

# The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document

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## I

BETWEEN THE RETURN OF THE CARTIER AND ROBERVAL EXPEDITIONS and the revival of the St. Lawrence penetration of North America by France under Champlain there is a long gap, only very partially filled by the revival in interest though not in action which the appointment of Troilus de Mesgouez, marquis de la Roche, to act as royal governor in New France, 1577-8, seemed to mark, and the undoubted re-penetration of the river by small, fur-trading expeditions from 1581 onwards.<sup>1</sup> What has not been examined, and indeed has seemed incapable of examination for lack of materials, is French activity southwards from Cape Breton in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The predominance of Breton fishing vessels using the Cape Breton area, evident in the earlier part of the century, had given way to the dominance of the Basques, mainly French but with Spaniards amongst them, later in the century. It is highly probable that before 1580 they ranged not only down the coast of Nova Scotia, but also along the New England shores where Englishmen were to find traces of them at the opening of the seventeenth century. But, being fishermen, with some though probably not major fur-trading interests, they left no trace, it appears, in the records of their home ports of precisely where they went. Indeed, what little knowledge we have of them in action comes, in the 'nineties, from English sources. This absence of information gives all the more value to what can be gleaned of a Norman voyage under the command of Etienne Bellenger in 1583 which explored the coasts southwards from Cape Breton, coasted the southern shore of Nova Scotia, and then turned along its north coast into the Bay of Fundy, following its limits around southern New Brunswick and, in open sea again, some way along the coast of Maine, before turning homewards for France.

For the Bellenger voyage there have hitherto been available only two paragraphs included in 1584 by Richard Hakluyt in "A particuler discourse concerning the greate necessitie and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westernre discoveries lately attempted." This was first

<sup>1</sup>The best summary remains that of Charles de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, IV (3rd edition, Paris, 1923), 307-19.

published by Charles Deane in 1877 as "Discourse <sup>on Western</sup> Planting"<sup>2</sup> and the name, in the form of "Discourse of Western Planting," has stuck to it in the later and better edition by E. G. R. Taylor.<sup>3</sup> From 1877 on the voyage of "Stephen Bellanger," as Hakluyt called him, has made a modest appearance in works on the beginnings of French enterprise in North America.<sup>4</sup> Only Ganong,<sup>5</sup> on the basis of an inadequate reproduction of a French map of 1584, was able to make some additional deductions which pinned Bellenger down to the Bay of Fundy and seemed to make him its first explorer if not its discoverer.

It is now possible to say rather more about the voyage. In 1917 Phillippe Barrey published some materials from the records of the *Amirauté* of Le Havre which threw a little light on how Bellenger became involved in the venture;<sup>6</sup> while the maps of Jacques de Vaulx, when examined in detail (which Ganong had no opportunity to do), give some further information on his progress. But, with the identification of a manuscript in the British Museum (Additional MS 14027, ff. 289-90v.), which somehow escaped H. P. Biggar's eye, a narrative, brief but significant, gives a new perspective to the voyage. Moreover, this was written by and is in the handwriting of Richard Hakluyt, and elaborates appreciably what he is already known to have written. He thus increased our debt to him for preserving such few records as there are of French activity in American waters between 1541 and 1585. The document is among the papers of Dr. (later Sir) Julius Caesar, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, to whom Hakluyt may have sent it, though it could equally well have been passed on to him by Sir Francis Walsingham who was at that time very much concerned with American colonization. The manuscript, as printed below, offers some problems of interpretation, not all of which the present edition attempts to solve, but that it adds significantly to our knowledge of French enterprise at this period, and to the gradual uncovering of the shores of eastern Canada and the United States, cannot be doubted.

## II

Little is so far known of Etienne Bellenger before his voyage of 1583. He was a Rouen merchant who lived in the Rue des Augustines next door to the sign of the Tuile d'or. He was concerned in the financing and victualling of overseas voyages. On May 10, 1582,<sup>7</sup> he was given an acquittance for the money (evidently

<sup>2</sup>In *The Documentary History of Maine*, I, (Cambridge, Mass., 1877), 26, 84.

<sup>3</sup>In *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, (Hakluyt Society, London, 1935), II, 227, 266.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., in N. E. Dionne, *La Nouvelle France de Cartier à Champlain* (Québec, 1891), pp. 120-1; H. HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve et des pays circonvoisins* (Paris and London, 1900), 161; H. P. BIGGAR, *The Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901), 33; La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, IV, 311; A. Anthiaume, *Cartes marines, constructions navales, voyages de découverte chez les Normands, 1500-1650* (Paris, 1916) II, 42, 92-3 (see G. Lanctot, *Histoire de Canada*, I (Montréal 1959), 114).

<sup>5</sup>W. F. Ganong, "Crucial Maps in the Early Cartography and Place-nomenclature of the Atlantic Coast of Canada, IX," Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, 3rd series, vol. XXXI, s. 2 (1937), 119-25.

<sup>6</sup>P. Barrey, "Le Havre transatlantique de 1571 à 1610," in Julien Hayem, ed., *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire du commerce et de l'industrie en France*, V (Paris, 1917), 86-7, 183.

<sup>7</sup>C. & P. Bréard, *Documents relatifs à la marine normande et à ses armements aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Rouen, 1889), 267; Barrey, "Le Havre," 87n.

advanced to him earlier) which he, with Louis de la Chandre, merchant of Honfleur, had paid to members of the expedition which, under orders from Catherine de Médici, took Phillippe Strozzi to his fighting death in the Azores. Next month, on June 27,<sup>8</sup> he was given authority by Captain Bertrand Campion of the *Belle Etoile* to borrow 200 crowns for him at the current rate. No doubt other similar transactions will be traced when the departmental archives at Rouen are thoroughly combed for them. But they suggest that he was in a substantial way of business. More significant for the present purpose, he had already been twice across the Atlantic Ocean to Cape Breton. Since this information was obtained from him when he was discussing the quality of the fish taken off the Cape we may safely assume that he went on fishing voyages. We can also assume that he may well have done some fur trading along the coast, as the Bretons and Basques had been doing for so long. It is possible that he was then in command of a ship of his own, though, if so, it is strange that he has not yet come to light as a shipowner in the French records. More likely, he went as cape merchant of one of the ships he victualled in order to see how the fur and fishing trades were carried on. What he saw evidently made him anxious to investigate further, even, it seems, to take the risk of establishing a shore station, well to the southwest of Cape Breton, where the fur trade might be exploited more profitably.

