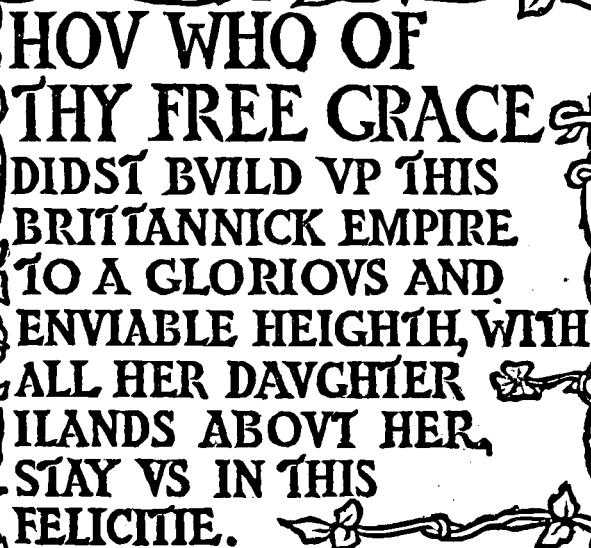


BUILDERS OF GREATER BRITAIN.



JOHN AND
SEBASTIAN
CABOT

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY

A decorative border of intricate floral and vine patterns surrounds the text. The border features various flowers, leaves, and scrolling vines, creating a rich, textured frame.

HOV WHO OF
THY FREE GRACE
DIDST BVILD VP THIS
BRITANNICK EMPIRE
TO A GLORIOVS AND
ENVIABLE HEIGHTH, WITH
ALL HER DAUGHTER
ILANDS ABOVT HER,
STAY VS IN THIS
FELICITIE.

MILTON.



BUILDERS OF GREATER BRITAIN

EDITED BY H. F. WILSON, M.A.

Barrister-at-Law

Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge

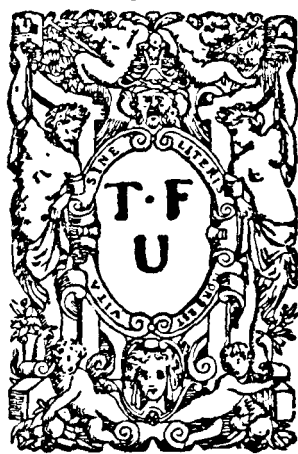


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Builders
of
Greater Britain

JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT





EFFIGIES SEBASTIANI CABOTI
ANGLIE FILII ET JOHANNIS CABOTI FRATRIS
TI MILITIS AVENTURI PRIMI IN ET
ORIENTIS PERA NOVAE SVB REGNO GEORGI
VI. REGIS

SPES MEA IN DEO EST

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT

THE DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA

BY

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY

M.A., F.R.G.S., FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

AUTHOR OF

"PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR"

"THE DAWN OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY"

With Photogravure Frontispiece and Maps

LONDON

T. FISHER UNWIN
PATERNOSTER SQUARE

MDCCCXCVIII

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P R E F A C E

A GOOD many volumes and essays have already appeared upon the subject of the Cabot voyages; the details of these ventures have already been studied with the greatest minuteness; and perhaps no events in the history of exploration have been the cause of more perplexing and voluminous controversy. Since the modern Cabot literature began with the appearance of R. Biddle's (American) Memoir in 1831, the educated opinion both of Europe and America has been changed in several important respects. It is no longer possible to speak (with Burke) of Sebastian Cabot as the discoverer of Newfoundland, to the exclusion of his father; it is no longer possible to exult with Biddle and Nicholls over Sebastian's extraordinary purity of motive and elevation of character. On the other hand, a distinguished scholar has laboured to prove, not merely that

the well-praised Sebastian, being a man and not a demigod, had his full share of human feelings, but that among all the treacherous intriguers and self-advertising nonentities of old time there is no figure more disreputable than that of John Cabot's more famous son. In this statement of the case, few we imagine will be found to support M. Harrisse without qualification ; but no one can work at any part of the story of the great age of discovery without admiring and profiting by the admirable industry and close argument of this eminent student.

The simple facts, so far as they are yet recovered, present us with two Italians of great ability,—not unlike Columbus, perhaps still more like Verrazano, in their careers,—who played an important part (like so many others of their countrymen) in the expansion of Europe and Christendom at the end of the Middle Ages. Whatever we may say of Sebastian the son, John Cabot the father certainly gave England her “title” in the New World, by his discoveries of 1497 and 1498. Again, whatever may be said to Sebastian's discredit in other matters, he certainly took an important share in bringing about that voyage of 1553 which opened the

Russian trade by means of the White Sea, gave our merchants their first glimpse of Persia and Central Asia, and was at least one starting point of the Elizabethan revival of trade, discovery, and colonial extension. Of John Cabot we know nothing that is not honourable ; the modern researches in Italian and English archives have "bettered" his reputation more than that of almost any other navigator of the time ; there are few, indeed, among the more shadowy great men of the Tudor age who have won so much from nineteenth-century study. By the necessity of the case the son has lost where the father has gained ; Sebastian's position in the sixteenth century was largely manufactured out of exploits which really belonged to his father ; and as the true proportion has been recovered, the heroic ideal of Peter Martyr and Ramusio has become unrecognisable. Much of the "Sebastianised" history of the early annalists may have been due to their confusion rather than to his misdirection ; but if he had always fairly recognised his father's part and mentioned his father's name, we could not have had such a picture of the first Cabot voyages as is painted for us by the chroniclers

in Chapter V. of this volume. Beyond doubt, Sebastian Cabot allowed his father to be defrauded in silence of much of the credit that was justly his ; beyond doubt also Sebastian had small scruple about the Government he served, or the way in which he was prepared to transfer his services. Yet both he and his father did something towards the creation of Greater Britain, and no list of its "Builders" could be complete without a mention of both names. For if only from the fact that Sebastian's life-work is to a great extent inseparable from John's, and that the one is in so many respects the complement of the other, we must join with the discoverer of "Canada" that other figure, so much more fully known to history, in all its weaknesses, the friend of Eden and of Burrough, the first Governor of our Incorporated Company of Merchant Adventurers or of Muscovy.

