Master of the Pinnesse called the Serchthrift."

## LXXXVII.

1555.

29th September.

## CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

"Sebastiano Caboto armigero de annuitate sua ad centum marcas per annum sibi debitas pro dimidio anni finiti in festo Sancti Michaelis annis secundo et iii regnorum Ph. et Marie receptis denariis per manus W<sup>m</sup> Worthington iiii xx iiii vjs viiid."

(Tellers' Rolls, 104.)

Sebastian Cabot receives on the day of St. Michael, by the hands of William WORTHINGTON, £83, 6s. 8d., which is neither the whole nor the half of the 100 marks mentioned in the body of the entry, but half of the £166, 13s. 4d. annual pension. This discrepancy we are unable to account for.

## LXXXVIII.

1555.

25th December.

## CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

"Sebastiano Caboto armigero de annuitate sua ad £166, 13s. 4d. per annum sibi concessas per litteras patentes ad terminam vite et debitas pro quarterio anni finiti in festo natalis Domini annis secundo et iii<sup>to</sup> regnorum Ph. et Marie receptis denariis per manus W<sup>m</sup>. Worthington armigeri et attorney sui, £41, 13s. 4d."

(Tellers' Rolls, 104.)

Sebastian Cabot receives on Christmas day, by the hands of William WORTHINGTON, his attorney, one quarter of his pension for life of £166, 13s. 4d.

## LXXXIX.

1556.

25th March.

## CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

"Sebastiano Caboto armigero de annuitate sua ad £166, 13s. 4d. per annum sibi concessas per litteras patentes ad terminum vite et debiti pro quarterio anni finiti in festo annunciationis beate Marie virginis annis secundo et iii<sup>to</sup> regnorum Ph. et Marie recepte denariis per manus W<sup>m</sup>. Worthington armigeri attorney sui."

(Tellers' Rolls, 104.)

Sebastian Cabot receives on the day of the Annunciation, by the hands of W<sup>m</sup>. WORTHINGTON, Esq., his attorney, one quarter of his annual pension for life of £166, 13s. 4d.

## XC.

1556.

24th June.

## CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

“Sebastiano Caboto armigero de annuitate sua ad £166, 13s. 4d. per annum sibi concessas per litteras patentes ad terminum vite noweak in festo nativitatibus Sancti Joahnnis Baptiste pro quarterio anni, annis secundo et iiiis regnorum Ph. et Marie recepte denariis per manus Thomæ Longworth servientis W<sup>m</sup>. Worthington.”

(Tellers' Rolls, 104.)

Cabot, by the hands of Thomas LONGWORTH, the servant of W<sup>m</sup>. WORTHINGTON, receives on the day of St. John the Baptist, one quarter of his pension of £166, 13s. 4d.

## XCI.

1556.

29th September and December 25th.

## CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

“. . . pro quarterio anni finiti in festo Sancti Michaelis arch., annis iii<sup>to</sup> et quarto regnorum Philippi et Marie . . . per manus W<sup>m</sup>. Worthington.

. . . pro quarterio anni finiti in festo natalis Dominum, annis iii<sup>to</sup> et quarto regnorum Ph. et Marie . . . per manus W<sup>m</sup>. Worthington.”

(Teller's Rolls, 105.)

On the day of St. Michael, and on Christmas day, Sebastian Cabot receives by the hands of William WORTHINGTON, one quarter of his pension of £166, 13s. 4d.

## XCII.

1557.

25th March, 24th June, 29th September.

## CABOT DRAWS HIS PENSION.

“Sebastiano Caboto armigero de annuitate sua ad £166, 13s. 4d. per annum sibi concessas per litteras patentes ad terminum vite et debitus pro quarterio anni finite in festo annunciacionis beate virginis annis iii<sup>to</sup> et iii<sup>to</sup> per manus proprias per breve Dominorum, £41, 13s. 4d.

*Id.* pro quarterio anni finiti in festo nativitatibus Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, annis ii<sup>to</sup> et iii<sup>to</sup> per manus W<sup>m</sup>. Worthington.

*Id.* pro quarterio anni finiti in festo Sancti Michaelis, annis iii<sup>to</sup> et v<sup>o</sup> per manus Thomæ Longworth.”

(Tellers' Rolls, 105 and 106.)

Sebastian Cabot, March 25th, 1557, receives in person, June 24th following, by the hands of WORTHINGTON, and September 29th following, by the hands of Thomas LONGWORTH (Worthington's servant), one quarter of his pension of £166, 13s. 4d.