The story of the 1583 voyage appears to begin on November 24, 1582, when the experienced Le Havre pilot, Michel Costé, acquired a third share in the bark *Chardon* of 50 tons, which belonged to Jacques de Chardon, sieur de Tressonville, gentlemen of the Chamber to the aged Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen, cardinal de Bourbon. This transaction laid the foundations for a contract under which the Cardinal used Tressonville as cover for financing an expedition to North America. The agreement, signed on January 24, 1583,<sup>9</sup> contains almost all we know about the business side of the voyage. By it, Michel Costé, as captain of the *Chardon*, undertook to conduct Etienne Bellenger, with twenty men, to a destination which Bellenger was not to disclose to Costé until the ship was out of the English Channel. On arrival at this undisclosed destination Bellenger was to be put on shore, together with twenty men and such victuals as he would need, and Costé was to hurry back and report fully to Chardon. In the charter-party between Costé and Chardon the value of the merchandise carried was put at 400 crowns and the ostensible destination of the ship as "les côtes de Cap-Vert, Sierra Leone,

<sup>8</sup>Barrey, "Le Havre," 87n.

<sup>9</sup>"Le 24 Janvier 1583 Michel Costé qui, le 24 novembre précédent, avait pris au tiers la barque le *Chardon* de Jacques de Chardon, sieur de Tressonville, gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du cardinal de Bourbon, demeurant à Jouy, près d'Evreux, s'engageait avec lui pour conduire Etienne Bellenger, accompagné de vingt hommes au lieu désigné à ce dernier par Chardon, sans que Bellenger soit tenu de dire et déclarer le lieu où il devait débarquer avant d'être hors des relâchements, c'est-à-dire en dehors de la Manche. A son arrivée, Bellenger pourroit prendre les victualles dont il aurait besoin, excepté celles qui seraient nécessaires au navire pour revenir au Havre. En outre, les lettres qu'il remettrait à Costé devaient être portées à Chardon en la plus grande diligence, ce qui laisse penser que le navire devait l'attendre quelque temps, les réflexions faites en cours de traversée ne devant sans doute pas présenter grand intérêt pour son commanditaire. Cet engagement était conclu moyennant 133 écus un tiers et le chargement que Chardon avait promis." (*Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.)

"Le *Chardon*, de 50 tonneaux, capitaine Michel Costé.

"Marchandise et avaries 400 écus.

"Pour les côtes du Cap-Vert, Sierra Leone, le Brésil, Cannibales, îles et terre ferme du Pérou etc. Jacques de Chardon, écuyer, sieur de Tressonville, capitaine en la marine, bourgeois et victuaillieur." (*Ibid.*, 183.)

le Brézil, Cannibals, îles et terre ferme de Pérou etc.” What makes sense of these obscure transactions is the information given both by the French cosmographer royal, André Thevet, and by the king’s skinner, Valeron Perosse, to Richard Hakluyt in Paris early in January, 1584,<sup>10</sup> almost a year later, “that Duke Joyeuse [Anne de Joyeuse, duc de Joyeuse] Admiral of France, and the Cardinal of Burbon and their frendes, have had a meaning to send out certayen ships to inhabit some place for the north part of America, and to carry thither many friers and other religieuse persons.” The plan was evidently one for a colony of settlement under powerful auspices, the ostensible object of which was to establish a base for missionary enterprise amongst the American Indians, though, no doubt, to do so on the basis of an effective trade in furs. But, Hakluyt adds—“I think they be not in haste to do yt.”

It is difficult to comment on the implications of this major project without knowing much more of the background than we do at present, but it must be stressed that La Roche was still the king’s lieutenant, on paper, for New France, and that he was again preparing an expedition to the St Lawrence. Was this to be a parallel or a rival venture? It would seem, though it would be unwise to be positive about it, that it was the latter. La Roche was associated with the Huguenots and linked with the Queen Mother; the Cardinal and the Duc de Joyeuse with the Catholic party. It might well seem that they wished to establish a foothold in the New World which would prevent the Huguenots, and the Bretons in particular, having a monopoly of New France. Hence too the missionary motive. Until more is known, however, it is essential to be cautious in drawing broad conclusions. Yet there are no major ambiguities, though a number of minor ones, in what actually happened on the voyage. The new Hakluyt narrative is in some respects an elaboration of what he included in “A particuler discourse” (or, more correctly, since the former was written first, the items in “A particuler discourse” are an abstract of the new narrative). It is not as detailed as we would like, but it dovetails so closely with the evidence to be derived from the de Vaulx maps that most of the difficulties of interpretation which it presents can be resolved.

### III

We cannot say for certain when the voyage began. Hakluyt dated the setting out of the *Chardon* as January 19, 1583 (evidently New Style, i.e., January 29, 1582[–3], English style), but the date, January 24, of the Chardon-Costé contract strongly suggests a later start. Furthermore, it was not unknown for Breton fishermen to make a western crossing in January, though it was unusual. The northerly movement of the Azores high-pressure system which made this practicable was more frequent in February, while English fishermen were usually unwilling to set out before April or May. We may, provisionally, suggest mid-February as the approximate time of sailing from Le Havre. A few days later, if the pre-arranged plan was carried out, Bellenger would have declared his intentions to Costé and a preliminary decision would have been reached about how and when to land the former with his twenty men, leaving only ten men with Michel Costé to sail the ship home. In from twenty to thirty days, that is, if mid-February was the time of setting out, in early or mid-March the vessel reached Cape Breton. We do not know what, if anything, Costé knew of the

<sup>10</sup>Taylor, ed., *Hakluyts*, I, 207.

coast, though Bellenger was evidently knowledgeable from his earlier visits. The ship was prepared for her exploration of the shores to the southwest of the Cape which was an essential part of the purpose of the expedition, even if it was not so stated in the Chardon-Costé contract. The pinnace had been carried on deck and was now equipped for coastal discovery and charting. Under Costé's pilotage the vessel moved down the coast, penetrating harbours and rivers as she went and sending fairly frequent shore parties to make contact with the Indians and, where possible, to trade with them. Rocks, islands, and shallows were logged and indicated as coastal charting (no doubt varying in its detail with the weather and with local conditions) proceeded, and soundings were taken often, good depths of water being frequently noted inshore. Between 50 and 60 leagues southwest of Cape Breton Bellenger sketched the northeast shore of an island which, when it had been fully recorded, proved to be some 50 leagues long from northeast to southwest and was roughly triangular in shape. He identified it as the Ile de Saint Jehan (Isle of St. John) which had appeared in various locations on the maps of earlier days. Here it seems that the northeast shore must represent Halifax harbour, explored perhaps to Bedford Basin, though not further, to which Indian indications of portages to the Minas Basin would add proof of its continuity (which, indeed, the Minas Basin, when found, would tend to confirm).