In preparing this volume, I have had the invaluable advice of Mr. C. H. Coote of the Map Department in the British Museum, who has read all the manuscript, and made many suggestions. His views, it must be said, differ from those expressed here on the birthplace of

Sebastian Cabot, and the part of North America represented in the map of Juan de la Cosa. Among modern writings those of M. HARRISSE have been found most helpful ; his French and English Cabot volumes of 1882 and of 1896 contain the best (though often highly controversial) treatment as yet attempted of this subject ; the studies of Deane, Dawson, Tarducci, Desimoni, and Coote (in the "Dictionary of National Biography") may perhaps be considered as next in value to the work of M. HARRISSE ; a full list of Cabot literature will be found in the two Appendices to this volume.

One great defect, however, as it seems to me, may be noticed in almost all treatises on this question ; and that is in the usual handling of the evidence. Nowhere, as far as I know, have the leading documents as a whole been presented to the reader as the backbone of the *narrative* ;¹ yet nowhere is a general and accurate view of the small mass of first-hand testimony more essential than in the Cabot controversy. This

¹ M. HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, gives them, not in the history and biography, but (with a vast mass of collateral evidence) in what is really a "Mémoire pour servir."

accordingly has been made the leading feature of the present study. For however much our views may differ on disputable points, all alike must reckon with the original records and start from them; sometimes it appears hopeless to reconcile the discrepancies that confront us, and we must be content with registering the evidence—carefully excluding from our text, except for purposes of illustration, all second-hand and late testimony, and trusting to future discoveries to clear up some at least of those points which still remain ambiguous.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD,

February, 1898.

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APPENDICES



APPENDIX I.

DOCUMENTS MAINLY ILLUSTRATING THE ENGLISH
CAREER OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT.

*N.B.—Documents relating solely to the foreign life of the
Cabots are in square brackets.*

1476. I. [The order for John Cabot's naturalisation as a Venetian citizen, granted on March 28, 1476, in the Doge-ship of Andrea Vendramin. By this the privilege of citizenship 'within and without' is bestowed on the said John in consideration of fifteen years of residence.

'Quod fiat privilegium civilitatis de intus et extra Ioani Caboto per habitationem annorum xv., juxta consuetum. De Parte (= Ayes), 149; De Non

(= Noes), o; Non Sinceri (= Neutrals), o.'

See Rawdon Brown, Venetian Calendar State Papers, vol. i., No. 453. Original in the Senatorial Registers, entitled *Terra*, for A.D. 1473-77, vol. vii., fol. 109.

See text of this vol., p. 34.]

1472-6. 2. [Decree of Doge Nicolao Trono, of August 11, 1472, and consequent grant to Cabot, &c. Original in series of records entitled *Privilegii*, dealing with years 1425-1562, vol. ii., fol. 53. See p. 35 of this vol.]

1496. 3. The petition of John Cabot, and of Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancto his sons, delivered on March 5, 1496, and answered by the First Letters Patent, granted to the Cabots by Henry VII.

Both (a) the Petition and (β) the Letters Patent are in the Public Record Office, London, viz. —

(a) Privy Seals and Chancery Signed Bill, 11 Henry VII., No. 51, 7th fol. in packet.

(β) French Roll, 11 Henry VII., membrane 23 (8).

(β) is reprinted in Rymer's 'Fœdera,'

ed. of 1741, vol. v., part iv., p. 89; in Hakluyt's 'Divers Voyages,' and 'Principal Navigations' (see the latter, iii. 4, in ed. of 1598-1600); in Desimoni's 'Intorno a Giovanni Caboto,' p. 47; and in some other collections. An English version in Hakluyt (as above); also in Nicholls, Bristol, iii., 294, and elsewhere. See text of this vol., p. 48, &c. The date (March 5, 1496) is not that of the petition itself, but only of the delivery, and of the grant following thereon.

1496. 4. The despatch of March 28, 1496, from the Spanish sovereigns to Ruy Gonçales de Puebla, Senior Ambassador of their Majesties in England.

This, as already noticed, replies, among other things, to a letter from Puebla of January 21, 1496, now lost, but which evidently gave notice of John Cabot's projects and compared them to those of Columbus.

See Bergenroth, Spanish Calendar, i. pp. 88-9, No. 128; text of this vol., p. 51, &c. Original at Simancas, Capitulaciones con Inglaterra Leg., 2, fol. 16.

1497. 5. The grant of £10 from Henry VII. to

'him that found the new isle.' Dated August 10, 1497 (British Museum Additional MSS., 7099, fol. 41; copy by Craven Orde of original entry in Remembrancer Office). This fixes, more nearly than any other record yet known, the exact time of John Cabot's return from his first voyage. See text of this vol., pp. 55, 92.

1497. 6. The letter of Lorenzo Pasqualigo, in London, to his father and brothers in Venice (August 23, 1497), describing John Cabot's first voyage. Here the duration of the voyage is stated at three months.

See Rawdon Brown, *Venetian Calendar*, vol. i., p. 262, No. 752; and text of this vol., p. 60, &c. (Original in Marin Sanuto's *Diarii* in Marciana Library at Venice; printed at Venice 1879, vol. i. pp. 806-8.)