## XCIII.

1557.

29th May.

## RETROCESSION OF CABOT'S PENSION OF 1555, AND NEW GRANT OF THE SAME TO CABOT AND WORTHINGTON JOINTLY.

In Latin :

RYMER, *Fœdera*, vol. vi, part iv, p. 55.

In English, as follows :

“The King and Queen to all whom [these present shall come send] greeting :

Know ye that by our letters patent dated Westminister, November 27th, the second and third years of our reign, by virtue of our special grace, certain knowledge, mere motion, and also in consideration of the good, true and acceptable service done and to be done unto us by our beloved servant Sebastian Caboto, esquire, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, have given and granted to the aforesaid Sebastian a certain annuity, or yearly revenue of one hundred, three score and six pounds, thirteen shillings, fourpence, lawful money of England.

The said Sebastian and his assigns to enjoy and receive the said annuity, or yearly revenue of £116, 13s. 4d. from the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary last past, for and during the term of the life of the said Sebastian, out of our Treasury, and out of the Treasury of our heirs and successors at the receipt of our Exchequer, and of the Exchequer of our heirs and successors, at the hands of our Treasurers and chamberlains there remaining for the time being.

The same to be paid annually by equal portions at the feasts of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, the Nativity of our Lord, and the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the first payment to be made at the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, just past, as will more fully appear from the said Letters Patent.

And whereas the said Sebastian Caboto has returned and retroceded the said Letters Patent to our Chancery to be recorded, and which are now recorded, as we are credibly informed, that we may deign give and grant other our Letters Patent relative to the said annuity, to the said Sebastian, and to our beloved servant William Worthington, Esquire, and the survivor of them.

Know ye, therefore, that in consideration of the above, and also in consideration of the good, true, and acceptable service done and to be done by our said beloved servants Sebastian Caboto and William Worthington, Esquires, by virtue of our special grace, certain knowledge, mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, for ourselves, our heirs, and successors of We, the said Queen, to the said Sebastian and William, and the survivor of them, the said annuity or yearly revenue of £166, 13s. 4d. in lawful English money.

The said Sebastian Caboto and William Worthington to enjoy and receive yearly the same annuity, or yearly revenue of £166, 13s. 4d., they and the survivor of them, their assigns, and the assigns of the survivor of them, from the feast day of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary last past, for the term and terms of the lives of the said Sebastian and William, and the survivor of them, payable annually by equal portions out of our Treasury, and out of the Treasury of our heirs and successors, of We, the said Queen, at the receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurer and chamberlains, and the treasurer and chamberlains of our heirs and successors, of We, the said Queen, there remaining for the time being, at the Feast of the Nativity

of St. John the Baptist, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, and that of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary.

Witness the King and Queen at Westminster on the 29th of May (1557)."

Document now first translated.

## XCIV.

1557.

25th December.

### WORTHINGTON DRAWS THE PENSION.

"William Worthington, armigero, de annuitate sua ad cclxviji xiiiiis iiij<sup>d</sup> per annum sibi debit pro quarterio anni finiti in festo natalis Domini annis iiij<sup>to</sup> et v<sup>o</sup> regnorum Ph. et Marie rege et regine recepte denariis per manus proprias per breve dominorum, xlj<sup>li</sup> xiiii<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>."

(Tellers' Rolls 106.

The importance of this entry lies in the fact that the name of Sebastian Cabot is no longer connected with this pension, and that William Worthington now receives it alone and in his own name. The inference is that either Cabot relinquished it (as in 1554-1555, but without compensation), or that he died between September 29th and December 25th, 1557.



## CONTEMPORARY HISTORIANS.

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XCV.

A

1515.

PETER MARTYR D'ANGHIERA.

*De orbe nouo Decades*; Alcalá, 1530, folio; Decad. iii, lib. vi, leaf xlvi; Decad. vii, lib. vii, leaf xcvi.

For extract in Latin of Decad. iii.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xix, pp. 335-36.

Also in English:

EDEN, *The Decades of the newe Worlde*; London, 1555, 4to, p. 119.

Decad. iii was written in 1515, but given to the printer only in October 1516, owing to the author's wish to insert news which he had just received and had been expecting.

It is also necessary to compare the lib. vi of Decad. iii, with RAMUSIO's Italian paraphrase, in his *Raccolta*, 1565, vol. iii, f<sup>o</sup>. 35.