At some point along the coast the Indians he met became less savage and treacherous. This may have taken place gradually as the Frenchmen began to leave the aboriginal sites frequented by other Europeans, or it may represent a tribal boundary. If it was the former it would not be surprising that contact with violent, drunken, fire-armed European fishermen and part-time fur traders should have rendered the Indians at least equally violent and, perhaps, more treacherous. But the Micmac did not, universally, have a bad reputation amongst the whites. By April they would probably be back in their villages after the winter hunting and would be ready to trade their furs. Evidently some of the villages were large: one of them, some 100 leagues from Cape Breton, and so, perhaps, forty to fifty leagues from Halifax harbour, that is not far from Cape Sable, comprised 80 houses, covered with bark, on the bank of a river up which Bellenger penetrated. If these were long houses, as they probably were, rather than summer shelters, this was an unusually large aggregation for an Algonkian tribe, amounting perhaps to 800 people or more. However, it is possible that it was an early encampment by tribesmen who had collected for the summer fishing near the sea, though this would have been more likely at the time of the *Chardon's* return up the coast than on her way down it.

We learn nothing of how the *Chardon* worked her way, with her pinnace, around the southern end of Nova Scotia towards the Bay of Fundy, but we are informed that the entrance to "a great Bay of that Iland" was very narrow, only the width of a culverin-shot. This indicates, clearly enough, that they eventually found themselves in St. Mary's Bay and were obliged, so as to proceed into the Bay of Fundy, to work through the narrow passage between Briar Island and Long Island (Grand Passage), or through that between Long Island and Digby Neck (Petit Passage), into the Bay of Fundy. From then on it was plain sailing for some 25 leagues, evidently northeast along the Nova Scotia coast, and eventually, probably after a look at the Minas Basin (though possibly without exploring it), a point was found which was thought to mark the termination of the Bay. This was probably between Ram Head and Cape d'Or, in which area an old marker was found by Champlain in 1607,<sup>11</sup> or it could have been as far round as Cape

<sup>11</sup>See Ganong, "Crucial maps, IX," 129.

Chignecto. There the Cardinal de Bourbon's arms were affixed to a tall tree and, perhaps also, a wooden cross was erected. It was probably at this point, though it may have been at a later one, that it was decided that Bellenger should not after all remain with his little party to start a trading post as a nucleus for a settlement. Yet the formal taking possession of the head of the Bay of Fundy indicates that it was believed to be a new discovery which should be solemnly secured for France through the Cardinal de Bourbon, and was also probably regarded as a possible site for future settlement under his auspices. It may, too, have been from this area that Bellenger obtained from the Indians the ore, thought to have silver and tin in it, which he brought home. The *Chardon* continued down the north shore of the Bay of Fundy, though we know this not from the narrative sources, but from the maps. The width of the Bay Bellenger put at 20 leagues. If this is to be taken literally, the "great river" which was entered with the pinnacle about 20 leagues to the west "of that Iland," i.e., the Isle of St. John, would, most likely, have been Passamaquoddy Bay, but, had he passed along the Maine shore keeping Great Manan Island to port, as he is not unlikely to have done, it is, more probably, in spite of the inadequate distance indicated, the Penobscot. This is made the more so as the Rio de Gamas on the de Vaulx maps, almost certainly the Penobscot, is the only one shown which might have accommodated the pinnacle easily for 7 leagues and have then suggested that it might be navigable for 60 or 80 miles more (or have been pointed out as penetrable for a long way by the Indians). We may assume that the *Chardon* spent between one and two months on the southwesterly exploration and would thus have reached the Penobscot, if that was the terminal river shown by de Vaulx, in late April or May. It must have been a mild spring since there is no mention of ice, snow, or cold weather. The decision to turn back may have been due to the identification of the "great River" with the Rio de Gamas of the traditional Spanish maps and the consequent reaching of a boundary on a coast which, it could be assumed, had previously been explored and its features named.

We are given no direct information on the return voyage except for one incident. Working back along the coast already discovered, that is the southern shore of Nova Scotia, within 80 to 60 leagues from Cape Breton, the pinnacle was sent inshore to trade with the Indians. Through the cruelty and treachery of the natives, and the trustfulness of the French, so Hakluyt tells us, the boat was attacked, two of the men killed and the rest decoyed away in some manner so that the Indians could seize the pinnacle.<sup>12</sup> If Bellenger had not already decided to abandon the intention of establishing a trading post, he did so then. To set up a post midway along the Nova Scotia coast might well have been one of a number of alternatives considered by him, but the Indian attack would tend to demoralize his men, and the loss of the pinnacle, which it must have been intended to leave behind, would so immobilize the settlers that the fulfilment of the primary intention of the expedition was no longer possible. Thereafter, it is likely, he hurried on to Cape Breton where he could make contact with fishing vessels, if he wished to buy food or obtain news, and so set out back across the Atlantic. We do not know how long, this time, Costé took to bring the *Chardon* to her home port, but it was probably not more than 30 days. The total time taken for the voyage out and back is given either as four or four-and-a-half months. If the date of departure was about February 19 this would mean a return between the middle and end of June (or perhaps at the beginning of July), after an absence of some 117 to 132 days.

<sup>12</sup>The place was evidently named *Terre des mauvais*, see *infra*, p. 341, n. 45.

## IV

Considering the relatively detailed character of the reconnaissance, covering as it did over 700 miles of coast in some 80 days and including 10 to 12 landings during this period, the amount of material information on the land and on the Indians is comparatively small. Hakluyt's narrative, welcome as it is, is only a summary of the knowledge gained from the voyage. It may, indeed, be only a short version of a longer account which he put together after he had met and talked with Bellenger. One difficulty with it is that we are not able to sort out the objects brought from Cape Breton and Nova Scotia from those acquired, say, in Maine, or within the Bay of Fundy. So far as flora or fauna are concerned this may not affect us very much, since the Maritimes have a certain geographical and climatic unity, but it is a little confusing where Indian traits are described not to have locations specified more fully so as to differentiate the sub-cultures of Micmac, Malecite, and Penobscot peoples. At the same time the narrative can be made to supply a good deal of valuable data, provided due caution is exercised, even before expert work has been done on it by Indian specialists.