1497. 7. The Despatch of August 24, 1497, from Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.

See Rawdon Brown, *Venetian Calendar*, vol. i., p. 260, No. 750;¹ and text of

¹ HARRISSE misprints, 759.

this vol., p. 62. (Original in Archives of the Sforzas, Milan.)

1497. 8. The pension-grant of £20 a year from King Henry VII. to John Cabot, dated December 13, 1497. The order is addressed to Cardinal Morton as Chancellor, and was sealed on January 28, 1497.

In Public Record Office, London, Privy Seals, December 13, 13 Henry VII., No. 40, fol. 22.

'The text of this was first made known by Mr. Deane, who printed it in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," iii. 56' (Winship). See pp. 92-3 of this vol.

1497. 9. The Despatch of December 18, 1497, from Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan.

In State Archives, Milan, Potenze Estere, Inghilterra, December, 1497. First published in 'Annuario Scientifico' for 1865, Milan, 1866, p. 700. A careful English version, revised by Prof. B. H. Nash, in Winsor (Deane), 'Narrative and Critical History of America,' iii. 54-5. See text of this vol., p. 62, &c.

1498. 10. The new (second) Letters Patent of February 3, 1498, granted by Henry VII. to John Cabot alone, without mention of his sons.

Latin text in Public Record Office, London, French Roll, 13 Henry VII., No. 439, membrane 1. First printed by HARRISSE, 1896, p. 393. A contemporary English version of the same, which is referred to by Hakluyt, is also in P.R.O. Chancery Signed Bill, 13 Henry VII., No. 6 (5th in packet). This is used in text, pp. 95-6. The value of this translation was first pointed out in modern times, by BIDDLE (Memoir of 1831, pp. 74-5). A 'revised text' is given in Desimoni, 'Intorno,' 56-7. Hakluyt quotes under this form: 'The King upon the 3rd day of February,' &c.; he prints in his 'Principal Navigations,' as early as 1589, the Rolls Office Memorandum of this license. See text of this vol., pp. 92, 95.

The Latin reads as follows: 'D licencia Caboto. R[ex] omnibus, etc. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac certis consideracionibus nos specialiter moventibus dedimus ac concessimus . . .

Johanni Caboto Veneciano . . . quod ipse . . . sex naves . . . portagii ducentorum doliorum vel infra . . . pro salvo conductu earundem navium ad libitum suum capiendi et providendi navesque illas ad terram et insulas per ipsum Johannem nuperrime inventas conducendi solvendo pro eisdem navibus et earum quæbet tantum quantum nos solveremus et non ultra si pro nostro negocio captæ fuissent . . . Et quod idem Johannes . . . omnes et singulos marinarios magistros pagettos ac subditos nostros . . . qui . . . usque terram et insulas predictas transire . . . voluerint . . . recipere possit. . . .’

1498. 11. The authorisation for the immediate payment of John Cabot’s pension of £20 first granted on December 13, 1497 (see above p. 269), which had been delayed. In Public Record Office, Warrants for Issues 13 Henry VII., February 22, 1498 (8th in packet). See p. 93 of this vol.

1498. 12. Memorandum of a Loan of £20 from the King (Henry VII.) to Lanslot or Launcelot Thirkill of London; ‘going towards the new island,’ probably with

John Cabot, dated March 22 [1498].- Also of another loan of £30, on April 1, 1498, to Thomas Bradley and Launcelot^r Thirkill 'going to the new isle' [apparently one grant of £30 to the two adventurers, not two grants as M. HARRISSE has understood].

And of a third grant of 40 shillings and 5 pence [not £40 5s. od. as given by M. HARRISSE] to John Carter 'going to the new isle.'

B. Mus. Addit. MSS. 7099, fol. 45.

With these may be connected the entry of June 6, 1501, in B. Mus. Addit. MSS. 21,480, fol. 35, which states that Launcelot Thirkill was then 'bound in two obligations to pay at Whitsunday next coming £20, and that day twelvemonth 40 marks for livery of Flemings' lands.' In this bond he is associated with Thomas Par, Walter Stickland, and Thomas Mydelton, who perhaps were his securities. If we can be sure that Thirkill went with Cabot in 1498, this would show that he had returned safely from this voyage, like his commander. See pp. 102, 109 of this vol.

Not Thomas Thirkill as given by HARRISSE.

1498. 13. Despatch from Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella, undated, but probably written about 25th July, 1498, warning them of the start of the second Cabot expedition. In Archives of Simancas, Patronato real. Capitulaciones con Inglaterra, Leg. 2, fol. 198. Copy in Public Record Office, London. See text of this vol., p. 100.
1498. 14. Despatch of July 25, 1498, from Pedro d'Ayala to the Spanish Sovereigns, about same expedition. Original in Simancas Archives, Estado, Tratado con Inglaterra Legajo 2. Translated in Bergenroth, Spanish Calendar, i. pp. 176-7, No. 210, with omission of one clause, *re* Treaty of Tordesillas ('the convention with Portugal') which is supplied by M. Harrisse, p. 396 of his book on the Cabots [1896]. Copy in Public Record Office, London. See text of this vol., p. 101.
1499. 15. The newly discovered memorandum in the Westminster Chapter Archives (Chapter Muniments, 12,243). Endorsed: Bristolle the Acompts of the Custymers Entry No. 2. Bristoll. Arturus Kemys et Ricardus A. Meryk Collectores

APPENDICES

customarum et subsidiorum regis ibidem
a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli Anno
xiiij^{mo} Regis nunc usque idem festum
Sancti Michaelis tunc proximo sequens
reddunt computum de £ MCCIIij ij ſi
vii^s xj^d ob

De quibus

Etiam in thesauro in una tallia pro
Thoma Lovell, milite ... C ſi
Etiam in thesauro in una tallia pro
Johanne Cabot xx ſi

Entry No. 3. Bristoll. Arturus
Kemys et Ricardus Ap Meryke Collec-
tores customarum et subsidiorum Regis
ibidem a festo Sancti Michaelis Arch-
angeli anno xiiii^{mo} Regis nunc usque
idem festum Sancti Michaelis tunc
proximo sequens reddunt computum de
£ MCCCCXXIIij ſi vii x^d quadr.