B

1532.

JACOB ZIEGLER.

In the chapter *de Schondia*, f<sup>o</sup>. xcii, verso.

*Opera varia*, Strasburg, 1532, folio.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxi, pp. 339-40.

In English:

EDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

This account is said by ZIEGLER himself to have been borrowed

from PETER MARTYR, and is curious only on account of his calling Sebastian Cabot "Anthony," and of the remark which it prompted SANTA CRUZ to make in his *Islario* (MS., f<sup>o</sup>. 56, verso).

## C

About 1547.

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO.

*Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del mar Océano. Publicada la Real Academia de la Historia, cotejada con el códice original, enriquecida con las enmiendas y adiciones del autor.* Madrid, 1851-55. 4 vols. 4to.

Book xxiii, chap. ii, vol. ii, p. 169.

The following is the original text of the passage translated, *supra*, pp. 203 and 228-29.

"Armó quatro caravelas á costa de muchos cobdiçiosos, engañados de sus palabras y confiados de su cosmographia, . . . Pero porque de personas fidedignas, que en este viaje se hallaron é se les dá fé, yo fui informado, diré alguna cosa con brevedad de lo que entendí del camino, en espeçial, de Alonso de Sancta Cruz y del capitan N. de Rojas, que son hombres hijosdalgos, y de otras personas que le vieron : y diré lo que comprendí, si lo supe entender, en lo que toca á la verdadera relacion de la historia y camino, ques lo que haçe al propósito del lector y mio. Y no curaré de las passiones particulares, aunque ví quejosos de la persona é negligencia de Sebastian Gaboto en las cosas desta su empresa, puesto que buena persona é diestro en su officio de la cosmographia y de haçer una carta universal de todo el orbe en plano ó en un cuerpo esférico ; pero otra cosa es mandar y gobernar gente que apuntar un quadrante o estrolabio."

It was by the order of Charles V., who had appointed him, we do not know exactly when, Royal Chronicler of the Indies, that OVIEDO wrote his "General History." If we judge from the petition which he addressed to the government in 1532 (MUÑOZ MSS., vol. lxxv, f<sup>o</sup>. 78 n.), the first nineteen books had then already been written out ; but they were not published until 1535. That first instalment extends only to the year 1527, and does not mention Sebastian Cabot.<sup>1</sup> It is only in the books which remained in MS. after his death, and were not published before 1852, that his name begins to appear.

OVIEDO may have known Cabot so early as his arrival in the Peninsula in 1512. But it is in the course of the twelve visits which he paid to Spain, between 1514, when Ferdinand appointed him to an important office in America, to the time of his death, which occurred on the 27th of June 1557,<sup>2</sup> at Santo Domingo,

<sup>1</sup> Yet, OVIEDO refers, lib. vi, caps. xxxv, xlii, lib. xx. cap. 1, to the rio de la Plata, and even to Pedro de MENDOÇA and Diego de ORDAZ, but he added those details to his MS. of the *Historia*

*General*, after the edition of 1535 had been published.

<sup>2</sup> E. TEJERA, *El Telefono*, No. of July 19th, 189x.

and not in Valladolid as it is generally believed, that he must have acquired the personal details set forth in the parts of his *Historia* which extend to the year 1548, and terminate what we possess of that work.

## D

Before 1548.

GIO.-BATTISTA RAMUSIO.

Particularly the account of the "Mantuan Gentleman."

In Italian :

RAMUSIO ; *Raccolta*, edition of 1550, f<sup>o</sup> 415 ; of 1563, vol. i, f<sup>o</sup>. 374 ; vol. iii, preface, vers of f<sup>o</sup>. 4.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xx, pp. 336-338.

In English :

EDEN, *The decades of the newe worlde*, f<sup>o</sup>. 255.

HAKLUYT (not from RAMUSIO, notwithstanding his marginal note ; but borrowed from EDEN), under the title of "A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discovery of part of the West India out of England in the time of King Henry the Seventh, vsed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Pope's Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate."

The statements contained in that *Discourse* are so important, that we have taken pains to ascertain whether the attribution to Galeazzo Bottrigari is correct.

First, as to the time when the conversation with Sebastian Cabot took place. It must have been before 1548, as it was in Spain, and Cabot left the country, never to return, at the end of 1547, or beginning of 1548. On the other hand, the language attributed to him, implies that he met his interlocutor long after the exploration of La Plata. "I found," said he, "an exceeding great and large river named at this present Rio de la plata . . . After this, I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue myselfe to rest from such trauels." We infer therefore that the conversation with Cabot was held not long before he removed to England.