The limits of latitude are stated as 42 to 44 degrees, where they are, in fact, 44 to 46 degrees approximately. The whole coastline seen is said to have been pleasant and warm, very much like the Bay of Biscay coast from Bayonne to Nantes, and varying only a little as the land lay towards the north or the south. The country was well wooded, with oaks, "cypresses" (red cedar), pine trees, hazels, and so on, admirable for shipbuilding. There were examples, more especially in the Minas Basin, it would seem, of flat beaches where salt could be panned and evaporated in the sun as at La Rochelle. Some mineral matter thought to contain silver and tin was brought back as giving promise of metals. The fishing along the shores was very good. Bellenger, from his three voyages to the Cape Breton coast, testified that the fish (cod) was better than that of Newfoundland, but here Hakluyt does not particularize where to do so would have been very valuable. Moreover, there were good harbours for the fishermen. But this was all the direct geographical information that Hakluyt recorded.

The more general evidence on Indian life has already been mentioned, the difference between the Indians relatively near to and distant from Cape Breton, and the large size of at least one of their settlements. Their physique was generally very good. They were naked (women presumably as well as men) except for a skin breechclout secured by a long belt, fringed at the ends, and decorated with red-dyed porcupine quills. From the belt hung a small bag containing the materials for fire-making. Their hair hung to the waist at back and front except for a cut across the brows. They used long bows, some 6 feet in length, with arrows half as long, tipped with indented bone points attached by a leather thong. They prepared finely dressed and ornamented skins, elk (?), deer, and seal. They also dried deer meat in long (12-inch) strips. This makes up a credible and useful, though strictly limited, picture.

The Indians were, everywhere, prepared to trade. Their willingness to do so might suggest that even in the Bay of Fundy European traders were already common. But this is not necessarily so, since the long-established seasonal contacts with the French and Basques at Cape Breton alone would have been sufficient to create fur production for sale through middlemen amongst the tribes living at a distance, within the catchment area. The main things that the Indians Bellenger met had to sell were skins and furs; large decorated skins, the staples of their own production, and the smaller, more valuable, furs called for mainly by European demand, beaver (already sought for hats), lynx (a rarity), and otter. The Indians

were also willing to dispose of bows, porcupine quills, dyes (reds, yellows, grey, and blue), castoreum, and samples of pemmican. Whether they also supplied the metallic ore already mentioned is not stated. In return, they were willing to accept knives, looking-glasses, bells, and other trinkets, having not yet developed a taste for heavier weapons or for European spirits.

## v

What happened on Bellenger's return? Some things we know, many others we do not. He sold his furs for good prices. His trade goods had cost him 40 livres (£4) and he sold what they had bought for 440 crowns (£88), disposing of 600 beaver pelts and having his lynx skins valued at 6 to 15 crowns. The profits were high though the scale of the transactions was small. He presented to the Cardinal twenty lynx skins and two Indian bows and arrows, with probably other samples of the products of the country. He sat down to compile from his journal and sketches a detailed map ("a fayre Carde") of the coasts explored which he also put into the Cardinal's hands. It is most likely that he added to it a detailed narrative of the voyage, though, if so, it has vanished without trace. What we do not know are what were the precise reactions of the Cardinal to the results of the reconnaissance. On the one hand, the primary purpose of the expedition, the establishment of a holding post on North American soil, had been frustrated, and the local Indians of part, at least, of the coast shown to be savage and treacherous. On the other, the reports contained, we can assume from what we know, much that was novel about Ile de Saint Jehan, our Bay of Fundy, and the Rio de Gammas (our Penobscot), and indicated that the fur trade, at least, was worth pursuing on economic grounds.

During 1582 Anne de Joyeuse became admiral of France and governor of Normandy and it was probably when he visited Normandy in 1583 that he became associated with the Cardinal de Bourbon's American projects.<sup>13</sup> Our next and only piece of information concerning them is that picked up by Richard Hakluyt at the beginning of January, 1584, and already noted, to the effect that Joyeuse and the Cardinal were in the field with a colonizing venture, but one which they were taking no very active steps to set forward. It may be worthwhile assuming that Bellenger was encouraged to go ahead with a further commercial enterprise to follow up his 1583 voyage, while the settlement plan was held in suspense for the time being. This would explain what is otherwise hard to understand, why Bellenger, who was bound to secrecy about his objectives at the beginning of the 1583 voyage, was willing and even anxious to talk about western prospects at the beginning of the following year.

It is mainly through what he said that we know anything whatever about the ventures in which he was engaged. The Reverend Richard Hakluyt had arrived in France at the end of September, 1583, as secretary and chaplain to the new English ambassador to France, Sir Edward Stafford. His primary purpose, in the short run at least, was to collect information about North America and about French projects for voyages to America, in the interests of his master, Sir Francis Walsingham, who was closely concerned at this time, as was Hakluyt himself, with English plans for trading to and settling New England, the Maritimes, and Newfoundland. His scholarly interests and his flair for collecting information rapidly made him an expert in economic espionage so that he extracted from merchants

<sup>13</sup>He was in Rouen March 25, Le Havre, April 14 (R. Herval, *Histoire de Rouen* (Paris, 1949), II, 95; A. E. Borély, *Histoire de la ville du Havre* (Le Havre, 1885), I, 165).



and academics alike invaluable information about French trade with Canada and, from Valeron Perosse and André Thevet, the king's skinner and cosmographer, respectively, the information about the Cardinal de Bourbon's recent venture and also, it would seem, the name of the man, who had undertaken it for him. Consequently, he hurried down to Rouen. There he made contact with the Rouen instrument-maker, André Mayer, whom he knew already, and who was a relative of Bellenger's, and, with an introduction from Mayer, introduced himself to Bellenger in the Rue des Augustines.