De quibus

Etiam in thesauro in una tallia pro
Johanne Heron ... xiiij ſi vii^s viij^d
Etiam in thesauro in una tallia pro
Johanne Cabot xx ſi

This, as already noticed, apparently
proves that John Cabot was alive in the

autumn of 1499, that he had returned from his voyage of 1498, and was drawing his pension a year after our previous knowledge lost sight of him. The memorandum here quoted was discovered by Mr. E. J. L. Scott, Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, in the Chapter Muniments at Westminster, in the course of the year 1897; it was verified as an entirely new document by Mr. C. H. Coote of the Map Department in the British Museum, and is here printed for the first time. Announcement of this find was made by the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, at the Cabot Centenary Meeting in Bristol, June 24, 1897. See pp. 94, 116 of this vol.

- 1508-9. 16. The entry in the 'Cronicon regum Angliæ
re
 1498. Civitatis London ab anno primo Henrici
 [tertium] tertii ad annum primum
 Henrici Octavi,' probably written
 1508-9, but inserted under date of
 1497, presumably refers, as noticed in
 text (p. 98), to the second Cabot voyage
 of 1498, though HARRISSE is wrong in
 supposing that the *Cronicon* dates this
 passage under 1498.

The MS. is in B. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Vitell. A xvi., fol. 173. This is apparent original of statements in Stow, p. 862 of edition of 1580; and in Hakluyt, 'Divers Voyages,' 1582, 'Principal Navigations,' ed. of 1589, and 'Principal Navigations,' ed. of 1598-1600, vol. iii.; p. 9.

On this MS., Mr. James Gairdner reported that it was a quite trustworthy source of contemporary information, its earlier part being derived from a source common to several London Chronicles, such as Gregory's, and its later portions having something in common with Fabyan, but containing a good deal for the reign of Henry VII. not to be found, at least in print, anywhere else.

1500. 17. The La Cosa Map of 1500.

Now in Naval Museum at Madrid. No. 553. A mappemonde on an oval sheet of vellum, measuring 1 mètre and 80 centimètres by 96 centimètres, coloured and illuminated. First described by Alexander Humboldt, who had lighted upon it in the library of Baron Walckenaer (in Paris) in 1842. Sold at Walckenaer's death, April 21,

1853. Bought by Spanish Government for 4020 francs. No degrees of latitude are given in this map. Its Cavo d' Ynglaterra probably marks the landfall of John Cabot, as La Cosa understood it; this point Kohl identifies (rightly?) with Cape Race. See text of this vol., p. 104, &c. The best reproduction of this chart is perhaps in Jomard, 'Monuments de la Géographié,' No. xvi.
1502. 18. Entry from Fabyan's lost manuscript chronicle, given by Stow's Chronicle, London, 1580, p. 875, and dated 18 Henry VII., A.D. 1502. This reference to savages brought home by Cabot (probably in 1498) has been construed into evidence for a third Cabot voyage in 1501-2, and is quoted by Hakluyt, 'Divers Voyages,' as being concerned with the eighteenth year of Henry VII.; by the same compiler in later days, 'Principal Navigations,' vol. iii., p. 9, (Edition of 1598-1600) under the 14th year of Henry VII., Aug. 1498, Aug. 1499. See p. 99 of this vol.
1503. 19. Appropriation for the pension of Fernandes and Gonçales. December 6, 1503.

In the Public Record Office Warrants for issues 13 Henry VII., December 6, 1503. No. 1.

This is an evidence that the earlier grants to the Cabots had now expired. See p. 121 of this vol.

1512. 20. Entry of payment to Sebastian Cabot for a map of Gascony and Guyenne, May, 1512.

Original in Book of King's Payments 1-9 Henry VIII., p. 183; see Brewer, *Dom. and For. Calendar Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 1456, and p. 126 of this vol.

1516. 21. Letters from Ferdinand of Aragon to (a) Lord Willoughby de Brooke, (β) to Sebastian Cabot; both of September 13, 1512. See in Muñoz *Transcripts*, vol. xc, fols. 109, 115; also p. 126 of this vol. With these may be taken a letter of Ferdinand's 'concerning Seb. Cabot,' dated October 20, 1512. See HARRISSE, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xvii. p. 332.

1516. 22. Memorandum in Testament of William Mychell of London, chaplain, under date of January 31, 1516-17:—

'Lego Elizabeth Filie Sebastini Caboto filiole mee, iijs., iiijd.' See Travers Twiss, 'Nautical Magazine,' London, July, 1876, p. 675 and p. 134 of this volume. Original in Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of High Court of Justice.

1518. 23. [Seb. Cabot appointed Pilot-Major of Spain, February 5, 1518. Notice in Muñoz Transcripts, vols. lxxv. fol. 213; lxxvi. fol. 28. See p. 128 of this vol.]

1519. 24. 'A new interlude . . . of the IV. Elements,' *circa* 1519-20? Only copy in British Museum; once belonged to Garrick. Printed by J. Rastell (?) 1519-1520? Press mark C 39 b 17. At the first leaf the following MS. notes, 'An interlude of the IV. Elements, &c., by John Rastell, juxta anno 1519. This interlude was bound with Rastell's abridgment of the Statutes. First impression dated 25th Oct. 11 Henry VIII.' See p. 131 of this vol.