We were in hopes to obtain a more precise date by the mention of Ramusio that the great architect Michele DA SAN MICHELE was present at the interview, and the statement so often printed that he died in 1549. Unfortunately the latter date is erroneous, as Michele's will is dated April 29th, 1559 (TEMANZA, *Vite*, 1778, p. 192).

Now let us examine the alleged interlocutor. Galeazzo Bottrigari, or Butrigario, was born in Bologna in 1476. He appears in documents, for the first time, under the date of October 1502,

as secretary to Cardinal Giovanni Bentivoglio, and is mentioned then as "huomo zovene, savio, et una lengua dignissima:—a young man, learned, and very eloquent." (SANUTO, *Diarii*, vol. iv, col. 377.)

In November 1503, "Galeatius de Butrigeriis clericus Bononiensis," figures among the attendants of Cardinal François Desprats, at the conclave where Julius II. was elected pope (BURCHARD, *Diarium*, vol. iii, p. 302).

We are told that in the letters of Cardinal Ximenes mention is made of "Micer Galeazo, como Nuncio, 1509" (DE LA FUENTE, *Historia ecclesiastica de España*; Madrid, 1875, vol. vi, p. 448). That "Galeazo" is evidently our Butrigario; but modern Spanish writers on history are, as a rule, so superficial and unreliable, that we place no confidence in the unsupported statement of Señor La Fuente. At all events, the only mention of the kind which we ever could find in the letters of Cardinal Ximenez, is dated "Alcala, 1, de Enero 1514" (*Epistolario Español*; Madrid, 1870, vol. ii, p. 236, Epist. xxxix). This tallies with Peter Martyr's letter of "x Calend. Januarii MDXIV," where he relates the arrival of Bottrigari at the Court of Spain, in these words:

"A Pontifice VIII. die hujus mensis Januarii Curiam ingressus est ad Regem nuncius Galeatius Butrigarius, vir Bononiensis, egregium quippe et literis, et animi bonitate pollens, nobili ortus familia (*Epist.* DXXXV, p. 293)."

See also his reference to "Galeatius Butrigarius of Bononie who came to the catholyke Kynge of Spayne of youre holines (Julius II., in *Decad.* ii, book 1, which was completed in 1514)."

March 6th, 1515, Butrigario received a prebend from Leo X., but no other title is given to him, then, than "clerico Bononiensi Utriusque Juris Doctori et archicancellarie Romane Curie correctori:—Bolognese clerk [*i.e.*, ecclesiastic], doctor of both Laws [Civil and Canon], and corrector of the Roman Arch-Chancery" (HERGENROETHER, *Leonis X Pontificis Maximi Regesta*; Frib. Brig., 1891, fasc. vii–viii, p. 42). In the index to vol. xxi, col. 522, of Sanuto's *Diarii*, Butrigario is called "Vescovo e nuncio del Papa in Spagna"; yet the passage referred to, which is a letter from Avignon, dated February 5th, 1515 (1516), mentioning the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, does not speak of Butrigario either by name, or as having then been a bishop. In fact, he was not appointed to that dignity until December 10th, 1518, when Leo X. conferred on him the see of Cafazzo (GAMS, p. 863); but he died before the news reached him (UGHELLI, *Italia Sacra*, 1717, vol. i, col. 543), at the age of forty-one years and ten months ("vixit annos xli. mens. x;" epitaph in the Church of St. Francesco, in Bologna, *apud* UGHELLI, vol. vi, col. 452). Galeazzo Butrigario therefore, is not the interlocutor in the conversation with Cabot reported by Ramusio.

In fine, Hakluyt's attribution of the account to the Bologna prelate is simply borrowed from EDEN'S *Discourse of dyvers voyages*, whilst under the latter's pen, it is a gratuitous inference from the remark of Peter Martyr (*Decad.* ii, book i, f<sup>o</sup>. 25) translated by him, that Galeazzo Botrigari was the Pope's legate, and taking an interest in geography.