Bellenger, receiving the learned and curious young clergyman in this informal way, did not regard him in any way as an English intelligence agent. Consequently, he spoke freely about his voyage, probably allowing Hakluyt to take notes of what he said, showing him the draft of his chart, the fair copy of which he had passed on to the Cardinal, and also, apparently, some of the journals he had made in the course of the enterprise. He also exhibited specimens of the goods and curiosities he had retained for himself from those brought home on the *Chardon*, and gave Hakluyt a sample of the ore which was supposed to contain silver and tin. He told him that other things had been discovered on the voyage on which he did not wish to speak, so that it would seem that he regarded himself as being in possession of economic and geographical information which he had undertaken (to the Cardinal most likely) not to disclose. It is astonishing, however, that he talked so freely and with so little secrecy. Hakluyt even got him to address a small meeting of English merchants and sea captains in Rouen to whom he repeated a brief account of his voyage. Hakluyt had a specific purpose in view in the latter activity. Both Sir George Peckham and Christopher Carleill had at that time expeditions in preparation to explore and settle the territory to the southwest of Cape Breton. Bellenger's information on its character and products tended to encourage good hopes from these expeditions (though neither in the end reached North America) and to lead to the offer of subscriptions. It was the need to report the willingness of the English in Rouen to subscribe to English ventures, on the strength of what Bellenger had to say about his voyage, which led Hakluyt to send to England the document now first printed below.

Whatever the plans of the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Duc de Joyeuse, there is no reason to doubt that what Hakluyt said was true that, at the time he wrote the document now published, namely late January or early February, 1584, Etienne Bellenger was rapidly pushing forward preparations for a new fur-trading expedition. He was not, this year, going to use the *Chardon* (indeed Tressonville got into financial difficulties and had to dispose of her during 1584),<sup>14</sup> and this may demonstrate his detachment from the Cardinal's long-term projects. He had, instead, hired or acquired a small bark and pinnace which he was fitting out at Honfleur for a voyage on which he proposed to embark before March 1, 1584. There is every probability that he did so, but nothing has so far certainly come to light about his success, or, indeed, about himself. While he may have returned home safely, it is also possible that he was lost on the voyage and that this is the reason why the fur trade was not more vigorously plied on the coasts of the Maritimes by Norman merchants and mariners in succeeding years. A little more information may still lie buried in French archives.

The Cardinal and the Duke continued their overseas partnership, but their objectives proliferated. In 1584<sup>15</sup> Joyeuse prepared an expedition under Guillaume

<sup>14</sup>Barrey, "Le Havre," 86-7.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 88, 189; E. Gosselin, *Documents... pour servir à l'histoire de la marine normande* (Rouen, 1876), 167. See also La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, IV, 312.

le Héricy, with Jacques de Vaulx as chief pilot, which was, ostensibly to coast and chart the whole of eastern America from Brazil to Labrador. The expedition was delayed until the following year and it remained at sea for some two years. It is known to have occupied itself, seriously, with Brazil, but whether it ever touched the shores which Bellenger had explored and on which the hopes of the Admiral and the Cardinal had earlier been centred is not yet known.

## VI

The final group of sources for the Bellenger voyage, the maps of Jacques de Vaulx, make up a subject of great interest in themselves, but they cannot be discussed here in any great detail. They comprise two illuminated volumes and a map in the Bibliothèque nationale. Though they have been dealt with by Charles de la Roncière, Albert Anthiaume, and W. F. Ganong,<sup>16</sup> it is necessary to revise accepted views of their chronology if their relevance to the Bellenger voyage is to be understood. The volumes are each entitled "Les premières euvres de Jacques de Vaulx pillote en la Marine" and are two versions, differing only slightly from each other, of a general work on cosmography, which have numerous highly decorative illustrations and maps, including a number, larger and smaller, of America. It is clear from internal evidence that the less fine copy of "Les premières euvres," MS français 9175, was composed first,<sup>17</sup> even though at least one map was added at a later date and the dedication to M. de Riberpré made in 1584, i.e., in the year after its completion. The fine copy, MS français 150, was, on the other hand, commissioned by and completed for the Duc de Joyeuse during 1583. (What happened was apparently that de Vaulx soiled his primary copy and had to start again, but that he refurbished it for presentation to another client in the following year.) Of the many small variations between the two, those of significance for the Bellenger voyage concern only the maps showing northeast North America. Thus in MS français 9175, f.25, de Vaulx shows a stereotyped (Spanish-type) outline from Cape Breton westward to the Rio de Gamas, while in MS français 150, f.26, he shows a triangular "Isle St. Jehan" and makes other alterations which show that he has subsequently assimilated something from the Bellenger voyage. He went on to use similar "improved" material for a map of the Atlantic (*ibid.*, ff. 29-30) in the same volume, and then, it would seem, turned back to include a copy of this "improved" map in his earlier version (MS français 9175, ff. 29-30). This is, at least, a provisional reconstruction of the sequence of events. In all respects, however, considering the smallness of scale in the three cases cited, the Bellenger outline of the "island" and "great bay" (southern Nova Scotia and Bay of Fundy, respectively) are clearly indicated, and for the first time, though no names are added except that of "Isle St. Jehan." The closeness of the association of Joyeuse with de Vaulx on the one side and with the Cardinal de Bourbon on the other, and the known possession by the latter of Bellenger's chart, is the most likely explanation of the use by de Vaulx of the Bellenger data. De Vaulx went on, however, to make a more detailed chart of America, dated 1584, which also survives in the Bibliothèque nationale (Cartes, réserve géographique,

<sup>16</sup>C. de la Roncière, "Une carte française encore inconnue du nouveau monde (1584)," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. LXXI (1910), 588-601; A. Anthiaume, *Cartes marines, constructions navales, voyages de découverte chez les Normands, 1500-1650*, I, 129-46; Ganong, "Crucial Maps, IX," 107-26.

<sup>17</sup>The freshness of the figure drawings in the one, their wooden, though competent, copying in the other is sufficiently evident. I was fortunate in having, in my study of them, the expert advice of Mr. P. H. Hulton, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, whose opinion greatly reinforced my own view of the sequence.

C. 4052). This preserves a nomenclature from Cape Breton to the Rio de Gamas, including several names for features on the Bay of Fundy (which is called "Passaige de St Iehan"), which undoubtedly derives from Bellenger, though not all the names may have been given by him. Collectively, though several are difficult to read and may be differently interpreted by successive scholars, they make up, with the new coastline, an impressive cartographic record of the 1583 expedition.<sup>18</sup> They show that it made a substantial addition to the map of North America so that the new narrative, together with the de Vaulx maps, combine to provide an intelligible outline of an important, and neglected, achievement.