This play seems in part at least designed to pourtray the struggle of

‘higher and lower’ things for man’s attention, as exemplified by Experience, Sensual Appetite, and the Student, who finally refuses to follow the latter any longer. At first Sensual Appetite has it all his own way; then, while he is absent, enters Experience, who enchants the Student with a picture of the countries of the world.

The Student asks him about Jerusalem, England and Scotland, and the countries of Europe; arriving at last in the course of his answers at Norway, his teacher then proceeds to Iceland (as quoted on p. 131). From Iceland he goes West to the new lands, illustrating to what extent he has been ‘in sundry nations, with people of divers conditions.’

After the passage (quoted in text) alluding to the discovery of America in the time of Henry VII., Experience continues—

‘And what a great meritorious deed
It were to have the people instructed
To live more virtuously.
And to learn to know of men the manner
And also to know God their maker,
Which as yet live all beastly;
For they neither know God nor the Devil,
Nor never heard tell of Heaven nor Hell,

Writing nor other Scripture.
 But yet in the stead of God Almighty
 They honour the Sun for his great light,
 For that doth them great pleasure.
 Building nor house they have none at all,
 But woods, cotes, and cavès small—
 No marvell though it be so ;
 For they use no manner of iron,
 Neither in tool nor other weapon
 That should keep them thereto.
 Copper they have which is found
 In divers places above thę ground,
 Yet they dig not therefore. . . .
 Great abundance of wood there be,
 Most part fir and pine apple tree.
 Great riches might come thereby,
 Both pitch and tar and soap ashes
 As they make in the East lands
 By burning thereof only.
 Fish they have so great plenty
 That in havens taken and slain they be
 With staves withouten sail.
 Now Frenchmen and other have found the trade
 That yearly of fish there they lade
 Above an hundred sail.
 But in the south part of that country
 The people there go naked alway,
 The land is of so great heat,
 And in the North part all the clothes
 That they wear is but beasts' skins ;
 They have none other feet.
 But how the people first began
 In that country or whence they came ;
 For clerks it is a question. . . .
 These new lands, by all cosmography,
 From the Khan of Cathay's land cannot lie
 Little past a thousand miles.'

Experience finishes his reference to
 the New Lands by stating that men can
 sail thence 'plain eastwards and come

to England again.' He then describes other parts of the world, as he has already dealt with Europe, the Mediterranean, Africa, India, and the New Lands.

1521. 25. Protest of the London Livery Companies against the employment of Sebastian Cabot on an English expedition to the New World. March 1 to April 9, 1521. Original in Wardens' Accounts of Drapers' Company. Reprinted in full in Harrisse, 'Discovery of North America,' pp. 747-750. See also W. Herbert's 'History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies,' i. p. 410, and p. 136 of this vol.

1522. 26. [Despatch from Council of Ten to Gaspar Contarini and reward given by same Council to Cabot's secret messenger, both of September 27, 1522. Originals in State Archives, Venice, Capi del Consiglio dei X. Lettere Sottoscrite Filza No. 5, 1522. See Rawdon Brown, Venetian Calendar, vol. iii. No. 557 and p. 142 of this vol.]

1522. 27. [Despatch from Contarini to (Council of
1523. Ten and) Senate of Venice, dated

December 31, 1522. Original in Marciana Library, Cl. vii., Cod. mix.— (*i.e.*, Contarini's Original Letter-Book, No. 193 St. Mark's Library) cart. 281–283. See Rawdon Brown, Venetian Calendar, vol. iii. No. 607, pp. 293–5, and p. 143 of this vol.]

[With this¹ we must group — (*a*) Despatch from Contarini of March 7, 1523, to Venetian Senate. Original in Contarini's Letter-Book, No. 201, St. Mark's Library. See Rawdon Brown, Venetian Calendar, vol. iii. No. 634,¹ p. 304, and p. 149 of this vol.]

[(*b*) Letter from Hieronimo de Marino to Seb. Cabot, dated April 28, 1523. Original in Capi del Consiglio dei X. Lettere Sottoscritte Filza No. 6, 1523. See Rawdon Brown, Venetian Calendar, vol. iii. No. 670,² p. 315, and p. 151 of this vol.]

[(*c*) Letter from Gaspar Contarini to the Chiefs of the Ten, dated July 26, 1523. Original in Contarini's Letter-Book, No. 220, St. Mark's Library. See Rawdon Brown, Venetian Calendar, vol. iii. p. 328, No. 710, and p. 150 of this vol.]

¹ Not 632 as in HARRISSE.

² Not 669 as in HARRISSE.

1523. 28. Payment of 43s. 4d. (February 18, 1523) to John Goderyk of Foly,¹ (Fowey) Cornwall, for conducting Seb. Cabot to London some time before, 1519 or 1520? See Brewer, *Cal. For. and Dom. H.* VIII. vol. iv. part i. p. 154; HARRISSE, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xxxii. A and p. 139 of this vol.

This is an item in the will of Sir Thomas Lovell and the transportation of Cabot was done 'at our testator's request.'

We omit the numerous Spanish documents of this period relative to Seb. Cabot, as they do not bear on his English career, and are of no great importance in illustrating our text, except

1533. 29. [Seb. Cabot's letter to Juan de Samano, June 24, 1533. Original in Archives of the Indies, Seville, Est. 143, Caj. 3, Leg. 2. See HARRISSE, 'Cabot' of 1896, pp. 429-430 and p. 208 of this vol.]
1538. 30. Note of Remembrance (December, 1538) from Sir Thomas Wyatt, English Ambassador in Spain, recommending Cabot to Henry VIII. (per Philip Hoby, on his return from Spain to England)

¹ Not "Tory" as in HARRISSE, *Cabot*, p. 405.