Marco FOSCARINI (MS. No. 6142, of the Vienna Imperial Library, cited by Mr. BULLO, *op. cit.*, p. 28) attributes the account to a gentleman from Mantua, called Giangiacomo BARDOLO. This we believe to be also a gratuitous inference from the fact that GIUNTI (RAMUSIO, *Raccolta*, ed. of 1613) calls him a Mantuan, and that one of the imaginary interlocutors of the dialogue *Naugerius sive de Poetica*, dedicated by Fracastor to Ramusio (FRACASTOR, *Opera omnia*, Venet., 1584, 4to, p. 112), is designated under the names of "Joannes Jacobus Bardulo, Mantuanus civis."

Be that as it may, for the sake of brevity, we call him "The Mantuan Gentleman."

## E

Before 1551.

LIVIO SANUTO.

*Geografia distinta in xii libri.* Vinegia, D. Zenaro, 1588, folio. Lib. 1, f<sup>o</sup>. 2, recto.

In English :

*Supra*, p. 289-291.

This work was not published in SANUTO'S lifetime. The date of his death is unknown, but we suppose that it took place not long after the publication of his versified translation of Claudianus, *De raptu Proserpinae* (*La rapina di Proserpina*, Vinegia, 1551, 8vo), which is apparently the last of his works printed while he was yet living. On the other hand, EDWARD VI., who is made to figure as king in the account furnished to Sanuto by Guido GIANNETI DA FANO, and repeated by Bartolomeo COMPAGNI, had been on the throne since 1547, but as at the latter date he had only attained the age of ten, whilst Cabot did not arrive in England until the following year, the date of Sanuto's statements cannot be given in a more precise form than "between 1548 and 1551."

We have been unable to ascertain anything relative either to Gianneti, or to Compagni. But BIDDLE (p. 30), and Mr. DEANE (p. 41) are mistaken when the first states that Gianneti was "ambassador at London," and when the second gives to understand that Compagni was "Venetian ambassador there resident." The only ambassadors of Venice in England, from the time of Cabot's final return to the latter country until his death, were Domenico Bollani (1547-1549), Daniele Barbaro (1549-1551),

Giacomo Soranzo (1551-1554), and Giovanni Michiel (1554-1557), who was the last ambassador Venice sent to England until 1602.

## F

1552.

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA.

*Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia General de las Indias*; Caragoça, 1552, fol., part i, cap. "de los Baccalaos."

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxii, p. 341.

In English :

EDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 317 ; ARBER'S edit., p. 343.

The only detail to be noted in that short account, is the phrase : "camino la vuelta de Islandia sobre cabo del Labrador y hasta se poner en cincuenta y ocho grados. Aunque él dice mucho mas :—He went in the direction of Iceland to the Cape of Labrador, reaching 58°, *although he says much more.*"

GOMARA doubtless knew Sebastian Gabot personally, as in the capacity of Fernando Cortès's secretary,<sup>1</sup> he frequented the Court of Charles V. from 1540 until 1546.

## G

Before 1557.

ANTONIO GALVAM.

*Trutado que compôs os nobre e notauel capitano Antonio Galvão* . . . Lisboa, Joao de Barriera, 1563, 12°. Hakluyt Soc. reprint.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxiii, p. 342.

In English :

HAKLUYT, *The discoveries of the world, from their first originall unto the yeere of our Lord 1555. Briefly written in the Portuguese tongue by Antonio Galvano* . . . London, 1601, 4to.

## H

Before 1558.

ANDRÉ THEVET.

*Le grand Insulaire et Pilotage d'André Theuet Angoumoisain Cosmographe de Roy* (MS. Paris National Library, *Fonds Français*, No. 15,452, vol. i, f<sup>o</sup>. 143).

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxv, p. 343.

<sup>1</sup> "Siendo su capellan y criado [de Cortès] despues de Marqués, quando volvió la postrera vez á España." LAS

CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, Book iii, chap. cxiv, vol. iv, p. 448.

See also :

*Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique autrement nommée Amérique, et de plusieurs terres et isles découvertes de nostre temps.* Paris, chez les héritiers de Maurice de la Porte, 1558, 4to.

Chapter lxxiv, f<sup>o</sup>. 148.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 344.

In English :

*The New found worlde, or Antarctike, wherein is contained wōderful and strange things, as well as humaine creatures, as Beastes, Fishes, Foules, and Serpents, Trees, Plants, Mines of Golde and Siluer: garnished with many learned aucthorities, trauallyed and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man master Andrevve Thevet. And now newoly translated into Englishe, wherein is reformed the errours of the auncient Cosmographers.*

Imprinted at London, by Henrie Bynneman for Thomas Hacket, 1568, 4to.