## VII

As he was to show some knowledge of the new coastal profile of the Maritimes which the 1583 voyage produced on the de Vaulx maps, it is likely that Hakluyt recorded, though perhaps only from memory, a sketch of Etienne Bellenger's discoveries. The prominence of the "I: S. Joan" on the Molyneux globe of 1592, to which Hakluyt contributed, suggests the influence of the 1583 voyage, which appears to be more pronounced on the famous world map on the Wright-Mercator projection, made for the second edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* in 1599.<sup>19</sup> There the "I: S. Iohn" is elaborated to a size compatible with Bellenger's account of it, though it has also been elongated and moved northeastwards, so as to lie parallel with, not southwestwards of Cape Breton Island. A long inlet running southwestwards into the mainland, and named "B. menin" (*Menan* being the Micmac name for the Bay of Fundy),<sup>20</sup> is probably an attempt, though a distorted one, to show the great bay which Bellenger explored, though fresh information on nomenclature had come to Hakluyt in the meantime. A rough sketch which the mapmakers were to interpret loosely, rather than the detailed chart which de Vaulx had in 1584, would best fit the circumstances under which something on the Bellenger voyage, though nothing very precise, filtered through to the English maps of 1592 and 1599. Yet Hakluyt and his associate Edward Hayes were obtaining some new information on the Maritimes in the 'nineties. No English voyage to follow up Bellenger's discoveries is known, and Richard Fisher who coasted Nova Scotia in 1593 did so only because he had missed the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.<sup>21</sup> Hayes, however, in a treatise written between 1593 and 1595 refers to a French discovery of a mine in this region,<sup>22</sup> and gives more specific information of its location on the Bay of Menan in a published tract in 1602,<sup>23</sup> which might suggest that he was harking back to Bellenger's finds, though his information is probably too specific for him to be doing so. More likely, this represents information picked up from those Frenchmen who aroused the interest of the English briefly in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the years 1591-7, during which they collected a good deal of other information on eastern Canada. Concern with this area fades away in England in 1602: it begins to revive in France in 1597 and to take effect in the voyages of Champlain and de Monts in 1603 and

<sup>18</sup>Anthiaume, *Cartes marines*, II, 527.

<sup>19</sup>Reprinted in R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, I (Glasgow, 1904), 356. See W. F. Ganong, "A monograph of the cartography of the province of New Brunswick," Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, 2nd series, vol. II (1897-8), 346-7, and "Crucial Maps, IX," 121-2.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>21</sup>Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII (1904), 157-61.

<sup>22</sup>Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.3.85, ff.2-2v.

<sup>23</sup>John Brereton, *A briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia* (London, 1602), 16, 47.

1604. This new generation of French explorers, it seems, knew nothing of Bellenger or of de Vault and so had to repeat from scratch the exploration of the Maritimes.

THE RELATION OF MASTER STEPHEN BELLENGER<sup>24</sup>

The Relation<sup>25</sup> of *master* Stephen Bellanger dwelling in Roan<sup>26</sup> in the street called Rue de Augustines at the syne of the golden tyle in frenche thuille deor<sup>27</sup> of his late voiadge of discoverie of two hundreth leagues of coast from Cape Brittone nere Newfound Land West southwest at the charges of the Cardinall of Borbon<sup>28</sup> this last yere 1583. With mention of some of the comodities fownde in those Cuntries and brought home into Fraunce by hym./

*Master* Stephen Bellanger nowe dwelling in Roan in the streete of the Augustines nexte howsse to the signe of the golden tyle in frenche thuille d'or; departed from Newhaven<sup>29</sup> the 19th of Ianuarii 1583<sup>30</sup> in a barck of Fiftie Tons and a litle Pinnesse loose within board accompanied with *Master* Cottee an excellent Pilott of Newhaven<sup>31</sup> and thirtie men and boyes at the charges of the Cardinall of Burbon, and within lesse then a Moneth<sup>32</sup> arrived at Cape Bryton a litle to the sowthwest of Newefownde Land./

From thence he toke his course following the Coast along to the southwest for the space of Two hundreth Leagues the draught and particular discription whereof he shewed me/

He discovered<sup>33</sup> all the Bayes, Harbors, Creekes, Rivers, Sandes, Rockes, Islandes, Flattes, with the depthes of Water along as he went which were in some places. 15.30.40.44.50.60. fathoms which he had dilligentlie noted downe in writing within. 50. or threescore Leagues to the west and by south of Cape Briton he had drawne the Iland of St. Iohn which lieth east and west the space of Fiftie leagues, and lieth in forme of a Triangle/<sup>34</sup>

<sup>24</sup>The italics in the document are for expanded contractions.

<sup>25</sup>British Museum, Additional Manuscript 14027, ff. 289–90v. It was listed in British Museum, *Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts* (London, 1843), p. 27, but it was not included in the manuscript list of contents with which the volume opens.

<sup>26</sup>The form in the French documents, *supra*, 329–31, is "Etienne (or Estienne) Bel-  
lenger de Rouen."

<sup>27</sup>Mistaken, as the text below says that he lived next door to the sign of the Tuile d'or in the Rue des Augustines. The precise house has not been ascertained or the existence of the sign corroborated, but the street is well known.

<sup>28</sup>Charles de Bourbon-Vendôme, cardinal de Bourbon, brother of Antoine, King of Navarre, was Archbishop of Rouen from 1550 to his death in 1590. R. Herval, *Histoire de Rouen*, II (1949), 70.

<sup>29</sup>Le Havre.

<sup>30</sup>The document in the Rouen archives shows (*supra*, 300) that the contract for his ship was signed only on January 24 so either Bellenger or Hakluyt is mistaken. A date of February 19 would be more likely. (He repeats January without a precise day in Taylor, ed., *Hakluyts*, II, 266.) He is using new-style dating for the day and year (the equivalent English dating would be January 29, 1582[–3]).

<sup>31</sup>Michel Costé, pilot of Rouen, see *supra*, 330.

<sup>32</sup>Hakluyt elsewhere says twenty days (Taylor, ed., *Hakluyts*, II, 266).

<sup>33</sup>"Discovered" means, for the inlets, that he entered them, probably charting, or at least sketching, each feature, as well as sounding.

<sup>34</sup>Bellenger gained the impression, from entering Halifax harbour perhaps, or hearing Indian tales of portages to the Minas Basin, that southern Nova Scotia was insular and triangular (it is more nearly a parallelogram). See W. D. and R. S. Wallis, *The Micmac Indians* (Minneapolis, 1955), 19.