- B. Mus. Add. MSS. 5498 fol. 8. See Gairdner Letters and Papers For. and Dom. H. VIII. vol. xiii. part 2, p. 415, No. 974; and p. 163 of this vol.
1541. 31. Despatch from Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary, for information of Charles V., May 26, 1541. Original in Imperial Archives at Vienna Rep. P. Fasc. C. 232 ff. 24-7. See Gayangos, Spanish Calendar, vol. vi. part i. No. 163, p. 327 and p. 163 of this vol.
1544. 32. The Cabot Map of 1544. Original in Geog. Department Bibl. Nat., Paris. Reproduced in Jomard, 'Monuments de la Géographie,' Pl. xx., and (at least in part) in most modern works of good quality on the Cabots—as Harrisse's, Deane's, Dawson's, &c. See pp. 218-53 of this vol.
1547. 33. Warrant of October 9, 1547, to 'Mr. Peckham' for £100 against expenses incurred in bringing 'Shabot' (= Cabot) to England. Dasent, 'Acts of Privy Council,' ii. 137. Harrisse, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' doc. xxxiv. p. 358. See p. 166 of this vol. The original is on fol. 236 in

MS. No. 2 in the Council Office Series of MS. Registers of Privy Council.

1549. 34. Warrant of September 2, 1549, to Henry Oystryge for £100 expenses incurred in bringing Sebastian 'Sabott' to England. Dasent, 'Acts of Privy Council' (London, 1890), ii. 320. The original is on fol. 578 in MS. No. 2 in the Council Office Series of MS. Registers of Privy Council. See p. 169 of this vol.
1549. 35. Despatch of November 25, 1549, from English Ambassadors in Brussels to Privy Council, conveying demand of Charles V. on Seb. Cabot's services.
B. Mus. Cotton MSS. Galba B. xii., fol. 124. HARRISSE 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xxxiv. A., p. 359. 'Notes and Queries,' 1862. Vol. i. p. 125. See p. 170 of this vol.
1550. 36. Pension-grant (January 6, 1549-50) of £166 13s. 4d. yearly to Sebastian Cabot from Edward VI. Patent Roll. 2 Edward VI., part 2, membr. 10 (32). See Hakluyt, 'Principal Navigations,' iii. 10 (edition of 1598-1600); Rymer, 'Foedera' (edition of 1741), VI., iii. 170, and p. 166, &c., of this vol.

1550. 37. Answer of Privy Council to Emperor, January 29, 1549-50, and April 21, 1550. See, Dasent, 'Acts of Privy Council,' ii. 374; and p. 170-1 of this vol. The original is on fol. 65 of MS. No. 3 in the Council Office Series of MS. Registers of Privy Council.
1550. 38. Cabot's own answer to Charles V., April 21, 1550. B. Mus. Harleian MSS. No. 523, fols. 6 bis.-7 bis [not fol. 9 as in HARRISSE, 'Cabot,' 449]. See also HARRISSE, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xxxiv., pp. 359-60; and p. 171 of this vol.
1550. 39. Certificated copy of Letters Patent to John Cabot (originally issued in 1496) granted to Seb. Cabot, June 4, 1550. Original in Patent Roll, 4 Edward VI., Part vi., membr. 10. See p. 172 of this vol.
1550. 40. Gratuity of £200 from Edward VI. to Sebastian Cabot. 'ICI fi [= £200?] by way of the K. M. reward,' 1550. See HARRISSE, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xxxiv. C. p. 360. This is followed by warrant to Exchequer to pay this sum. Dasent, 'Acts of Privy Council,' iii. 55, June 26, 1550.
Styrye, 'Memorials,' ii., 2, 76, probably

refers to this same grant, under wrong date, March, 1551. See p. 173 of this vol. Original on p. 59 in MS. No. 4 of Council Office Series of MS. Registers of Privy Council.

1551. 41. Entry of April 17, 1551, of Cabot drawing his pension. Public Record Office. Tellers Rolls 100. See pp. 166-7 of this vol.

1551. 42. Despatch of September 12, 1551, from Venetian Council of Ten to Sorenzo, Venetian Ambass. in England. (Rawdon Brown, *Venetian Calendar*, vol. v., No. 711.) HARRISSE, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xxxv. p. 361.

With this also a despatch of same date from Peter Vannes to Privy Council—in Turnbull, *Foreign Calendars*, Edward VI. 171; HARRISSE, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xxxvi. Original in Public Record Office; *Foreign Papers of Edward VI.*, vol. viii. (July-September, 1550-51) No. 444, p. 1101. In the original the following unimportant sentence is added: 'and the said Secretary [Ramusio] hath promised me so to do, and I shall not fail to raise this matter often to be put in his remembrance.' See pp. 173-5 of this vol.

1553. 43. Ordinances, &c. issued (May 9, 1553) by Sebastian Cabot as Governor of Muscovy Company for Chancellor and Willoughby's Voyage in 1553.

See Hakluyt, 'Principal Navigations,' i. 266, Edition of 1598-1600; cf. W. N. Sainsbury, *Colonial Calendar*, i. 3; and pp. 179, 187, &c., of this vol.

1553. 44. Letter of September 9, 1553, from Charles V. to Queen Mary, pressing for Sebastian Cabot's services.

See HARRISSE, 'Jean et Sébastien Cabot,' document xxxvi. pp. 362-63; TURNBULL, *Calendars, Foreign, 1553-58*, vol. i., No. 30, p. 10. 'Notes and Queries,' 1862; vol. i. p. 125. See p. 196 of this vol.