*Cosmographie Universelle* ; Paris, 1575, folio ; Book xxiii, f<sup>o</sup>. 1022.

THEVET is said to have left a *Histoire naturelle et générale des Indes Occidentales*, yet existing in MS., which may contain additional statements concerning "Sebastian Babate," as he calls Cabot.

## I

1559.

LANQUET—COOPER—CROWLEY.

*An Epitome of cronicles. Conteyninge the whole discourse of the histories as well of this realme of England as all other countreys, gathered out of most probable auctours. Firste by Thomas LANQUET, from the beginning of the worlde to the incarnation of Christe, Secondely, to the reigne of our soueraigne lord King Edward the sixt by Thomas COOPER, and thirdly to the reigne of our soueraigne Ladye Quene Elizabeth, by Robert CROWLEY. Anno 1559, Londini. In adibus Thomæ Marshe.*

Imprinted at London by William Seres . . . 1559. 4to.

See *sub anno* 1552.

This is not the first edition, but as LANQUET died in 1545, there could be no mention of Cabot, in connection with Willoughby's voyage. In the editions of 1560 and 1565, we read only: "Sebastian Cabot born in Bristoll," and the words: "Genoways sonne" are omitted.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxvii A, pp. 363-4.

## J

1568-1569.

RICHARD GRAFTON.

*A Chronicle at large and meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same, deduced from the creation of the worlde, and so by contynuaunce unto the first yere of the reigne of our queene Elizabeth.*

London, Denham, 1568 and 1569, 2 vols. folio.

Vol. ii, p. 1323. In ELLIS'S edition, London, 1809, 4to, vol. ii, p. 532. The passage concerning Cabot is also to be found in the *Abridgments* which Grafton published from 1563 till 1572; see the edition of 1571, fo. 174, recto and verso. But he omits to speak of him in his continuation of Hardyng's Chronicle.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxvii B, p. 364.

## K

1576.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

*A Discourse Of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia. Written by Sir Hvmfrey Gilbert, Knight.*

*Imprinted at London by Henry Middleton, for Richarde Ihones. Anno Domini, 1576. Aprilis, 12. 4to.*

See in leaf signed D iii.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxiv, p. 343.

GILBERT'S sole authorities for his statements are the Cabotian planisphere, either of 1544 or 1549, and Ramusio, to whom he refers in the margin: "Written in the Discourses of Navigation."

The *Discourse* of Gilbert was written so early, at least, as 1566.

## L

1577.

RALPH HOLINSHED.

*The Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Irelande, by Raphael Holinshed.*

London, for George Bishop, 1577, 2 vols. folio.

See vol. ii, p. 1714.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxvii C, p. 365.



## M

1580.

JOHN STOW.

*The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ 1580 collected by Iohn Stowe citizen of London.*

*Printed at London by Ralphe Newberie, at the assignement of Henrie Bynneman cum privilegio regia Maiestatis. 4to.*

Page 872, close to the marginal note *anno reg.* 14, and p. 875, *Id.*, p. 1057. Edit. of 1605, p. 804; 1631, p. 477, where, owing to a printer's mistake, the date of 1489 is given instead of 1498. The passage concerning Cabot is not to be found in any of the *Summaries* which Stow commenced publishing in 1561. It appears for the first time in the edition of 1580.

*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. vi B, p. 317; xiv, p. 330; xxxvii D, p. 365.



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This is the controversial twin volume mentioned on page 8.

Mr. Coote discovered in the Library of the British Museum one of the only two known copies in Flemish (Antwerp, 1508) of the book he so ably edited, and in which the name of Albericus as the author is definitely mentioned. It bears as its title, "*The Voyage from Lisbon to sail unto the island of Nagore which lieth in Great India, beyond Calicut and Cochin, wherein is the staple of the spices. Wondrous things befell us therein, and we beheld much, as hereinafter is described. This said voyage was undertaken by the will and command of Emanuel, the most serene King of Portugal.*"

Mr. Harrisse discovered in the Bavarian Library at Munich the unique copy in German (Augsburg, 1509) of the sea voyage by Balthasar Sprenger. Its full title is, "*The Sea Voyage, new navigation and ascertained route towards many unknown Islands and Kingdoms of the Mighty Portuguese King Emanuel, explored, found, warred against and conquered. Also, the astonishing fights, organization, life, customs and wonderful works of the people of Thyre thou wilt find in this little book, truly described and reproduced, such as I, myself, Balthasar Sprenger, have seen and ascertained, etc.*"

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