In a great Bay of that Iland<sup>35</sup> which at one place of the enteraunce is so narrowe that a Colverin shott can reache from one side to the other,<sup>36</sup> and after you are passed that streight is xxv leagues vpp and 20 leagues broad he planted the Cardinall of Burbons Armes in a mightie highe tree<sup>37</sup> and gave names to many places/

To the west of that Iland about 20. leagues he fownde a great River into which he ran vpp with his smale Pynnasse seaven Leagues and thincketh it is navigable three or fowrescore leagues/<sup>38</sup>

He wente on shoare in Tenn or twelve places which he fownde verie pleasaunt And the coast lieth in 42 43 44 degrees of Latitude more or lesse,<sup>39</sup> and is as warme as Bayon, Bordeaux, Rochell, and Nantes varieng a litle as it lieth more to the North or the south/

Salt He thincketh verilie that verie good salte may be made there in great quantitie in divers places along the Coast seeing there wanteth no heate of the sonne nor lowe of flattes like those of Rochell fytt for the purpose/

Trees He fownde the Countrev full of good trees to build Shippes withall and namely great plentie of oakes, Cypresses,<sup>40</sup> Pynes, hasels etc and divers good herbes as sorrell etc.

Trafficke In many places he had traffique with the people which are of verie good disposition and stature of Bodie

They weare their hayre hanging downe long before and behynde as lowe as their Navells which they cutt short only overthwart their browes<sup>41</sup>

They go all naked saving their priuities which they cover with an Apron of some Beastes skynn, and tye it vnto them with a long buff<sup>42</sup> gerdle that comes three

<sup>35</sup>The great bay can only be the Bay of Fundy. Hakluyt says nothing of the gradual change of course of the *Chardon* as she rounded Cape Sable.

<sup>36</sup>This can only mean that Bellenger found himself in St. Mary's Bay and emerged into the Bay of Fundy by one of the narrow channels to the north or to the south of Long Island (if there have been no major changes in the coastline since 1583).

<sup>37</sup>Three or four leagues north of Cap de Poutrincoirt—Cape Split (that is, between Cape d'Or and Ram Head) Champlain on July 11, 1607 found an old cross covered in moss almost wholly rotted away (S. de Champlain, *Voyages* (Paris, 1613), 152). Almost W. F. Ganong's last word in his last paper was to call attention to the cross, after arguing brilliantly that Bellenger might, in fact, have circumnavigated the Bay of Fundy in 1583 ("Crucial Maps, IX," 122-30 (see especially p. 129)).

<sup>38</sup>He is now speaking of the exit from the Bay of Fundy. Just as the evidence for his coasting of the north shore depends on the nomenclature of the de Vaulx chart, so does our interpretation of his narrative, implying that he had come out of the Bay by the Great Manan Channel and had worked along the Maine coast until he entered the Penobscot with his pinnace. The map evidence here associates the great river, which is the terminus of his voyage, with the Rio de Gammas, a traditional feature of the Spanish-style maps of the coast and most probably to be identified with the Penobscot. It must, however, be indicated that Hakluyt's evidence could possibly fit several other estuaries on the Maine coast.

<sup>39</sup>Actually between 44° and 46° (a mistake of two degrees in latitude reckoning is not unknown but it is rather higher than it should have been with an experienced pilot like Costé.)

<sup>40</sup>Red cedar here, not cypress.

<sup>41</sup>The long hair is a characteristic feature, but the cutting of the hair on the brow is not (cf., Wallis, *Micmac*, 83-5). It may be that Bellenger is describing the Indians he saw on the later stages of his outward journey who would be Malecite and Penobscot. (I have had the benefit of the advice of Mr. Wendell S. Hadlock on this and other Indian items.)

<sup>42</sup>Pliable leather here, not "buffalo." For the breechclout and girdle, see Wallis, *Micmac*, 78-9.

times about them beeing made fast behynde and at boath the endes it is cutt into litle thynn thonges, which thonges they tye rownde about them with slender quills of birdes fethers wherof some are as red as if they had byn dyed in cuchanillo/<sup>43</sup>

Their girdells haue also before a litle Codd or Pursse of Buff wherein they putt divers thinges but especiallye their tinder to keepe fire in, which is of a dry roote and somewhat like a hard sponge and will quicklie take fyer and is hardlie put out./ Their weapons whereof he brought hoame store to the Cardinall are Bowes of two yardes long and arrowes of one yarde hedded with indented bones three or fower ynches long, and are tyed into a nocke at the ende with a thong of Lether/

In divers places they are gentle and tractable. But those about Cape Briton and threescore or fowerscore leagues Westward are more cruell and subtyll of norture then the rest. And you are not to trust them but to stond vpon your gard/<sup>44</sup> For among them he lost two of his men and his smale Pinesse which happned through their owne follye in trusting the salvadges to farr/<sup>45</sup>

Commodities brought home He had traffique with them in divers places and for trifles, as knyves belles, glasses, and suche like smale marchaundize which cost hym but Fortie liuers which amount but to fower Poundes Englishe he had by waie of traffique comodities that he sould in Roan at his retourne. for Fower hundreth and Fortie Crownes/<sup>46</sup>

Theis were some of the Comodities which he brought hoame from thence, & showed them me at his howsse./

- 1 Buff hides reddie dressed vpon both sides bigger then an Oxe,<sup>47</sup>
- 2 Deere skynes dressed well on the inner side, with the hayre on the outside/
- 3 Seale<sup>48</sup> skynns exceding great dressed on the ynnerside/
- 4 Marterns enclyning vnto Sables<sup>49</sup>
- 5 Bevers skynes verie fayre as many as made 600 bever hattes
- 6 Otters skynnes verie faire and large
- 7 A kynde of liquide muske or sivet taken out of the Bevers stones/<sup>50</sup>
- 8 The fleshe of Deere dried in the sunne in peeces a foote Long/
- 9 Diuers excellent Cullors, as scarlet, vermillion, redd, tawny, yellowe, gray and watchett/<sup>51</sup>

<sup>43</sup>Most likely to be dyed porcupine quills.

<sup>44</sup>Does he mean that the Micmac were savage and treacherous and the Malecite and Penobscot friendly? Or does he rather imply that the treacherous Micmac were those in regular contact with Europeans, the others not being so? Hakluyt also twice mentions elsewhere "a Towne of fourscore houses covered with the barkes of trees upon a ryvers side about C leagues from . . . Cape Breton" (Taylor, ed., *Hakluyts*, II, 227, 266).

<sup>45</sup>This must have taken place on the Nova Scotia coast on the return up the coast as the pinnacle was used to explore the great river before he turned northwest again. The "Terre des mauvais" on the de Vaulx chart is probably associated with this episode, but is placed on the mainland (probably by mistake) on the north side of the Bay of Fundy.

<sup>46</sup>One livre is two shillings, one crown four, thus for £4 Bellenger had £88.