1553. 45. Letter of November 15, 1553, from Sebastian Cabot to Charles V. Original at Simancas, Estado Correspond. de Inglaterra, Legajo, 808. See *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, vol. iii. p. 512; and p. 197 of this vol.

1554. 46. Entry of September 29, 1554, of Cabot drawing his pension (this time on a different footing). See text, p. 195.

Public Record Office, Tellers Rolls,
103.

1555. 47. Charter of Incorporation to Merchant Adventurers, February 6, 1555. Calendar Domestic State Papers, 1547-80, vol. i. p. 65. See p. 177 of this vol. Original in Public Record Office; Domestic Papers, May (January-July, 1555), fols. 25-33; numbered (4); reprinted in Hakluyt, 'Principal Navigations,' ed. of 1598-1600, vol. iii.
1555. 48. Entry of March 25, 1555. Cabot draws half of pension on footing of September 29, 1554—viz., 100 marks. Public Record Office, Tellers Rolls, 103. See p. 195 of this vol.
1555. 49. Entry of September 29, 1555. Cabot draws half of (larger) pension (viz., £83 6s. 8d., the half of £166 13s. 4d.) per William Worthington. Public Record Office, Tellers Rolls, 104.
1555. 50. Pension-grant by Queen Mary to Cabot, November 27, 1555, apparently a renewal of his old pension from Edward VI. (new grant is of same yearly amount

—250 marks or £166 13s. 4d.). See Rymer, 'Fœdera' (1741), VI., iv. p. 40 ; and p. 202 of this vol.

1555. 51. Entry of December 25, 1555. Cabot draws a quarter of his original pension, viz., £41 13s. 4d. Public Record Office, Tellers Rolls, 104 (back of fol. 42, near^afoot).

1556-7. 52. Similar entries under June 24, 1556 ; September 29, 1556 ; December 25, 1556 ; March 25, 1557 ; June 24, 1557 ; September 29, 1557. Public Record Office, Tellers Rolls, 104, 105, 106.

1557. 53. Retrocession of Cabot's pension of 1555 and new grant of the aforesaid to Cabot and William Worthington, May 29, 1557.

Rymer, 'Fœdera' (1741), VI., iv. 55 ; HARRISSE, 'Cabot' (1896), 459, &c. ; and p. 202, &c., of this vol.

Worthington on December 25, 1557, first draws pension without Cabot. Public Record Office, Tellers Rolls, 106. See p. 204 of this vol.

APPENDIX II.

CABOT LITERATURE.

1. Anspach, L. A., 'History of Newfoundland,' London, 1819. See especially p. 25.

2. Arber, Edward, 'First Three English Books on America.' See especially pp. xx-xxi. 'Interlude' passage, xxxvii.

3. 'Archivo dos Azores,' 1894. See especially vol. xii. p. 530.

4. Avezac, M. A. P. d'A . . . Maçaya. (a) 'Les Navigations de J. et S. Cabot,' Paris, 1869. (b) Various papers in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, viz., Aug.-Sept., 1857, xiv. pp. 89-368; Sept.-Oct., 1856, xvi. pp. 258-312; May, 1869, xvii. pp. 406-7 (in last Avezac mentions a Venetian portrait of John and also of Sebastian Cabot). (c) *Révue Critique*, April 23, 1870, vol. v. pp. 264-9.

5. Bancroft, G., 'History U.S.A.,' edition of 1883. See i. pp. 9-12.

6. Barrett, W., 'History and Antiquities of Bristol,' 1789. See pp. 171-4.

7. Beaudoin, J. D. (Abbé), 'Jean Cabot,' in *Le Canada Français*, Oct., 1889.

8. Belleforest, 'Cosmographie Universelle,' Paris, 1575. See ii. p. 2175.

9. Bergenroth, Calendar of State Papers, &c., relating to Negotiations between England and Spain, 1485-1543, London, 1862-95. See especially vol. i. pp. 88-9, 176-7; vol. ii. p. 68.

10. Biddle, Richard, 'Memoir of Sebastian Cabot,' 1831.

11. Bourinot, J. G., 'Cape Breton,' &c., in *Transactions of Royal Society of Canada*, May 27, 1891, vol. ix., pt. ii., pp. 173-343.

12. Brevoort, J. Carson, 'John Cabot's Voyage of 1497.' In *Historical Magazine*. Morris. New York, March, 1868. 2nd Series, III. (xiii.), pp. 129-135.

13. Brewer, 'Letters and Papers . . . of Reign of Henry VIII., 1509-1540,' London, 1862-96. See especially vol. i. p. 694; vol. ii., pt. ii., pp. 101, 1456; vol. iv., pt. i., p. 154.

14. Brown, Rawdon. (a) 'Ragguagli sulla vita et sulle opere di Marin Sanuto,' Venice, 1837. See especially pt. i. pp. 99-100. 'In the Boston Public Library copy of this work (Library Call No. 4196-9, V. 1) is inserted a MS. note, "Mr. Rawdon Brown will gladly show Mrs. R. E. Apthorp what he considers documentary evidence of John Cabot's English origin, and of his never having come to Venice (where he married a Venetian woman, who bore him

Sebastian and his other sons) until the year 1461. Casa della Vida, Thursday, 2 p.m." The same copy contains (i. 100-103) another marginal MS. note: "I printed this in the year 1837; but in 1855-6 it became manifest, through documents discovered in the Venice Archives, that John Cabot really owed his birth to England." (b) Calendar of State Papers, &c., . . . relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, &c., vol. i., A.D. 1202-1509, continued in nine vols. down to 1591. See especially vol. i. p. 260; vol. iii., Nos. 557, 558, 607, 632, 634, 635, 666, 669, 670, 750, 1115; vol. v., No. 711, p. 264.

15. Bullo, Carlo, 'La vera patria di . . . Giovanni Caboto,' Chioggia, 1880. See especially pp. 22, 61-70.

16. Campbell. (a) 'Navigantium Bibliotheca,' London, 1743-8, enlarged from Harris's Collection of 1705. See ii. p. 190. (b) 'Lives of the British Admirals,' London, 1748 and 1817. See i. pp. 312-16, 373-387 of later edition.

17. Cespedes, A. G. de, 'Regimiento de Navegacion,' Madrid, 1606. See fols. 137, 148, 149.

18. Chauveton, 'Histoire Nouvelle de Nouveau Monde,' Geneva, 1579. See p. 141 (Peter Martyr is credited with the summary of Cabot's voyage here made).

19. Chytraeus (Nathan Kochhaff), 'Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae,' Herborn, 1594.

20. 'Coleccion de Documentos ineditos para la historia de la España.' See especially iii. pp. 512, &c.

21. 'Coleccion de Documentos ineditos de las Indias.' See especially xxxii. p. 479; xlii. p. 481.

22. Coote, C. H., Notices of 'Sebastian Cabot,' and 'Richard Hakluyt,' in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

23. Correa, Gaspar, 'Lendas da India,' Lisbon, 1858-62. Speaks of Sebastian Cabot as a Basque in iii. p. 109.

24. Cortambert, 'Nouvelle histoire des Voyages,' 1883-4. See pp. 207-17.

25. Crowley, Robert, 'Epitome of Chronicles,' London, 1559. See sub. ann. 1552. See Lanquet.

26. Daly, 'Early History of Cartography,' in American Geographical Society's Journal, New York, 1879. See xi. pp. 1-40.

27. Dasent, J. R., 'Acts of Privy Council,' London, 1890, &c. See vol. ii. pp. 37, 320, 374; vol. iii. pp. 55, 487, 501, 531.

28. Davis, John, 'The World's Hydrographical Description,' London, 1595.

29. Dawson, Samuel, 'Voyages of the Cabots,' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, May 22, 1894, xi. pp. 51-112.

30. Deane, Charles. (a) 'On Sebastian Cabot's Mappemonde,' in American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings, October 20, 1866, pp. 10-14; and in

same for April 24, 1867, pp. 43-50. (b) 'Voyages of the Cabots,' in Justin Winsor's 'Narrative and Critical History of America,' iii. pp. 1-58.

31. Dee, John, 'Map of America,' in B. Mus. Cotton MSS., Aug. I. 1, art. i. (MS. dated 1580.) See especially inscription *re* Sebastian Cabot on back of map.

32. Desimoni. (a) 'Scopritori Genovesi in Giornale Ligustico,' Genoa, 1874. See pp. 308-16. (b) 'Intorno a Giovanni Caboto in Atti della Soc. Lig. di Storia Patria,' Genoa, 1881, xv. pp. 177-239. Also separately printed.

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34. Dionne, Review of HARRISSE'S 'Cabot' (of 1896), in *American Historical Review*, July, 1896. See vol. i. pp. 717-21.

35. Doyle, J. A., 'English Colonies in America,' 1889. See especially chap. iii. pp. 20-41.

36. Duro, Fernandez, 'Arca de Noe.' See p. 521.

37. Eden, Richard. (a) 'Treatise of the New India . . . after . . . Sebastian Munster,' London, 1553. See especially Dedication preceding pt. v. (b) 'Decades of the New World . . . translated from Peter Martyr,' London, 1555. See especially Preface,

leaf c. 1, and folios 249, 255, 268, 324. (c) 'Book Concerning Navigation . . . translated from John Taisnierus (Jean Taisnier).' See especially Epistle dedicatory. London, about 1575.

38. Fox, 'North-West,' 1635. See pp. 31-37 of Hakluyt Society reprint, 1894.

39. Gairdner, James, 'Calendar Henry VIII.' (continuation of Brewer). See especially vol. iii., pt. i., p. 415.

40. Galvano, 'Discoveries of the World,' 1563, translated by Hakluyt, 1601. See pp. 87-9 of Hakluyt Society's reprint of latter, 1862.

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43. Gilbert, Humphrey, 'Discourse of a Discovery for a New Passage to Cathaia,' London, 1576 (written in or before 1566). See fol. iii.

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Portland, 1870, in vol. ii. of 'Documentary History of Maine.' See especially p. 126. (b) 'Divers Voyages touching Discovery of America,' 1582, reprinted Hakluyt Society, 1850. See especially Dedication and pp. 23, 26, 93, 176 of latter. (c) 'Principal Navigations,' 2nd edition of 1598-1600 (1st edition of 1589). See especially pp. 4-11, 498-9, 509-516 of vol. iii.

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55. Higginson, 'Book of American Explorers,' Boston, 1877. See pp. 55-9.

56. Holinshed, R., 'Chronicles of England,' &c. London, 1577. See vol. ii. p. 1714.

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61. Hunt, W., 'Bristol' ('Historic Towns'), London, 1887. See pp. 126-35.

62. Jomard, 'Monuments de la Géographie,' Paris, 1855-62. See Nos. xvi. and xx. for the Cosa and Cabot Maps.

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du XVI. Siècle,' Paris, 1876, &c. See especially vol. i. p. 215.

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66. Lanquet, Thomas (with Robert Crowley and Thomas Cooper), 'Epitome of Chronicles,' London, 1559. See Crowley.

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68. Lemon, Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1547-80. See vol. i. p. 65.

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