<sup>47</sup>Here elk rather than bison would seem to be intended.

<sup>48</sup>The hair seal.

<sup>49</sup>The fisher, *Mustela pennanti*, rather than the Canadian sable, *M. americana*?

<sup>50</sup>Castoreum ("a kynde of muske called Castor," Hakluyt, in Taylor, ed., *Hakluyts*, II, 227).

<sup>51</sup>Hakluyt also speaks of "divers beastes skynnes as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffes, dere skynnes all . . . painted on the innerside w<sup>th</sup> divers excellent color<sup>s</sup> as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermillon" (*ibid.*, II, 227). "Watchet" would be a blue dye (cf. Wallis, *Micmac*, 87-9, and Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History*

- 10 Fethers the quils wherof are redd as vermillion  
 11 Luserns, *which* the frenche call Loupceruiers<sup>52</sup> Whereof twentie he gave to the Cardinall of Burbon for a present, and divers others to certaine of his frendes *which* I sawe, and was enformed that they were worth some 6.8.10.12.15 crownes a skynne/  
 12 A kynde of mynerall matter *which* as some that haue seene thinck houldes sylver and tynn, whereof he gave me a peece/<sup>53</sup>

Divers other comodities he fownde the secrites whereof he was loath to disclose vnto me/

He affirmeth by his owne experience that fishe of that Coast on the *which* he hath byn thrise,<sup>54</sup> is bigger and better then that of New found Land; and that the havens are exceding good/

He was out vpon his voiage but Foure Moneths and a half<sup>55</sup>

He hathe drawen a fayre Carde of all his discoverie *which* he presented latelie to the Cardinall of Burbon./

His first draught he shewed me at his howsse and all the comodities aboue mentioned and gave me *parte* of each of them for his kynnesmanns sake one Andrewe Mayer the Compasse maker of Roan. *which* made me acqaynted with hym/<sup>56</sup>

He hath also made brief relation of his voiage in the presences of divers Englishe men of Credit whome I brought into his Companie that they might here the same And namely of one Master Harvie of Lymehouse the owner of the Barck called the Thomas & Iohn of Master Malym master of the barck called the Christian of one Moyser an englishe merchannt of Roan and one Howe a sayler & other honest men/

And this present yere 1584 he setteth fourth agayne for further Traffique in the same voiage with a barck and a smale Pinesse *which* are in preparing ayenst the first of Marche at homefleur vpon the Coast of Normandy<sup>57</sup>

Vpon knowledge of this voiage made by Master Stephen Bellanger divers englishe merchauntes of Roan haue conferred together to contribute to the furthering of the voiage *which* is now to be sett forth in England<sup>58</sup> namely theis/

*of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, W. F. Ganong, ed. [London, 1908], 411, 413, the latter alone mentioning violet and blue).

<sup>52</sup>Lynx.

<sup>53</sup>Cf., "a kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver, whereof he gave me some" (so Hakluyt, in Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 226).

<sup>54</sup>Bellenger's statement that he had been three times, in all, including 1583 it would seem, to the Cape Breton coast indicates a degree of Norman activity in the area not known from other sources.

<sup>55</sup>The total time is also given by Hakluyt as four months (*ibid.*, II, 266). If Bellenger left in mid-February (not January 19) and reached Cape Breton in between 20 and 30 days, he could have spent from late March to the beginning of June in exploration and sailed back by early July.

<sup>56</sup>The map is not known to be extant, but its main features are assimilated into de Vault's chart. Hakluyt evidently made his own version from the rough version he had seen with Bellenger (if indeed he did not get a copy of the finished map later). André Mayer has not been identified further.

<sup>57</sup>Hakluyt is thus writing before March 1, 1584 (N.S.). Nothing is known of the result of this voyage.

<sup>58</sup>The English expeditions in preparation at this time were those of Sir George Peckham (to follow up Sir Humphrey Gilbert's recent voyage, on which he was lost) to southern New England, and Christopher Carleill's which seems to have been directed

Master Greene, Master Lacie, Master Grove, Master Martyn, Master Moyser, Master [ ]<sup>59</sup> his chamber fellowe, Master Walbn, Master Smyth the owner of the Inne called the Diepe, Master Harvie of Lymehouse, Master Richardson of Hull, Master Malym, Master Bellpytt and Master Mychell both of Weymouth, Master Vyney, &c.<sup>60</sup>

[Endorsed] A discowrse of the newefound land. 1584.<sup>61</sup>

rather further north along the American shore (the Maritimes and possibly St. Lawrence). It is probable that these offers of assistance were for Carleill (who was more concerned with trade than settlement), but his venture ended no further away than Ireland in the summer of 1584—see D. B. Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (1940), I, 91–5.

<sup>59</sup>Blank in manuscript.

<sup>60</sup>The Englishmen fall into two groups, those who were members of the English colony settled in Rouen, and those who were seamen and traders who chanced to be in the port. In the first group we can place Thomas Moyser, a prominent merchant, Reynold Greene, and Robert Smyth (possibly also Robert Stacey if Hakluyt got his name confused and reported him as “Lacie”) (cf., petitions of Sept. 13, 1582, and Feb. 11, 1583, in P.R.O., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1582, 332, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1583 and Addenda*, 123), while Grove, Martyn, and Walyn may also have belonged to it. Of the rest, Thomas Harvey of Limehouse had his ship stayed at Le Havre in December, 1586 (British Museum, Lansdowne MS 148, f.145 (Dec. 23, 1586)). He could possibly have been the Thomas Harvey, grocer and citizen of London, who sailed with Sir Richard Grenville in April, 1585, as cape merchant in the first English colony on Roanoke island and returned from there in July 1588, but it is not very probable—see D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–90*, (1955), I, 232–4. The others have not yet been traced.

<sup>61</sup>The body of the document is in Richard Hakluyt’s hand throughout, the endorsement in a clerk’s, presumably Caesar’s. Mr. T. N. Marsh contributed a useful description and discussion of the document (“An Unpublished Hakluyt Manuscript?”) to the *New England Quarterly*, XXV (June, 1962), 247–52, which appeared after the present paper had been completed. He also put a case for the manuscript being in Hakluyt’s hand. The manuscript was mentioned as Richard Hakluyt’s in Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 779 (and cf. I, 77, n. 4), and was specified as being in Hakluyt’s hand in D. B. Quinn et Jacques Rousseau, “Hakluyt et le mot ‘esquimaux,’” *R.H.A.F.*, XII (May, 1959), 600.

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